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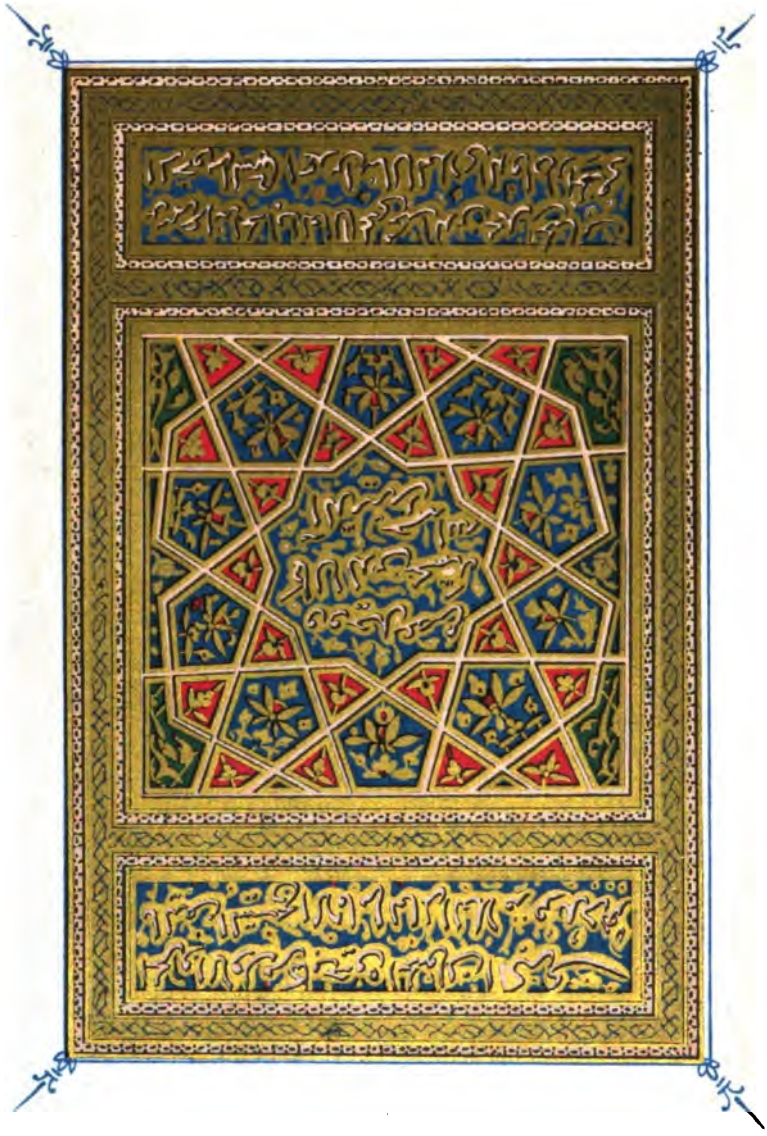

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HISTORY OF EUROPE
DURING THE MIDDLE AGES

BY

HENRY HALLAM

WITH A SPECIAL INTRODUCTION BY
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BOOK IX.

SOCIETY DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

BOOK IX.

ON THE STATE OF SOCIETY IN EUROPE DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PART I.

Introduction—Decline of Literature in the latter Period of the Roman Empire—Its Causes—Corruption of the Latin Language—Means by which it was effected—Formation of new Languages—General Ignorance of the Dark Ages—Scarcity of Books—Causes that prevented the total Extinction of Learning—Prevalence of Superstition and Fanaticism—General Corruption of Religion—Monasteries—Their Effects—Pilgrimages—Love of Field Sports—State of Agriculture—of Internal and Foreign Trade down to the End of the Eleventh Century—Improvement of Europe dated from that Age.

It has been the object of every preceding chapter of this work, either to trace the civil revolutions of states during the period of the middle ages, or to investigate, with rather more minute attention, their political institutions.[a] There remains a large tract to be explored, if we would complete the circle of historical information, and give to our knowledge that copiousness and clear perception which arise from comprehending a subject under numerous relations. The philosophy of history embraces far more than the wars and treaties, the factions and cabals of common political narration; it extends to whatever illustrates the character of the human species in a particular period, to their reasonings and sentiments, their arts and industry. Nor is this comprehensive survey merely interesting to the speculative philosopher; without it the statesman would form very erroneous estimates of events, and find himself constantly misled in any analogical application of them to present circumstances. Nor is it an uncommon source of

[a] The subject of the present chapter, so far as it relates to the condition of literature in the middle ages, has been again treated by me in the first and second chapters of a work, published in 1836, the Introduction to the History of Literature in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries. Some things will be found in it more exactly stated, others newly supplied from recent sources.

error to neglect the general signs of the times, and to deduce a prognostic from some partial coincidence with past events, where a more enlarged comparison of all the fact that ought to enter into the combination would destroy the whole parallel. The philosophical student, however, will not follow the antiquary into his minute details; and though it is hard to say what may not supply matter for a reflecting mind, there is always some danger of losing sight of grand objects in historical disquisition, by too laborious a research into trifles. I may possibly be thought to furnish, in some instances, an example of the error I condemn. But in the choice and disposition of topics to which the present chapter relates, some have been omitted on account of their comparative insignificance, and others on account of their want of connection with the leading subject. Even of those treated I can only undertake to give a transient view; and must bespeak the reader's candor to remember that passages which, separately taken, may often appear superficial, are but parts of the context of a single chapter, as the chapter itself is of an entire work.

The Middle Ages, according to the division I have adopted, comprise about one thousand years, from the invasion of France by Clovis to that of Naples by Charles VIII. This period, considered as to the state of society, has been esteemed dark through ignorance, and barbarous through poverty and want of refinement. And although this character is much less applicable to the last two centuries of the period than to those which preceded its commencement, yet we cannot expect to feel, in respect of ages at best imperfectly civilized and slowly progressive, that interest which attends a more perfect development of human capacities, and more brilliant advances in improvement. The first moiety indeed of these ten ages is almost absolutely barren, and presents little but a catalogue of evils. The subversion of the Roman empire, and devastation of its provinces, by barbarous nations, either immediately preceded, or were coincident with the commencement of the middle period. We begin in darkness and calamity; and though the shadows grow fainter as we advance, yet we are to break off our pursuit as the morning breathes upon us, and the twilight reddens into the lustre of day.

No circumstance is so prominent on the first survey of society during the earlier centuries of this period as the depth

of ignorance in which it was immersed; and as from this, more than any single cause, the moral and social evils which those ages experienced appear to have been derived and perpetuated, it deserves to occupy the first place in the arrangement of our present subject. We must not altogether ascribe the ruin of literature to the barbarian destroyers of the Roman empire. So gradual, and, apparently, so irretrievable a decay had long before spread over all liberal studies, that it is impossible to pronounce whether they would not have been almost equally extinguished if the august throne of the Cæsars had been left to moulder by its intrinsic weakness. Under the paternal sovereignty of Marcus Aurelius the approaching declension of learning might be scarcely perceptible to an incurious observer. There was much indeed to distinguish his times from those of Augustus; much lost in originality of genius, in correctness of taste, in the masterly conception and consummate finish ot art, in purity of the Latin, and even of the Greek language. But there were men who made the age famous, grave lawyers, judicious historians, wise philosophers; the name of learning was honorable, its professors were encouraged; and along the vast surface of the Roman empire there was perhaps a greater number whose minds were cultivated by intellectual discipline than under the more brilliant reign of the first emperor.

It is not, I think, very easy to give a perfectly satisfactory solution of the rapid downfall of literature between the ages of Antonine and of Diocletian. Perhaps the prosperous condition of the empire from Trajan to Marcus Aurelius, and the patronage which those good princes bestowed on letters, gave an artificial health to them for a moment, and suspended the operation of a disease which had already begun to undermine their vigor. Perhaps the intellectual energies of mankind can never remain stationary; and a nation that ceases to produce original and inventive minds, born to advance the landmarks of knowledge or skill, will recede from step to step, till it loses even the secondary merits of imitation and industry. During the third century, not only there were no great writers, but even few names of indifferent writers have been recovered by the diligence of modern inquiry.[b] Law neglected, philosophy

[b] The authors of Histoire Littéraire de la France, t. i., can only find three writers of Gaul, no inconsiderable part of the Roman Empire, mentioned upon any authority; two of whom are now lost. In the preceding century the number was considerably greater.

perverted till it became contemptible, history nearly silent, the Latin tongue growing rapidly barbarous, poetry rarely and feebly attempted, art more and more vitiated; such were the symptoms by which the age previous to Constantine announced the decline of the human intellect. If we cannot fully account for this unhappy change, as I have observed, we must, however, assign much weight to the degradation of Rome and Italy in the system of Severus and his successors, to the admission of barbarians into the military and even civil dignities of the empire, to the discouraging influence of provincial and illiterate sovereigns, and to the calamities which followed for half a century the first invasion of the Goths and the defeat of Decius. To this sickly condition of literature the fourth century supplied no permanent remedy. If under the house of Constantine the Roman world suffered rather less from civil warfare or barbarous invasions than in the preceding age, yet every other cause of decline just enumerated prevailed with aggravated force; and the fourth century set in storms, sufficiently destructive in themselves, and ominous of those calamities which humbled the majesty of Rome at the commencement of the ensuing period, and overwhelmed the Western Empire in absolute and final ruin before its termination.

The diffusion of literature is perfectly distinguishable from its advancement; and whatever obscurity we may find in explaining the variations of the one, there are a few simple causes which seem to account for the other. Knowledge will be spread over the surface of a nation in proportion to the facilities of education; to the free circulation of books; to the emoluments and distinctions which literary attainments are found to produce; and still more to the reward which they meet in the general respect and applause of society. This cheering incitement, the genial sunshine of approbation, has at all times promoted the cultivation of literature in small republics rather than large empires, and in cities compared with the country. If these are the sources which nourish literature, we should naturally expect that they must have become scanty or dry when learning languishes or expires. Accordingly, in the later ages of the Roman empire a general indifference towards the cultivation of letters became the characteristic of its inhabitants. Laws were indeed enacted by Constantine, Julian, Theodosius, and other emperors, for the encouragement of learned men

and the promotion of liberal education. But these laws, which would not perhaps have been thought necessary in better times, were unavailing to counteract the lethargy of ignorance in which even the native citizens of the empire were contented to repose. This alienation of men from their national literature may doubtless be imputed in some measure to its own demerits. A jargon of mystical philosophy, half fanaticism and half imposture, a barren and inflated eloquence, a frivolous philology, were not among those charms of wisdom by which man is to be diverted from pleasure or aroused from indolence.

In this temper of the public mind there was little probability that new compositions of excellence would be produced, and much doubt whether the old would be preserved. Since the invention of printing, the absolute extinction of any considerable work seems a danger too improbable for apprehension. The press pours forth in a few days a thousand volumes, which, scattered like seeds in the air over the republic of Europe, could hardly be destroyed without the extirpation of its inhabitants. But in the times of antiquity manuscripts were copied with cost, labor, and delay; and if the diffusion of knowledge be measured by the multiplication of books, no unfair standard, the most golden ages of ancient learning could never bear the least comparison with the last three centuries. The destruction of a few libraries by accidental fire, the desolation of a few provinces by unsparing and illiterate barbarians, might annihilate every vestige of an author, or leave a few scattered copies, which, from the public indifference, there was no inducement to multiply, exposed to similar casualties in succeeding times.

We are warranted by good authorities to assign as a collateral cause of this irretrievable revolution the neglect of heathen literature by the Christian church. I am not versed enough in ecclesiastical writers to estimate the degree of this neglect; nor am I disposed to deny that the mischief was beyond recovery before the accession of Constantine. From the primitive ages, however, it seems that a dislike of pagan learning was pretty general among Christians. Many of the fathers undoubtedly were accomplished in liberal studies, and we are indebted to them for valuable fragments of authors whom we have lost. But the literary character of the church is not to be measured by that of its more illustrious leaders.

Proscribed and persecuted, the early Christians had not perhaps access to the public schools, nor inclination to studies which seemed, very excusably, uncongenial to the character of their profession. Their prejudices, however, survived the establishment of Christianity. The fourth council of Carthage in 398 prohibited the reading of secular books by bishops. Jerome plainly condemns the study of them except for pious ends. All physical science especially was held in avowed contempt, as inconsistent with revealed truths. Nor do there appear to have been any canons made in favor of learning, or any restriction on the ordination of persons absolutely illiterate.[c] There was indeed abundance of what is called theological learning displayed in the controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries; and those who admire such disputations may consider the principal champions in them as contributing to the glory, or at least retarding the decline, of literature. But I believe rather that polemical disputes will be found not only to corrupt the genuine spirit of religion, but to degrade and contract the faculties. What keenness and subtlety these may sometimes acquire by such exercise is more like that worldly shrewdness we see in men whose trade it is to outwit their neighbors than the clear and calm discrimination of philosophy. However this may be, it cannot be doubted that the controversies agitated in the church during these two centuries must have diverted studious minds from profane literature, and narrowed more and more the circle of that knowledge which they were desirous to attain.

The torrent of irrational superstitions which carried all before it in the fifth century, and the progress of ascetic enthusiasm, had an influence still more decidedly inimical to learning. I cannot indeed conceive any state of society more adverse to the intellectual improvement of mankind than one which admitted of no middle line between gross dissoluteness and fanatical mortification.

An equable tone of public morals, social and humane, verging neither to voluptuousness nor austerity, seems the most adapted to genius, or at least to letters, as it is to individual comfort and national prosperity. After the introduc-

[c] Mosheim, Cent. 4. Tiraboschi endeavors to elevate higher the learning of the early Christians, t. ii. p. 328. Jortin, however, asserts that many of the bishops in the general councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon could not write their names. Remarks on Ecclesiast. Hist. vol. ii. p. 417.

tion of monkery and its unsocial theory of duties, the serious and reflecting part of mankind, on whom science most relies, were turned to habits which, in the most favorable view, could not quicken the intellectual energies; and it might be a difficult question whether the cultivators and admirers of useful literature were less likely to be found among the profligate citizens of Rome and their barbarian conquerors or the melancholy recluses of the wilderness.

Such therefore was the state of learning before the subversion of the Western Empire. And we may form some notion how little probability there was of its producing any excellent fruits, even if that revolution had never occurred, by considering what took place in Greece during the subsequent ages; where, although there was some attention shown to preserve the best monuments of antiquity, and diligence in compiling from them, yet no one original writer of any superior merit arose, and learning, though plunged but for a short period into mere darkness, may be said to have languished in a middle region of twilight for the greater part of a thousand years.

But not to delay ourselves in this speculation, the final settlement of barbarous nations in Gaul, Spain, and Italy consummated the ruin of literature. Their first irruptions were uniformly attended with devastation; and if some of the Gothic kings, after their establishment, proved humane and civilized sovereigns, yet the nation gloried in its original rudeness, and viewed with no unreasonable disdain arts which had neither preserved their cultivators from corruption nor raised them from servitude. Theodoric, the most famous of the Ostrogoth kings in Italy, could not write his name, and is said to have restrained his countrymen from attending those schools of learning by which he, or rather perhaps his minister Cassiodorus, endeavored to revive the studies of his Italian subjects. Scarcely one of the barbarians, so long as they continued unconfused with the native inhabitants, acquired the slightest tincture of letters; and the praise of equal ignorance was soon aspired to and attained by the entire mass of the Roman laity. They, however, could hardly have divested themselves so completely of all acquaintance with even the elements of learning, if the language in which books were written had not ceased to be their natural dialect. This remarkable change in the speech of France, Spain, and Italy is most intimately connected with

the extinction of learning; and there is enough of obscurity as well as of interest in the subject to deserve some discussion.

It is obvious, on the most cursory view of the French and Spanish languages, that they, as well as the Italian, are derived from one common source, the Latin. That must therefore have been at some period, and certainly not since the establishment of the barbarous nations in Spain and Gaul, substituted in ordinary use for the original dialects of those countries which are generally supposed to have been Celtic, not essentially differing from those which are spoken in Wales and Ireland. Rome, says Augustin, imposed not only her yoke, but her language, upon conquered nations. The success of such an attempt is indeed very remarkable. Though it is the natural effect of conquest, or even of commercial intercourse, to ingraft fresh words and foreign idioms on the stock of the original language, yet the entire disuse of the latter, and adoption of one radically different, scarcely takes place in the lapse of a far longer period than that of the Roman dominion in Gaul. Thus, in part of Brittany the people speak a language which has perhaps sustained no essential alteration from the revolution of two thousand years; and we know how steadily another Celtic dialect has kept its ground in Wales, notwithstanding English laws and governments, and the long line of contiguous frontier which brings the natives of that principality into contact with Englishmen. Nor did the Romans ever establish their language (I know not whether they wished to do so) in this island, as we perceive by that stubborn British tongue which has survived two conquests.[d]

In Gaul and in Spain, however, they did succeed, as the present state of the French and peninsular languages renders undeniable, though by gradual changes, and not, as the Benedictine authors of the Histoire Littéraire de la France seem to imagine, by a sudden and arbitrary innovation.[e] This is neither possible in itself, nor agreeable to the testimony of

d Gibbon roundly asserts that "the language of Virgil and Cicero, though with some inevitable mixture of corruption, was so universally adopted in Africa, Spain, Gaul, Great Britain, and Pannonia, that the faint traces of the Punic or Celtic idioms were preserved only in the mountains or among the peasants." Decline and Fall, vol. i. p. 60, (8vo. edit.) For Britain he quotes Tacitus's Life of Agricola as his voucher. But the only passage in this work that gives the least color to Gibbon's assertion is one in which Agricola is said to have encouraged the children of British chieftains to acquire a taste for liberal studies, and to have succeeded so much by judicious commendation of their abilities, ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent. (c. 21.) This, it is sufficiently obvious, is very different from the national adoption of Latin as a mother-tongue.

e T. vii. preface.

Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons at the end of the second century, who laments the necessity of learning Celtic.[f] But although the inhabitants of these provinces came at length to make use of Latin so completely as their mother-tongue that few vestiges of their original Celtic could perhaps be discovered in their common speech, it does not follow that they spoke with the pure pronunciation of Italians, far less with that conformity to the written sounds which we assume to be essential to the expression of Latin words.

It appears to be taken for granted that the Romans pronounced their language as we do at present, so far at least as the enunciation of all the consonants, however we may admit our deviations from the classical standard in propriety of sounds and in measure of time. Yet the example of our own language, and of French, might show us that orthography may become a very inadequate representative of pronunciation. It is indeed capable of proof that in the purest ages of Latinity some variation existed between these two. Those numerous changes in spelling which distinguish the same words in the poetry of Ennius and of Virgil are best explained by the supposition of their being accommodated to the current pronunciation. Harsh combinations of letters, softened down through delicacy of ear or rapidity of utterance, gradually lost their place in the written language. Thus *exfregit* and *adrogavit* assumed a form representing their more liquid sound; and *auctor* was latterly spelled *autor*, which has been followed in French and Italian. *Autor* was probably so pronounced at all times; and the orthography was afterwards corrected or corrupted, whichever we please to say, according to the sound. We have the best authority to assert that the final *m* was very faintly pronounced, rather it seems as a rest and short interval between two syllables than an articulate letter; nor indeed can we conceive upon what other ground it was subject to elision before a vowel in verse, since we cannot suppose that the nice ears of Rome would have submitted to a capricious rule of poetry for which Greece presented no analogy.[g]

f It appears, by a passage quoted from the digest by M. Bonamy, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, t. xxiv. p. 589, that Celtic was spoken in Gaul, or at least parts of it, as well as Punic in Africa.

g Atque eadem illa litera, quoties ultima est, et vocalem verbi sequentis ita contingit, ut in eam transire possit, etiam si scribitur, tamen parum exprimitur, ut *Multum ille*, et *Quantum erat:* adeo ut pene cujusdam novæ literæ sonum reddat. Neque enim eximitur, sed obscuratur, et tantùm aliqua inter duos vocales velut nota est, ne ipsæ coeant. Quintilian, Institut. l. ix. c. 4, p. 585, edit. Capperonier.

A decisive proof, in my opinion, of the deviation which took place, through the rapidity of ordinary elocution, from the strict laws of enunciation, may be found in the metre of Terence. His verses, which are absolutely refractory to the common laws of prosody, may be readily scanned by the application of this principle. Thus, in the first act of the Heautontimorumenos, a part selected at random, I have found: I. Vowels contracted or dropped so as to shorten the word by a syllable; in *rei, viâ, diutius, ei, solius, eam, unius, suam, divitias, senex, voluptatem illius, semel.* II. The proceleusmatic foot, or four short syllables, instead of the dactyl; scen. i. v. 59, 73, 76, 88, 109; scen. ii. v. 36. III. The elision of *s* in words ending with *us* or *is* short, and sometimes even of the whole syllable, before the next word beginning with a vowel; in scen. i. v. 30, 81, 98, 101, 116, 119; scen. ii. v. 28. IV. The first syllable of *ille* is repeatedly shortened, and indeed nothing is more usual in Terence than this license; whence we may collect how ready this word was for abbreviation into the French and Italian articles. V. The last letter of *apud* is cut off, scen. i. v. 120; and scen. ii. v. 8. VI. *Hodie* is used as a pyrrhichius, in scen. ii. v. 11. VII. Lastly, there is a clear instance of a short syllable, the antepenultimate of *impulerim*, lengthened on account of the accent at the 113th verse of the first scene.

These licenses are in all probability chiefly colloquial, and would not have been adopted in public harangues, to which the precepts of rhetorical writers commonly relate. But if the more elegant language of the Romans, since such we must suppose to have been copied by Terence for his higher characters, differed so much in ordinary discourse from their orthography, it is probable that the vulgar went into much greater deviations. The popular pronunciation errs generally, we might say perhaps invariably, by abbreviation of words, and by liquefying consonants, as is natural to the rapidity of colloquial speech.[h] It is by their knowledge of orthography

[h] The following passage of Quintilian is an evidence both of the omission of harsh or superfluous letters by the best speakers, and of the corrupt abbreviations usual with the worst. Dilucida vero erit pronunciatio primum, si verba tota exegerit, quorum pars devorari, pars destitui solet, plerisque extremas syllabas non proferentibus, dum priorum labas non proferentibus, dum priorum sono indulgent. Ut est autem necessaria verborum explanatio, ita omnes computare et velut adnumerare literas, molestum et odiosum.—Nam et vocales frequentissime coeunt, et consonantium quædam insequente vocali dissimulantur; utriusque exemplum posuimus; Multum ille et terris. Vitatur etiam duriorum inter se congressus unde *pellexit* et *collegit*, et quæ alio loco dicta sunt. l. ii. c. 3, p. 696.

and etymology that the more educated part of the community is preserved from these corrupt modes of pronunciation. There is always therefore a standard by which common speech may be rectified; and in proportion to the diffusion of knowledge and politeness the deviations from it will be more slight and gradual. But in distant provinces, and especially where the language itself is but of recent introduction, many more changes may be expected to occur. Even in France and England there are provincial dialects, which, if written with all their anomalies of pronunciation as well as idiom, would seem strangely out of unison with the regular language; and in Italy, as is well known, the varieties of dialect are still more striking. Now, in an advancing state of society, and especially with such a vigorous political circulation as we experience in England, language will constantly approximate to uniformity, as provincial expressions are more and more rejected for incorrectness or inelegance. But, where literature is on the decline, and public misfortunes contract the circle of those who are solicitous about refinement, as in the last ages of the Roman empire, there will be no longer any definite standard of living speech, nor any general desire to conform to it if one could be found; and thus the vicious corruptions of the vulgar will entirely predominate. The niceties of ancient idiom will be totally lost, while new idioms will be formed out of violations of grammar sanctioned by usage, which, among a civilized people, would have been proscribed at their appearance.

Such appears to have been the progress of corruption in the Latin language. The adoption of words from the Teutonic dialects of the barbarians, which took place very freely, would not of itself have destroyed the character of that language, though it sullied its purity. The worst Law Latin of the middle ages is still Latin, if its barbarous terms have been bent to the regular inflections. It is possible, on the other hand, to write whole pages of Italian, wherein every word shall be of unequivocal Latin derivation, though the character and personality, if I may so say, of the language be entirely dissimilar. But, as I conceive, the loss of literature took away the only check upon arbitrary pronunciation and upon erroneous grammar. Each people innovated through caprice, imitation of their neighbors, or some of those indescribable causes which dispose the organs of different nations to different

sounds. The French melted down the middle consonants; the Italians omitted the final. Corruptions arising out of ignorance were mingled with those of pronunciation. It would have been marvellous if illiterate and semi-barbarous provincials had preserved that delicate precision in using the inflections of tenses which our best scholars do not clearly attain. The common speech of any people whose language is highly complicated will be full of solecisms. The French inflections are not comparable in number or delicacy to the Latin, and yet the vulgar confuse their most ordinary forms.

But, in all probability, the variation of these derivative languages from popular Latin has been considerably less than it appears. In the purest ages of Latinity the citizens of Rome itself made use of many terms which we deem barbarous, and of many idioms which we should reject as modern. That highly complicated grammar, which the best writers employed, was too elliptical and obscure, too deficient in the connecting parts of speech, for general use. We cannot indeed ascertain in what degree the vulgar Latin differed from that of Cicero or Seneca. It would be highly absurd to imagine, as some are said to have done, that modern Italian was spoken at Rome under Augustus.[i] But I believe it may be asserted not only that much the greater part of those words in the present language of Italy which strike us as incapable of a Latin etymology are in fact derived from those current in the Augustan age, but that very many phrases which offended nicer ears prevailed in the same vernacular speech, and have passed from thence into the modern French and Italian. Such, for example, was the frequent use of prepositions to indicate a relation between two parts of a sentence which a classical writer would have made to depend on mere inflection.[j]

From the difficulty of retaining a right discrimination of tense seems to have proceeded the active auxiliary verb. It is possible that this was borrowed from the Teutonic lan-

[i] Tiraboschi (Storia dell. Lett. Ital. t. iii. preface, p. v.) imputes this paradox to Bembo and Quadrio; but I can hardly believe that either of them could maintain it in a literal sense.

[j] M. Bonamy, in an essay printed in Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, t. xxiv., has produced several proofs of this from the classical writers on agriculture and other arts, though some of his instances are not in point, as any schoolboy would have told him. This essay, which by some accident had escaped any notice till I had nearly finished the observations in my text, contains, I think, the best view that I have seen of the process of transition by which Latin was changed into French and Italian. Add, however, the preface to Tiraboschi's third volume and the thirty-second dissertation of Muratori.

guages of the barbarians, and accommodated both by them and by the natives to words of Latin origin. The passive auxiliary is obtained by a very ready resolution of any tense in that mood, and has not been altogether dispensed with even in Greek, while in Latin it is used much more frequently. It is not quite so easy to perceive the propriety of the active habeo or teneo, one or both of which all modern languages have adopted as their auxiliaries in conjugating the verb. But in some instances this analysis is not improper; and it may be supposed that nations, careless of etymology or correctness, applied the same verb by a rude analogy to cases where it ought not strictly to have been employed.[k]

Next to the changes founded on pronunciation and to the substitution of auxiliary verbs for inflections, the usage of the definite and indefinite articles in nouns appears the most considerable step in the transmutation of Latin into its derivative languages. None but Latin, I believe, has ever wanted this part of speech; and the defect to which custom reconciled the Romans would be an insuperable stumbling-block to nations who were to translate their original idiom into that language. A coarse expedient of applying *unus*, *ipse*, or *ille* to the purposes of an article might perhaps be no unfrequent vulgarism of the provincials; and after the Teutonic tribes brought in their own grammar, it was natural that a corruption should become universal, which in fact supplied a real and essential deficiency.

That the quantity of Latin syllables is neglected, or rather lost, in modern pronunciation, seems to be generally admitted. Whether, indeed, the ancient Romans, in their ordinary speaking, distinguished the measure of syllables with such uniform musical accuracy as we imagine, giving a certain time to those termed long, and exactly half that duration to the short, might very reasonably be questioned; though this was probably done, or attempted to be done, by every reader of poetry. Certainly, however, the laws of quantity were forgotten, and an accentual pronunciation came to predominate, before Latin had ceased to be a living language. A Christian writer named Commodianus, who lived before the end of the third century according to some, or, as others think, in the reign of Constantine, has

[k] See Lanzi, Saggio della Lingua Etrusca, t. i. c. 431; Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscrip. t. xxiv. p. 632.

left us a philological curiosity, in a series of attacks on the pagan superstitions, composed in what are meant to be verses, regulated by accent instead of quantity, exactly as we read Virgil at present.*l*

It is not improbable that Commodianus may have written in Africa, the province in which more than any the purity of Latin was debased. At the end of the fourth century St. Augustin assailed his old enemies, the Donatists, with nearly the same arms that Commodianus had wielded against heathenism. But as the refined and various music of hexameters was unlikely to be relished by the vulgar, he prudently adopted a different measure.*m* All the nations of Europe seem to love the trochaic verse; it was frequent on the Greek and Roman stage; it is more common than any other in the popular poetry of modern languages. This proceeds from its simplicity, its liveliness, and its ready accommodation to dancing and music. In St. Austin's poem he united to a trochaic measure the novel attraction of rhyme.

As Africa must have lost all regard to the rules of measure in the fourth century, so it appears that Gaul was not more correct in the next two ages. A poem addressed by Auspicius Bishop of Toul to Count Arbogastes, of earlier date probably than the invasion of Clovis, is written with no regard to quan-

l No description can give so adequate a notion of this extraordinary performance as a short specimen. Take the introductory lines; which really, prejudices of education apart, are by no means inharmonious:—

Præfatio nostra viam erranti demonstrat,
Respectumque bonum, cum venerit sæculi meta,
Æternum fieri, quod discredunt inscia corda.
Ego similiter erravi tempore multo,
Fana prosequendo, parentibus insciis ipsis.
Abstuli me tandem inde, legendo de lege.
Testificor Dominum, doleo, proh! civica turba
Inscia quod perdit, pergens deos quærere vanos.
Ob ea perdoctus ignoros instruo verum.

Commodianus, however, did not keep up this excellence in every part. Some of his lines are not reducible to any pronunciation, without the summary rules of Procrustes; as for instance—

Paratus ad epulas, et refugiscere præcepta: or, Capillos inficitis, oculos fuligine relinitis.

It must be owned that this text is exceedingly corrupt, and I should not despair of seeing a truly critical editor, unscrupulous as his fraternity are apt to be, improve his lines into unblemished hexameters. Till this time arrives, however, we must consider him either as utterly ignorant of metrical distinctions, or at least as aware that the populace whom he addressed did not observe them in speaking. Commodianus is published by Dawes at the end of his edition of Minucius Felix. Some specimens are quoted in Harris's Philological Inquiries.

m Archæologia, vol. xiv. p. 188. The following are the first lines:—

Abundantia peccatorum solet fratres conturbare;
Propter hoc Dominus noster voluit nos præmonere,
Comparans regnum cœlorum reticulo misso in mare,
Congreganti multos pisces, omne genus hinc et inde,
Quos cum traxissent ad littus, tunc cœperunt separare,
Bonos in vasa miserunt, reliquos malos in mare.

This trash is much below the level of Augustin; but it could not have been later than his age.

tity.[n] The bishop by whom this was composed is mentioned by his contemporaries as a man of learning. Probably he did not choose to perplex the barbarian to whom he was writing (for Arbogastes is plainly a barbarous name) by legitimate Roman metre. In the next century Gregory of Tours informs us that Chilperic attempted to write Latin verses; but the lines could not be reconciled to any division of feet; his ignorance having confounded long and short syllables together.[o] Now Chilperic must have learned to speak Latin like other kings of the Franks, and was a smatterer in several kinds of literature. If Chilperic therefore was not master of these distinctions, we may conclude that the bishops and other Romans with whom he conversed did not observe them; and that his blunders in versification arose from ignorance of rules, which, however fit to be preserved in poetry, were entirely obsolete in the living Latin of his age. Indeed the frequency of false quantities in the poets even of the fifth, but much more of the sixth century, is palpable. Fortunatus is quite full of them. This seems a decisive proof that the ancient pronunciation was lost. Avitus tells us that few preserved the proper measure of syllables in singing. Yet he was Bishop of Vienne, where a purer pronunciation might be expected than in the remoter parts of Gaul.[p]

Defective, however, as it had become in respect of pronunciation, Latin was still spoken in France during the sixth and seventh centuries. We have compositions in that time, intended for the people, in grammatical language. A song is still extant in rhyme and loose accentual measure, written upon a victory of Clotaire II. over the Saxons in 622, and obviously intended for circulation among the people.[q] Fortunatus says, in his Life of St. Aubin of Angers, that he should take care

[n] Recueil des Historiens, t. i. p. 814; it begins in the following manner:—

Præcelso expectabili his Arbogasto comiti
Auspicius, qui diligo, salutem dico plurimam.
Magnas cœlesti Domino rependo corde gratias
Quod te Tullensi proxime magnum in urbe vidimus.
Multis me tuis artibus lætificabas antea,
Sed nunc feciati maximo me exultare gaudio.

[o] Chilpericus rex . . . . . confecit duos libros, quorum vesiculi debiles nullis pedibus subsistere possunt: in quibus, dum non intelligebat, pro longis syllabas breves posuit, et pro brevibus longas statuebat. l. vi. c. 46.

[p] Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, t. xvii. Hist. Littéraire de la France, t. ii. p. 28. It seems rather probable that the poetry of Avitus belongs to the fifth century, though not very far from its termination. He was the correspondent of Sidonius Apollinaris, who died in 489, and we may presume his poetry to have been written rather early in life.

[q] One stanza of this song will suffice to show that the Latin language was yet unchanged:

De Clotario est canere rege Francorum,
Qui ivi pugnare cum gente Saxonum,
Quam graviter provenisset missis Saxonum,
Si non fuisset inclitus Faro de gente Burgundionum.

not to use any expression unintelligible to the people.[r] Baudemind, in the middle of the seventh century, declares, in his Life of St. Amand, that he writes in a rustic and vulgar style, that the reader may be excited to imitation.[s] Not that these legends were actually perused by the populace, for the very art of reading was confined to a few. But they were read publicly in the churches, and probably with a pronunciation accommodated to the corruptions of ordinary language. Still the Latin syntax must have been tolerably understood; and we may therefore say that Latin had not ceased to be a living language, in Gaul at least, before the latter part of the seventh century. Faults indeed against the rules of grammar, as well as unusual idioms, perpetually occur in the best writers of the Merovingian period, such as Gregory of Tours; while charters drawn up by less expert scholars deviate much further from purity.[t]

The corrupt provincial idiom became gradually more and more dissimilar to grammatical Latin; and the lingua Romana rustica, as the vulgar patois (to borrow a word that I cannot well translate) had been called, acquired a distinct character as a new language in the eighth century.[u] Latin orthography, which had been hitherto pretty well maintained in books, though not always in charters, gave way to a new spelling, conformably to the current pronunciation. Thus we find lui, for illius, in the Formularies of Marculfus; and Tu lo juva in a liturgy of Charlemagne's age, for Tu illum juva. When this barrier was once broken down, such a deluge of innovation poured in that all the characteristics of Latin were effaced in writing as well as speaking, and the existence of a new language became undeniable. In a council held at Tours in 813 the bishops are ordered to have certain homilies of the fathers translated into the rustic Roman, as well as the German tongue.[v] After this it is unnecessary to multiply proofs of the change which Latin had undergone.

[r] Præcavendum est, ne ad aures populi minus aliquid intelligible proferatur. Mém. de l'Acad. t. xvii. p. 712.

[s] Rustico et plebeio sermone propter exemplum et imitationem. Id. ibid.

[t] Hist. Littéraire de la France, t. iii. p. 5. Mém. de l'Académie, t. xxiv. p. 617. Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique, t. iv. p. 485.

[u] Hist. Littéraire de la France, t. vii. p. 12. The editors say that it is mentioned by name even in the seventh century, which is very natural, as the corruption of Latin had then become striking. It is familiarly known that illiterate persons understand a more correct language than they use themselves; so that the corruption of Latin might have gone to a considerable length among the people, while sermons were preached, and tolerably comprehended, in a purer grammar.

[v] Mém. de l'Acad. des Insc. t. xvii. See two memoirs in this volume by du Clos and le Bœuf, especially the latter, as well as that already mentioned in t. xxiv. p. 582, by M. Bonamy.

In Italy the progressive corruptions of the Latin language were analogous to those which occurred in France, though we do not find in writings any unequivocal specimens of a new formation at so early a period. But the old inscriptions, even of the fourth and fifth centuries, are full of solecisms and corrupt orthography. In legal instruments under the Lombard kings the Latin inflections are indeed used, but with so little regard to propriety that it is obvious the writers had not the slightest tincture of grammatical knowledge. This observation extends to a very large proportion of such documents down to the twelfth century, and is as applicable to France and Spain as it is to Italy. In these charters the peculiar characteristics of Italian orthography and grammar frequently appear. Thus we find, in the eighth century, diveatis for debeatis, da for de in the ablative, avendi for habendi, dava for dabat, cedo a deo, and ad ecclesia, among many similar corruptions.[w] Latin was so changed, it is said by a writer of Charlemagne's age, that scarcely any part of it was popularly known. Italy indeed had suffered more than France itself by invasion, and was reduced to a lower state of barbarism, though probably, from the greater distinctness of pronunciation habitual to the Italians, they lost less of their original language than the French. I do not find, however, in the writers who have treated this subject, any express evidence of a vulgar language distinct from Latin earlier than the close of the tenth century, when it is said in the epitaph of Pope Gregory V., who died in 999, that he instructed the people in three dialects—the Frankish or German, the vulgar, and the Latin.[x]

When Latin had thus ceased to be a living language, the whole treasury of knowledge was locked up from the eyes of the people. The few who might have imbibed a taste for literature, if books had been accessible to them, were reduced to abandon pursuits that could only be cultivated through a kind of education not easily within their reach. Schools, confined to cathedrals and monasteries, and exclusively designed for the purposes of religion, afforded no encouragement or opportunities to the laity.[y] The worst effect was, that, as the newly

w Muratori, Dissert. i. and xliii.

x Usus Franciscâ, vulgari, et voce Latinâ.
Instituit populos eloquio tripici.
Fontanini dell' Eloquenza Italiana, p. 15. Muratori, Dissert. xxxii.

y Histoire Littéraire de la France, t. vi. p. 20. Muratori, Dissert. xliii.

formed languages were hardly made use of in writing, Latin being still preserved in all legal instruments and public correspondence, the very use of letters, as well as of books, was forgotten. For many centuries, to sum up the account of ignorance in a word, it was rare for a layman, of whatever rank, to know how to sign his name.[s] Their charters, till the use of seals became general, were subscribed with the mark of the cross. Still more extraordinary it was to find one who had any tincture of learning. Even admitting every indistinct commendation of a monkish biographer (with whom a knowledge of church-music would pass for literature [a]), we could make out a very short list of scholars. None certainly were more distinguished as such than Charlemagne and Alfred. But the former, unless we reject a very plain testimony, was incapable of writing;[b] and Alfred found difficulty in making a translation from the pastoral instruction of St. Gregory, on account of his imperfect knowledge of Latin.[c]

Whatever mention, therefore, we find of learning and the learned during these dark ages, must be understood to relate only to such as were within the pale of clergy, which indeed was pretty extensive, and comprehended many who did not

[s] Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique, t. ii. p. 419. This became, the editors say, much less unusual about the end of the thirteenth century; a pretty late period! A few signatures to deeds appear in the fourteenth century; in the next they are more frequent. Ibid. The emperor Frederic Barbarossa could not read (Struvius, Corpus Hist. German, t. i. p. 377), nor John King of Bohemia in the middle of the fourteenth century (Sismondi, t. v. p. 205), nor Philip the Hardy, King of France, although the son of St. Louis. (Velly, t. vi. p. 426.)

[a] Louis IV., King of France, laughing at Fulk, Count of Anjou, who sang anthems among the choristers of Tours, received the following pithy epistle from his learned vassal: Noveritis, domines quod rex illiteratus est asinus coronatus. Gesta Comitum Andegavensium. In the same book, Geoffrey, father of our Henry II., is said to be optime literatus; which perhaps imports little more learning than his ancestor Fulk possessed.

[b] The passage in Eginhard, which has occasioned so much dispute, speaks for itself: Tentabat et scribere, tabulasque et codicillos ad hoc in lecticula sub cervicalibus circumferre solebat, ut, effigiandis literis assuefaceret; sed parum prosperè successit labor præposterus ac serò inchoatus.

Many are still unwilling to believe that Charlemagne could not write. M. Ampère observes that the emperor asserts himself to have been the author of the Libri Carolini, and is said by some to have composed verses. Hist. Litt. de la France, iii. 37. But did not Henry VIII. claim a book against Luther, which was not written by himself? *Qui facit per alium, facit per se*, is in all cases a royal prerogative. Even if the book were Charlemagne's own, might he not have dictated it? I have been informed that there is a manuscript at Vienna with autograph notes of Charlemagne in the margin. But is there sufficient evidence of their genuineness? The great difficulty is to get over the words which I have quoted from Eginhard. M. Ampère ingeniously conjectures that the passage does not relate to simple, common writing, but to calligraphy; the art of delineating characters in a beautiful manner, practised by the copyists, and of which a contemporaneous specimen may be seen in the well-known Bible of the British Museum. Yet it must be remembered that Charlemagne's early life passed in the depths of ignorance; and Eginhard gives a fair reason why he failed in acquiring the art of writing, that he began too late. Fingers of fifty are not made for a new skill. It is not, of course, implied by the words that he could not write his own name; but that he did not acquire such a facility as he desired. [1848.]

[c] Spelman, Vit. Alfred. Append.

exercise the offices of religious ministry. But even the clergy were, for a long period, not very materially superior, as a body, to the uninstructed laity. A cloud of ignorance overspread the whole face of the church, hardly broken by a few glimmering lights, who owe much of their distinction to the surrounding darkness. In the sixth century the best writers in Latin were scarcely read;[d] and perhaps from the middle of this age to the eleventh there was, in a general view of literature, little difference to be discerned. If we look more accurately, there will appear certain gradual shades of twilight on each side of the greatest obscurity. France reached her lowest point about the beginning of the eighth century; but England was at that time more respectable, and did not fall into complete degradation till the middle of the ninth. There could be nothing more deplorable than the state of letters in Italy and in England during the succeeding century; but France cannot be denied to have been uniformly, though very slowly, progressive from the time of Charlemagne.[e]

Of this prevailing ignorance it is easy to produce abundant testimony. Contracts were made verbally, for want of notaries capable of drawing up charters; and these, when written, were frequently barbarous and ungrammatical to an incredible degree. For some considerable intervals scarcely any monument of literature has been preserved, except a few jejune chronicles, the vilest legends of saints, or verses equally destitute of spirit and metre. In almost every council the ignorance of the clergy forms a subject for reproach. It is asserted by one held in 992 that scarcely a single person was to be found in Rome itself who knew the first elements of letters.[f] Not one priest of a thousand in Spain, about the age of Charlemagne, could address a common letter of salutation to another.[g] In Eng-

d Hist. Littéraire de la France, t. iii. p. 5.

e These four dark centuries, the eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh, occupy five large quarto volumes of the Literary History of France, by the fathers of St. Maur. But the most useful part will be found in the general view at the commencement of each volume; the remainder is taken up with biographies, into which a reader may dive at random, and sometimes bring up a curious fact. I may refer also to the 14th volume of Leber, Collections Relatives à l'Histoire de France, where some learned dissertations by the Abbés Lebeuf and Goujet, a little before the middle of the last century, are reprinted. [Note I.]

Tiraboschi, Storia della Letteratura, t. iii., and Muratori's forty-third Dissertation are good authorities for the condition of letters in Italy; but I cannot easily give references to all the books which I have consulted.

f Tiraboschi, t. iii. p. 198.

g Mabillon, De Re Diplomaticâ, p. 55. The reason alleged, indeed, is that they were wholly occupied with studying Arabic, in order to carry on a controversy with the Saracens. But, as this is not very credible, we may rest with the main fact that they could write no Latin.

land, Alfred declares that he could not recollect a single priest south of the Thames (the most civilized part of England), at the time of his accession, who understood the ordinary prayers, or could translate Latin into his mother-tongue.[h] Nor was this better in the time of Dunstan, when, it is said, none of the clergy knew how to write or translate a Latin letter.[i] The homilies which they preached were compiled for their use by some bishops from former works of the same kind, or the writings of the fathers.

This universal ignorance was rendered unavoidable, among other causes, by the scarcity of books, which could only be procured at an immense price. From the conquest of Alexandria by the Saracens at the beginning of the seventh century, when the Egyptian papyrus almost ceased to be imported into Europe, to the close of the eleventh, about which time the art of making paper from cotton rags seems to have been introduced, there were no materials for writing except parchment, a substance too expensive to be readily spared for mere purposes of literature.[j] Hence an unfortunate practice gained ground, of erasing a manuscript in order to substitute another

h Spelman, Vit. Alfred. Append. The whole drift of Alfred's preface to this translation is to defend the expediency of rendering the books into English, on account of the general ignorance of Latin. The zeal which this excellent prince shows for literature is delightful. Let us endeavor, he says, that all the English youth, especially the children of those who are free-born, and can educate them, may learn to read English before they take to any employment. Afterwards such as please may be instructed in Latin. Before the Danish invasion, indeed, he tells us, churches were well furnished with books; but the priests got little good from them, being written in a foreign language which they could not understand.

i Mabillon, De Re Diplomaticâ, p 55. Ordericus Vitalis, a more candid judge of our unfortunate ancestors than other contemporary annalists, says that the English were, at the Conquest, rude and almost illiterate, which he ascribes to the Danish invasion. Du Chesne, Hist. Norm. Script. p. 518. However, Ingulfus tells us that the library of Croyland contained above three hundred volumes, till the unfortunate fire that destroyed that abbey in 1091. Gale, XV. Scriptores, t. i. 93. Such a library was very extraordinary in the eleventh century, and could not have been equalled for some ages afterwards. Ingulfus mentions at the same time a nadir, as he calls it, or planetarium, executed in various metals. This had been presented to Abbot Turketul in the tenth century by a king of France, and was, I make no doubt, of Arabian or Greek manufacture.

j Parchment was so scarce that none could be procured about 1120 for an illuminated copy of the Bible. Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, Dissert. II. I suppose the deficiency was of skins beautiful enough for this purpose; it cannot be meant that there was no parchment for legal instruments.

Manuscripts written on papyrus, as may be supposed from the fragility of the material, as well as the difficulty of procuring it, are of extreme rarity. That in the British Museum, being a charter to a church at Ravenna, in 572, is in every respect the most curious; and indeed both Mabillon and Muratori seem never to have seen anything written on papyrus, though they trace its occasional use down to the eleventh or twelfth centuries. Mabillon, De Re Diplomaticâ, l. ii.; Muratori, Antichità Italiane, Dissert. xliii. p. 602. But the authors of the Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique speak of several manuscripts on this material as extant in France and Italy, t. i. p. 493.

As to the general scarcity and high price of books in the middle ages, Robertson (Introduction to Hist. Charles V. note x.), and Warton in the abovecited dissertation, not to quote authors less accessible, have collected some of the leading facts; to whom I refer the reader.

on the same skin. This occasioned the loss of many ancient authors, who have made way for the legends of saints, or other ecclesiastical rubbish.

If we would listen to some literary historians, we should believe that the darkest ages contained many individuals, not only distinguished among their contemporaries, but positively eminent for abilities and knowledge. A proneness to extol every monk of whose production a few letters or a devotional treatise survives, every bishop of whom it is related that he composed homilies, runs through the laborious work of the Benedictines of St. Maur, the Literary History of France, and, in a less degree, is observable even in Tiraboschi, and in most books of this class. Bede, Alcuin, Hincmar, Raban, and a number of inferior names, become real giants of learning in their uncritical panegyrics. But one might justly say that ignorance is the smallest defect of the writers of these dark ages. Several of them were tolerably acquainted with books; but that wherein they are uniformly deficient is original argument or expression. Almost every one is a compiler of scraps from the fathers, or from such semi-classical authors as Boethius, Cassiodorus, or Martianus Capella.[k] Indeed I am not aware that there appeared more than two really considerable men in the republic of letters from the sixth to the middle of the eleventh century—John, surnamed Scotus or Erigena, a native of Ireland; and Gerbert, who became pope by the name of Silvester II.: the first endowed with a bold and acute metaphysical genius; the second excellent, for the time when he lived, in mathematical science and mechanical inventions.[l]

[k] Lest I should seem to have spoken too peremptorily, I wish it to be understood that I pretend to hardly any direct acquaintance with these writers, and found my censure on the authority of others, chiefly indeed on the admissions of these who are too disposed to fall into a strain of panegyric. See Histoire Littéraire de la France, t. iv. p. 281 et alibi.

[l] John Scotus, who, it is almost needless to say, must not be confounded with the still more famous metaphysician Duns Scotus, lived under Charles the Bald, in the middle of the ninth century. It admits of no doubt that John Scotus was, in a literary and philosophical sense, the most remarkable man of the dark ages; no one else had his boldness, his subtlety in threading the labyrinths of metaphysical speculations, which, in the west of Europe, had been utterly disregarded. But it is another question whether he can be reckoned an original writer; those who have attended most to his treatise De Divisione Naturæ, the most abstruse of his works, consider it as the development of an oriental philosophy, acquired during his residence in Greece, and nearly coinciding with some of the later Platonism of the Alexandrian school, but with a more unequivocal tendency to pantheism. This manifests itself in some extracts which have latterly been made from the treatise De Divisione Naturæ; but though Scotus had not the reputation of unblemished orthodoxy, the drift of his philosophy was not understood in that barbarous period. He might, indeed, have excited censure by his intrepid preference of reason to authority. "Authority," he says, "springs from reason, not reason from authority—true reason needs not be confirmed by any authority." "La véritable importance

If it be demanded by what cause it happened that a few sparks of ancient learning survived throughout this long winter, we can only ascribe their preservation to the establishment of Christianity. Religion alone made a bridge, as it were, across the chaos, and has linked the two periods of ancient and modern civilization. Without this connecting principle, Europe might indeed have awakened to intellectual pursuits, and the genius of recent times needed not to be invigorated by the imitation of antiquity. But the memory of Greece and Rome would have been feebly preserved by tradition, and the monuments of those nations might have excited, on the return of civilization, that vague sentiment of speculation and wonder with which men now contemplate Persepolis or the Pyramids. It is not, however, from religion simply that we have derived this advantage, but from religion as it was modified in the dark ages. Such is the complex reciprocation of good and evil in the dispensations of Providence, that we may assert, with only an apparent paradox, that, had religion been more pure, it would have been less permanent, and that Chistianity has been preserved by means of its corruptions. The sole hope for literature depended on the Latin language; and I do not see why that should not have been lost, if three circumstances in the prevailing religious system, all of which we are justly accustomed to disapprove, had not conspired to maintain it—the papal supremacy, the monastic institutions, and the use of a Latin liturgy. 1. A continual intercourse was kept up, in consequence of the first, between Rome and the several nations of Europe; her laws were received by the bishops, her legates presided in councils; so that a common language was as necessary in the church as it is at present in the diplomatic relations of kingdoms. 2. Throughout the whole course of the middle ages there was no learning, and very little regularity of manners, among the parochial clergy. Almost every

historique," says Ampère, " de Scot Erigène n'est donc pas dans ses opinions; celles-ci n'ont d'autre intérêt que leur date et le lieu où elles apparaissent. Sans doute, il est piquant et bizarre de voir ces opinions orientales et alexandrines surgir an IXe siècle, à Paris, à la cour de Charles le Chauve; mais ce qui n'est pas seulement piquant et bizarre, ce qui intéresse le développement de l'esprit humain, c'est que la question ait été posée, dès lors, si nettement entre l'autorité et la raison, et si énergiquement résolute en faveur de la seconde. En un mot, par ses idées, Scot Erigène est encore un philosophe de l'antiquité Grecque et par l'indépendance hautement accusée de son point de vue philosophique, il est déjà un dévancier de la philosophie moderne." Hist. Litt. iii. 146.

Silvester II. died in 1003. Whether he first brought the Arabic numeration into Europe, as has been commonly said, seems uncertain; it was at least not much practised for some centuries after his death.

distinguished man was either the member of a chapter or of a convent. The monasteries were subjected to strict rules of discipline, and held out, at the worst, more opportunities for study than the secular clergy possessed, and fewer for worldly dissipations. But their most important service was as secure repositories for books. All our manuscripts have been preserved in this manner, and could hardly have descended to us by any other channel; at least there were intervals when I do not conceive that any royal or private libraries existed.[m] 3. Monasteries, however, would probably have contributed very little towards the preservation of learning, if the Scriptures and the liturgy had been translated out of Latin when that language ceased to be intelligible. Every rational principle of religious worship called for such a change; but it would have been made at the expense of posterity. One might presume, if such refined conjectures were consistent with historical caution, that the more learned and sagacious ecclesiastics of those times, deploring the gradual corruption of the Latin tongue, and the danger of its absolute extinction, were induced to maintain it as a sacred language, and the depository, as it were, of that truth and that science which would be lost in the barbarous dialects of the vulgar. But a simpler explanation is found in the radical dislike of innovation which is natural to an established clergy. Nor did they want as good pretexts, on the ground of convenience, as are commonly alleged by the opponents of reform. They were habituated to the Latin words of the church-service, which had become, by this association, the readiest instruments of devotion, and with the majesty of

[m] Charlemagne had a library at Aix-la-Chapelle, which he directed to be sold at his death for the benefit of the poor. His son Louis is said to have collected some books. But this rather confirms, on the whole, my supposition that, in some periods, no royal or private libraries existed, since there were not always princes or nobles with the spirit of Charlemagne, or even Louis the Debonair.

"We possess a catalogue," says M. Ampère (quoting d'Achery's Spicilegium, ii. 310), "of the library in the abbey of St. Riquier, written in 831; it consists of 256 volumes, some containing several works. Christian writers are in great majority; but we find also the Eclogues of Virgil, the Rhetoric of Cicero, the History of Homer, that is, the works ascribed to Dictys and Dares." Ampère, iii. 236. Can anything be lower than this, if nothing is omitted more valuable than what is mentioned? The Rhetoric of Cicero was probably the spurious books Ad Herennium. But other libraries must have been somewhat better furnished than this; else the Latin authors would have been still less known in the ninth century than they actually were.

In the gradual progress of learning, a very small number of princes thought it honorable to collect books. Perhaps no earlier instance can be mentioned than that of a most respectable man, William III., Duke of Guienne, in the first part of the eleventh century. Fuit dux iste, says a contemporary writer, a pueritia doctus literis, et satis notitiam Scripturarum habuit; liborum copiam in palatio suo servavit; et si forte a frequentia causarum et tumultu vacaret, lectioni per seipsum operam dabat longi-oribus noctibus elucubrans in libris donec sommo vinceretur. Rec. des Hist. x. 155.

which the Romance jargon could bear no comparison. Their musical chants were adapted to these sounds, and their hymns depended, for metrical effect, on the marked accents and powerful rhymes which the Latin language affords. The vulgate Latin of the Bible was still more venerable. It was like a copy of a lost original; and a copy attested by one of the most eminent fathers, and by the general consent of the church. These are certainly no adequate excuses for keeping the people in ignorance; and the gross corruption of the middle ages is in a great degree assignable to this policy. But learning, and consequently religion, have eventually derived from it the utmost advantage.

In the shadows of this universal ignorance, a thousand superstitions, like foul animals of night, were propagated and nourished. It would be very unsatisfactory to exhibit a few specimens of this odious brood, when the real character of those times is only to be judged by their accumulated multitude. In every age it would be easy to select proofs of irrational superstition, which, separately considered, seem to degrade mankind from its level in the creation; and perhaps the contemporaries of Swedenborg and Southcote have no right to look very contemptuously upon the fanaticism of their ancestors. There are many books from which a sufficient number of instances may be collected to show the absurdity and ignorance of the middle ages in this respect. I shall only mention two, as affording more general evidence than any local or obscure superstition. In the tenth century an opinion prevailed everywhere that the end of the world was approaching. Many charters begin with these words, "As the world is now drawing to its close." An army marching under the Emperor Otho I. was so terrified by an eclipse of the sun, which it conceived to announce this consummation, as to disperse hastily on all sides. As this notion seems to have been founded on some confused theory of the millenium, it naturally died away when the seasons proceeded in the eleventh century with their usual regularity.[n] A far more remarkable and permanent superstition was the appeal to Heaven in judicial controversies, whether through the means of combat or of ordeal. The principle of these was the same; but in the former it was mingled with feelings independent of

[n] Robertson, Introduction to Hist. Charles V. note 13; Schmidt. Hist. des Allemands, t. ii. p. 380; Hist. Littéraire de la France, t. vi.

religion—the natural dictates of resentment in a brave man unjustly accused, and the sympathy of a warlike people with the display of skill and intrepidity. These, in course of time, almost obliterated the primary character of judicial combat, and ultimately changed it into the modern duel, in which assuredly there is no mixture of superstition.[o] But, in the various tests of innocence which were called ordeals, this stood undisguised and unqualified. It is not necessary to describe what is so well known—the ceremonies of trial by handling hot iron, by plunging the arm into boiling fluids, by floating or sinking in cold water, or by swallowing a piece of consecrated bread. It is observable that, as the interference of Heaven was relied upon as a matter of course, it seems to have been reckoned nearly indifferent whether such a test was adopted as must, humanly considered, absolve all the guilty, or one that must convict all the innocent. The ordeals of hot iron or water were, however, more commonly used; and it has been a perplexing question by what dexterity these tremendous proofs were eluded. They seem at least to have placed the decision of all judicial controversies in the hands of the clergy, who must have known the secret, whatever that might be, of satisfying the spectators that an accused person had held a mass of burning iron with impunity. For several centuries this mode of investigation was in great repute, though not without opposition from some eminent bishops. It does discredit to the memory of Charlemagne that he was one of its warmest advocates.[p] But the judicial combat, which indeed might be reckoned one species of ordeal,

[o] Duelling, in the modern sense of the word, exclusive of casual frays and single combat during war, was unknown before the sixteenth century. But we find one anecdote which seems to illustrate its derivation from the judicial combat. The dukes of Lancaster and Brunswick, having some differences, agreed to decide them by duel before John King of France. The lists were prepared with the solemnity of a real trial by battle; but the king interfered to prevent the engagement. Villaret, t. ix. p. 71. The barbarous practice of wearing swords as a part of domestic dress, which tended very much to the frequency of duelling, was not introduced till the latter part of the 15th century. I can only find one print in Montfaucon's Monuments of the French monarchy where a sword is worn without armor before the reign of Charles VIII.: though a few, as early as the reign of Charles VI., have short daggers in their girdles. The exception is a figure of Charles VII. t. iii. pl. 47.

[p] Baluzii Capitularia, p. 444. It was prohibited by Louis the Debonair; a man, as I have noticed in another place, not inferior, as a legislator, to his father. Ibid. p. 668. "The spirit of party," says a late writer, "has often accused the church of having devised these barbarous methods of discovering truth—the duel and the ordeal; nothing can be more unjust. Neither one nor the other is derived from Christianity; they existed long before in the Germanic usages." Ampère, Hist. Litt. de la France, iii. 180. Anyone must have been very ignorant who attributed the invention of ordeals to the church. But during the dark ages they were always sanctioned. Agobard, from whom M. Ampère gives a quotation, in the reign of Louis the Debonair wrote strongly against them; but this was the remonstrance of a superior man in an age that was ill-inclined to hear him.

gradually put an end to the rest; and as the church acquired better notions of law, and a code of her own, she strenuously exerted herself against all these barbarous superstitions.[q]

But the religious ignorance of the middle ages sometimes burst out in ebullitions of epidemical enthusiasm, more remarkable than these superstitious usages, though proceeding in fact from similar causes. For enthusiasm is little else than superstition put in motion, and is equally founded on a strong conviction of supernatural agency without any just conceptions of its nature. Nor has any denomination of Christians produced, or even sanctioned, more fanaticism than the church of Rome. These epidemical frenzies, however, to which I am alluding, were merely tumultuous, though certainly fostered by the creed of perpetual miracles which the clergy inculcated, and drawing a legitimate precedent for religious insurrection from the crusades. For these, among other evil consequences, seem to have principally excited a wild fanaticism that did not sleep for several centuries.[r]

The first conspicuous appearance of it was in the reign of Philip Augustus, when the mercenary troops, dismissed from the pay of that prince and of Henry II., committed the greatest outrages in the south of France. One Durand, a carpenter, deluded it is said by a contrived appearance of the Virgin, put himself at the head of an army of the populace, in order to destroy these marauders. His followers were styled Brethren of the White Caps, from the linen coverings of their heads. They bound themselves not to play at dice nor frequent taverns, to wear no affected clothing, to avoid perjury and vain swear-

[q] Ordeals were not actually abolished in France, notwithstanding the law of Louis above-mentioned, so late as the eleventh century (Bouquet, t. xi. p. 430), nor in England till the reign of Henry III. Some of the stories we read, wherein accused persons have passed triumphantly through these severe proofs, are perplexing enough; and perhaps it is safer, as well as easier, to deny than to explain them. For example, a writer in the Archæologia (vol. xv. p. 172) has shown that Emma, Queen of Edward the Confessor, did not perform her trial by stepping between, as Blackstone imagines, but upon nine red-hot ploughshares. But he seems not aware that the whole story is unsupported by any contemporary or even respectable testimony. A similar anecdote is related of Cunegunda, wife of the emperor Henry II., which probably gave rise to that of Emma. There are, however, medicaments, as is well known, that protect the skin to a certain degree against the effect of fire. This phenomenon would pass for miraculous, and form the basis of those exaggerated stories in monkish books.

[r] The most singular effect of this crusading spirit was witnessed in 1211, when a multitude, amounting, as some say, to 90,000, chiefly composed of children, and commanded by a child, set out for the purpose of recovering the Holy Land. They came for the most part from Germany, and reached Genoa without harm. But, finding there an obstacle which their imperfect knowledge of geography had not anticipated, they soon dispersed in various directions. Thirty thousand arrived at Marseilles, where part were murdered, part probably starved, and the rest sold to the Saracens. Annali di Muratori, A.D. 1211; Velly, Hist. de France, t. iv. p. 206.

ing. After some successes over the plunderers, they went so far as to forbid the lords to take any dues from their vassals, on pain of incurring the indignation of the brotherhood. It may easily be imagined that they were soon entirely discomfited, so that no one dared to own that he had belonged to them.[s]

During the captivity of St. Louis in Egypt, a more extensive and terrible ferment broke out in Flanders, and spread from thence over great part of France. An impostor declared himself commissioned by the Virgin to preach a crusade, not to the rich and noble, who for their pride had been rejected of God, but the poor. His disciples were called Pastoureaux, the simplicity of shepherds having exposed them more readily to this delusion. In a short time they were swelled by the confluence of abundant streams to a moving mass of a hundred thousand men, divided into companies, with banners bearing a cross and a lamb, and commanded by the impostor's lieutenants. He assumed a priestly character, preaching, absolving, annulling marriages. At Amiens, Bourges, Orleans, and Paris itself, he was received as a divine prophet. Even the regent Blanche, for a time, was led away by the popular tide. His main topic was reproach of the clergy for their idleness and corruption—a theme well adapted to the ears of the people, who had long been uttering similar strains of complaint. In some towns his followers massacred the priests and plundered the monasteries. The government at length began to exert itself; and the public sentiment turning against the authors of so much confusion, this rabble was put to the sword or dissipated.[t] Seventy years afterwards an insurrection, almost exactly parallel to this, burst out under the same pretence of a crusade. These insurgents, too, bore the name of Pastoureaux, and their short career was distinguished by a general massacre of the Jews.[u]

But though the contagion of fanaticism spreads much more rapidly among the populace, and in modern times is almost entirely confined to it, there were examples, in the middle ages, of an epidemical religious lunacy, from which no class was exempt. One of these occurred about the year 1260, when

[s] Velly, t. iii. p. 295; Du Cange, v. Capuciati.

[t] Velly, Hist. de France, t. v. p. 7; Du Cange, v. Pastorelli.

[u] Velly, Hist. de France, t. viii. p. 99. The continuator of Nangis says, sicut fumus subitò evanuit tota illa commotio. Spicilegium, t. iii. p. 77.

a multitude of every rank, age, and sex, marching two by two in procession along the streets and public roads, mingled groans and dolorous hymns with the sound of leathern scourges which they exercised upon their naked backs. From this mark of penitence, which, as it bears at least all the appearance of sincerity, is not uncommon in the church of Rome, they acquired the name of Flagellants. Their career began, it is said, at Perugia, whence they spread over the rest of Italy, and into Germany and Poland. As this spontaneous fanaticism met with no encouragement from the church, and was prudently discountenanced by the civil magistrate, it died away in a very short time.[v] But it is more surprising that, after almost a century and a half of continual improvement and illumination, another irruption of popular extravagance burst out under circumstances exceedingly similar.[w] "In the month of August, 1399," says a contemporary historian, "there appeared all over Italy a description of persons, called Bianchi, from the white linen vestment that they wore. They passed from province to province, and from city to city, crying out Misericordia! with their faces covered and bent towards the ground, and bearing before them a great crucifix. Their constant song was, Stabat Mater dolorosa. This lasted three months; and whoever did not attend their procession was reputed a heretic."[x] Almost every Italian writer of the time takes notice of these Bianchi; and Muratori ascribes a remarkable reformation of manners (though certainly a very transient one) to their influence.[y] Nor were they confined to Italy, though no such meritorious exertions are imputed to them in other countries. In France their practice of covering the face gave such opportunity to crimes as to be prohibited by the government;[z] and we have an act on the rolls of the first parliament of Henry IV., forbidding anyone, "under pain of forfeiting all his worth, to receive the new sect in white clothes, pretending to great sanctity," which had recently appeared in foreign parts."[a]

[v] Velly, t. v. p. 279; Du Cange, v. Verberatio.

[w] Something of a similar kind is mentioned by G. Villani, under the year 1310. l. viii. c. 122.

[x] Annal. Mediolan in Murat. Script. Rer. Ital. t. xvi. p. 832; G. Stella. Ann. Genuens. t. xvii. p. 1072; Chron. Foroliviense, t. xix. p. 874; Ann Bonincontri, t. xxi, p. 79.

[y] Dissert. 75. Sudden transitions from profligate to austere manners were so common among individuals, that we cannot be surprised at their sometimes becoming in a manner national. Azarius, a chronicler of Milan, after describing the almost incredible dissoluteness of Pavia, gives an account of an instantaneous reformation wrought by the preaching of a certain friar. This was about 1350. Script. Rer. Ital. t. xvi. p. 375.

[z] Villaret, t. xii. p. 327.

[a] Rot. Parl. v. iii. p. 428.

The devotion of the multitude was wrought to this feverish height by the prevailing system of the clergy. In that singular polytheism, which had been grafted on Christianity, nothing was so conspicuous as the belief of perpetual miracles—if indeed those could properly be termed miracles which, by their constant recurrence, even upon trifling occasions, might seem within the ordinary dispensations of Providence. These superstitions arose in what are called primitive times, and are certainly no part of popery, if in that word we include any especial reference to the Roman see. But successive ages of ignorance swelled the delusion to such an enormous pitch, that it was as difficult to trace, we may say without exaggeration, the real religion of the Gospel in the popular belief of the laity, as the real history of Charlemagne in the romance of Turpin. It must not be supposed that these absurdities were produced, as well as nourished, by ignorance. In most cases they were the work of deliberate imposture. Every cathedral or monastery had its tutelar saint, and every saint his legend, fabricated in order to enrich the churches under his protection, by exaggerating his virtues, his miracles, and consequently his power of serving those who paid liberally for his patronage.*b* Many of those saints were imaginary persons; sometimes a blundered inscription added a name to the calendar, and sometimes, it is said, a heathen god was surprised at the company to which he was introduced, and the rites with which he was honored.*c*

It would not be consonant to the nature of the present work to dwell upon the erroneousness of this religion; but its effect upon the moral and intellectual character of mankind was so prominent, that no one can take a philosophical view of the middle ages without attending more than is at present fashionable to their ecclesiastical history. That the exclusive worship of saints, under the guidance of an artful though illiterate priesthood, degraded the understanding and begot a stupid credulity and fanaticism, is sufficiently evident. But it was also so managed as to loosen the bonds of religion and pervert the standard of morality. If these inhabitants of heaven had been represented as stern avengers, accepting no slight atonement for heavy offences, and prompt to interpose their control

b This is confessed by the authors of Histoire Littéraire de la France, t. ii. p. 4, and indeed by many Catholic writers. I need not quote Mosheim, who more than confirms every word of my text.

c Middleton's Letter from Rome. If some of our eloquent countryman's positions should be disputed, there are still abundant Catholic testimonies that imaginary saints have been canonized.

over natural events for the detection and punishment of guilt, the creed, however impossible to be reconciled with experience, might have proved a salutary check upon a rude people, and would at least have had the only palliation that can be offered for a religious imposture, its political expediency. In the legends of those times, on the contrary, they appeared only as perpetual intercessors, so good-natured and so powerful, that a sinner was more emphatically foolish than he is usually represented if he failed to secure himself against any bad consequences. For a little attention to the saints, and especially to the Virgin, with due liberality to their servants, had saved, he would be told, so many of the most atrocious delinquents, that he might equitably presume upon similar luck in his own case.

This monstrous superstition grew to its height in the twelfth century. For the advance that learning then made was by no means sufficient to counteract the vast increase of monasteries, and the opportunities which the greater cultivation of modern languages afforded for the diffusion of legendary tales. It was now, too, that the veneration paid to the Virgin, in early times very great, rose to an almost exclusive idolatry. It is difficult to conceive the stupid absurdity and the disgusting profaneness of those stories which were invented by the monks to do her honor. A few examples have been thrown into a note.[d]

[d] Le Grand d'Aussy has given us, in the fifth volume of his Fabliaux, several of the religious tales by which the monks endeavored to withdraw the people from romances of chivalry. The following specimens will abundantly confirm my assertions, which may perhaps appear harsh and extravagant to the reader.

There was a man whose occupation was highway robbery; but whenever he set out on any such expedition, he was careful to address a prayer to the Virgin. Taken at last, he was sentenced to be hanged. While the cord was round his neck he made his usual prayer, nor was it ineffectual. The Virgin supported his feet "with her white hands," and thus kept him alive two days, to the no small surprise of the executioner, who attempted to complete his work with strokes of a sword. But the same invisible hand turned aside the weapon, and the executioner was compelled to release his victim, acknowledging the miracle. The thief retired into a monastery, which is always the termination of these deliverances.

At the monastery of St. Peter, near Cologne, lived a monk perfectly dissolute and irreligious, but very devout towards the Apostle. Unluckily he died suddenly without confession. The fiends came as usual to seize his soul. St. Peter, vexed at losing so faithful a votary, besought God to admit the monk into Paradise. His prayer was refused; and though the whole body of saints, apostles, angels, and martyrs joined at his request to make interest, it was of no avail. In this extremity he had recourse to the Mother of God. "Fair lady," he said, "my monk is lost if you do not interfere for him; but what is impossible for us will be but sport to you, if you please to assist us. Your Son, if you but speak a word, must yield, since it is in your power to command him." The Queen Mother assented, and, followed by all the virgins, moved towards her Son. He who had himself given the precept, Honor thy father and thy mother, no sooner saw his own parent approach than he rose to receive her; and taking her by the hand inquired her wishes. The rest may be easily conjectured. Compare the gross stupidity, or rather the atrocious im-

Whether the superstition of these dark ages had actually passed that point when it becomes more injurious to public morals and the welfare of society than the entire absence of all religious notions is a very complex question, upon which I would by no means pronounce an affirmative decision.[e] A salutary influence, breathed from the spirit of a more genuine religion, often displayed itself among the corruptions of a degenerate superstition. In the original principles of monastic orders, and the rules by which they ought at least to have been governed, there was a character of meekness, self-denial, and charity that could not wholly be effaced. These virtues, rather than justice and veracity, were inculcated by the religious ethics of the middle ages; and in the relief of indigence it may, upon the whole, be asserted that the monks did not fall short of their profession.[f] This eleemosynary spirit indeed remarkably

piety of this tale, with the pure theism of the Arabian Nights, and judge whether the Deity was better worshipped at Cologne or at Bagdad.

It is unnecessary to multiply instances of this kind. In one tale the Virgin takes the shape of a nun, who had eloped from the convent, and performs her duties ten years, till, tired of a libertine life, she returns unsuspected. This was in consideration of her having never omitted to say an Ave as she passed the Virgin's image. In another, a gentleman, in love with a handsome widow, consents, at the instigation of a sorcerer, to renounce God and the saints, but cannot be persuaded to give up the Virgin, well knowing that if he kept her his friend he should obtain pardon through her means. Accordingly she inspired his mistress with so much passion that he married her within a few days.

These tales, it may be said, were the production of ignorant men, and circulated among the populace. Certainly they would have excited contempt and indignation in the more enlightened clergy. But I am concerned with the general character of religious notions among the people: and for this it is better to take such popular compositions, adapted to what the laity already believed, than the writings of comparatively learned and reflecting men. However, stories of the same cast are frequent in the monkish historians. Matthew Paris, one of the most respectable of that class, and no friend to the covetousness or relaxed lives of the priesthood, tells us of a knight who was on the point of being damned for frequenting tournaments, but saved by a donation he had formerly made to the Virgin. P. 290.

[e] This hesitation about so important a question is what I would by no means repeat. Beyond every doubt, the evils of superstition in the middle ages, though separately considered very serious, are not to be weighed against the benefits of the religion with which they were so mingled. The fashion of the eighteenth century, among Protestants especially, was to exaggerate the crimes and follies of mediæval ages—perhaps I have fallen into it a little too much; in the present, we seem more in danger of extenuating them. We still want an inflexible impartiality in all that borders on ecclesiastical history, which, I believe, has never been displayed on an extensive scale. A more captivating book can hardly be named than the Mores Catholici of Mr. Digby; and it contains certainly a great deal of truth; but the general effect is that of a mirage, which confuses and deludes the sight. If those "ages of faith" were as noble, as pure, as full of human kindness, as he has delineated them, we have had a bad exchange in the centuries since the Reformation. And those who gaze at Mr. Digby's enchantments will do well to consider how they can better escape this consequence than he has done. Dr. Maitland's Letters on the Dark Ages, and a great deal more that comes from the pseudo-Anglican or Anglo-Catholic press, converge to the same end; a strong sympathy with the mediæval church, a great indulgence to its errors, and indeed a reluctance to admit them, with a corresponding estrangement from all that has passed in the last three centuries. [1848.]

[f] I am inclined to acquiesce in this general opinion; yet an account of expenses at Bolton Abbey, about the reign of Edward II., published in Whitaker's History of Craven, p. 51, makes a very scanty show of almsgiving in this opulent monastery. Much, however, was no doubt given in victuals. But it is a strange error to conceive that English monasteries before the dissolution fed

distinguishes both Christianity and Mohammedanism from the moral systems of Greece and Rome, which were very deficient in general humanity and sympathy with suffering. Nor do we find in any single instance during ancient times, if I mistake not, those public institutions for the alleviation of human miseries which have long been scattered over every part of Europe. The virtues of the monks assumed a still higher character when they stood forward as protectors of the oppressed. By an established law, founded on very ancient superstition, the precincts of a church afforded sanctuary to accused persons. Under a due administration of justice this privilege would have been simply and constantly mischievous, as we properly consider it to be in those countries where it still subsists. But in the rapine and tumult of the middle ages the right of sanctuary might as often be a shield to innocence as an immunity to crime. We can hardly regret, in reflecting on the desolating violence which prevailed, that there should have been some green spots in the wilderness where the feeble and the persecuted could find refuge. How must this right have enhanced the veneration for religious institutions! How gladly must the victims of internal warfare have turned their eyes from the baronial castle, the dread and scourge of the neighborhood, to those venerable walls within which not even the clamor of arms could be heard to disturb the chant of holy men and the sacred service of the altar! The protection of the sanctuary was never withheld. A son of Chilperic King of France having fled to that of Tours, his father threatened to ravage all the lands of the church unless they gave him up. Gregory the historian, bishop of the city, replied in the name of his clergy that Christians could not be guilty of an act unheard of among pagans. The king was as good as his word, and did not spare the estate of the church, but dared not infringe its privileges. He had indeed previously addressed a letter to St. Martin, which was laid on his tomb in the church, requesting permission to take away his son by force; but the honest saint returned no answer.*g*

the indigent part of the nation, and gave that general relief which the poor-laws are intended to afford.

Piers Plowman is indeed a satirist; but he plainly charges the monks with want of charity.

Little had lordes to do to give landes from their heires
To religious that have no ruthe though it raine on their aultres;
In many places there the parsons be themself at ease,
Of the poor they have no pitie and that is their poor charitie.

g Schmidt, Hist. des Allemands, t. i. p. 374.

The virtues indeed, or supposed virtues, which had induced a credulous generation to enrich so many of the monastic orders, were not long preserved. We must reject, in the excess of our candor, all testimonies that the middle ages present, from the solemn declaration of councils and reports of judicial inquiry to the casual evidence of common fame in the ballad or romance, if we would extenuate the general corruption of those institutions. In vain new rules of discipline were devised, or the old corrected by reforms. Many of their worst vices grew so naturally out of their mode of life, that a stricter discipline could have no tendency to extirpate them. Such were the frauds I have already noticed, and the whole scheme of hypocritical austerities. Their extreme licentiousness was sometimes hardly concealed by the cowl of sanctity. I know not by what right we should disbelieve the reports of the visitation under Henry VIII., entering as they do into a multitude of specific charges both probable in their nature and consonant to the unanimous opinion of the world.[h] Doubtless, there were many communities, as well as individuals, to whom none of these reproaches would apply. In the very best view, however, that can be taken of monasteries, their existence is deeply injurious to the general morals of a nation. They withdraw men of pure conduct and conscientious principles from the exercise of social duties, and leave the common mass of human vice more unmixed. Such men are always inclined to form schemes of ascetic perfection, which can only be fulfilled in retirement; but in the strict rules of monastic life, and under the influence of a grovelling superstition, their virtue lost all its usefulness. They fell implicitly in the snares of crafty priests, who made submission to the church not only the condition but the measure of all praise. "He is a good Christian," says Eligius, a saint of the seventh century, "who comes frequently to church; who presents an oblation that it may be offered to God on the altar; who does not taste the fruits of his land till he has consecrated a part of them to God; who

[h] See Fosbrooke's British Monachism (vol. i. p. 127, and vol. ii. p. 8) for a farrago of evidence against the monks. Clemangis, a French theologian of considerable eminence at the beginning of the fifteenth century, speaks of nunneries in the following terms:—Quid aliud sunt hoc tempore puellarum monasteria, nisi quædam non dico Dei sanctuaria, sed Veneris execranda prostibula, sed lascivorum et impudicorum juvenum ad libidines explendas receptacula? ut idem sit hodie puellam velare, quod et publicè ad scortandum exponere. William Prynne, from whose records (vol. ii. p. 229) I have taken this passage, quotes it on occasion of a charter of King John, banishing thirty nuns of Ambresbury into different convents, propter vitæ suæ turpitudinem.

can repeat the Creed or the Lord's Prayer. Redeem your souls from punishment while it is in your power; offer presents and tithes to churches, light candles in holy places, as much as you can afford, come more frequently to church, implore the protection of the saints; for, if you observe these things, you may come with security at the day of judgment to say, Give unto us, Lord, for we have given unto thee." *i*

With such a definition of the Christian character, it is not surprising that any fraud and injustice became honorable when it contributed to the riches of the clergy and glory of their order. Their frauds, however, were less atrocious than the savage bigotry with which they maintained their own system and infected the laity. In Saxony, Poland, Lithuania, and the countries on the Baltic Sea, a sanguinary persecution extirpated the original idolatry. The Jews were everywhere the objects of popular insult and oppression, frequently of a general massacre, though protected, it must be confessed, by the laws of the church, as well as in general by temporal princes.*j* Of the crusades it is only necessary to repeat that they began in a tremendous eruption of fanaticism, and ceased only because that spirit could not be constantly kept alive. A similar

i Mosheim, cent. vii. c. 3. Robertson has quoted this passage, to whom perhaps I am immediately indebted for it. Hist. Charles V., vol. i. note 11.

I leave this passage as it stood in former editions. But it is due to justice that this extract from Eligius should never be quoted in future, as the translator of Mosheim has induced Robertson and many others, as well as myself, to do. Dr. Lingard has pointed out that it is a very imperfect representation of what Eligius has written; for though he has dwelled on these devotional practices as parts of the definition of a good Christian, he certainly adds a great deal more to which no one could object. Yet no one is, in fact, to blame for this misrepresentation, which, being contained in popular books, has gone forth so widely. Mosheim, as will appear on referring to him, did not quote the passage as containing a complete definition of the Christian character. His translator, Maclaine, mistook this, and wrote, in consequence, the severe note which Robertson has copied. I have seen the whole passage in d'Achery's Spicilegium (vol. v. p. 213, 4to. edit.), and can testify that Dr. Lingard is perfectly correct. Upon the whole, this is a striking proof how dangerous it is to take any authorities at second-hand. —Note to Fourth Edition. Much clamor has been made about the mistake of Maclaine, which was innocent and not unnatural. It has been commented upon, particularly by Dr. Arnold, as a proof of the risk we run of misrepresenting authors by quoting them at second-hand. And this is perfectly true, and ought to be constantly remembered. But, so long as we acknowledge the immediate source of our quotation, no censure is due, since in works of considerable extent this use of secondary authorities is absolutely indispensable, not to mention the frequent difficulty of procuring access to original authors. [1848.]

j Mr. Turner has collected many curious facts relative to the condition of the Jews, especially in England. Hist. of England, vol. ii. p. 95. Others may be found dispersed in Velly's History of France; and many in the Spanish writers, Mariana and Zurita. The following are from Vaissette's History of Languedoc. It was the custom at Toulouse to give a blow on the face to a Jew every Easter; this was commuted in the twelfth century for a tribute. T. ii. p. 151. At Beziers another usage prevailed, that of attacking the Jews' houses with stones from Palm Sunday to Easter. No other weapon was to be used; but it generally produced bloodshed. The populace were regularly instigated to the assault by a sermon from the bishop. At length a prelate wiser than the rest abolished this ancient practice, but not without receiving a good sum from the Jews. P. 485.

influence produced the devastation of Languedoc, the stakes and scaffolds of the Inquisition, and rooted in the religious theory of Europe those maxims of intolerance which it has so slowly, and still perhaps so imperfectly, renounced.

From no other cause are the dictates of sound reason and the moral sense of mankind more confused than by this narrow theological bigotry. For as it must often happen that men to whom the arrogance of a prevailing faction imputes religious error are exemplary for their performance of moral duties, these virtues gradually cease to make their proper impression, and are depreciated by the rigidly orthodox as of little value in comparison with just opinions in speculative points. On the other hand, vices are forgiven to those who are zealous in the faith. I speak too gently, and with a view to later times; in treating of the dark ages it would be more correct to say that crimes were commended. Thus Gregory of Tours, a saint of the church, after relating a most atrocious story of Clovis—the murder of a prince whom he had previously instigated to parricide—continues the sentence: "For God daily subdued his enemies to his hand, and increased his kingdom; because he walked before him in uprightness, and did what was pleasing in his eyes." [k]

It is a frequent complaint of ecclesiastical writers that the rigorous penances imposed by the primitive canons upon delinquents were commuted in a laxer state of discipline for less severe atonements, and ultimately indeed for money.[l] We must not, however, regret that the clergy should have lost the power of compelling men to abstain fifteen years from eating meat, or to stand exposed to public derision at the gates of a church. Such implicit submissiveness could only have produced superstition and hypocrisy among the laity, and prepared the road for a tyranny not less oppressive than that of

[k] Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 40. Of Theodebert, grandson of Clovis, the same historian says, Magnum se et in omni bonitate præcipuum reddidit. In the next paragraph we find a story of his having two wives, and looking so tenderly on the daughter of one of them, that her mother tossed her over a bridge into the river. L. iii. c. 25. This indeed is a trifle to the passage in the text. There are continual proofs of immorality in the monkish historians. In the history of Ramsey Abbey, one of our best documents for Anglo-Saxon times, we have an anecdote of a bishop who made a Danish nobleman drunk, that he might cheat him of an estate, which is told with much approbation. Gale, Script. Anglic. t. i. p. 441. Walter de Hemingford recounts with excessive delight the well-known story of the Jews who were persuaded by the captain of their vessel to walk on the sands at low water, till the rising tide drowned them; and adds that the captain was both pardoned and rewarded for it by the king, gratiam promeruit et præmium. This is a mistake, inasmuch as he was hanged; but it exhibits the character of the historian. Hemingford, p. 21.

[l] Fleury, Troisième Discours sur l'Histoire Ecclésiastique.

India or ancient Egypt. Indeed the two earliest instances of ecclesiastical interference with the rights of sovereigns—namely, the deposition of Wamba in Spain and that of Louis the Debonair—were founded upon this austere system of penitence. But it is true that a repentance redeemed by money or performed by a substitute could have no salutary effect on the sinner; and some of the modes of atonement which the church most approved were particularly hostile to public morals. None was so usual as pilgrimage, whether to Jerusalem or Rome, which were the great objects of devotion; or to the shrine of some national saint—a James of Compostella, a David, or a Thomas à Becket. This licensed vagrancy was naturally productive of dissoluteness, especially among the women. Our English ladies, in their zeal to obtain the spiritual treasures of Rome, are said to have relaxed the necessary caution about one that was in their own custody.[m] There is a capitulary of Charlemagne directed against itinerant penitents, who probably considered the iron chain around their necks an expiation of future as well as past offences.[n]

The crusades may be considered as martial pilgrimages on an enormous scale, and their influence upon general morality seems to have been altogether pernicious. Those who served under the cross would not indeed have lived very virtuously at home; but the confidence in their own merits, which the principle of such expeditions inspired, must have aggravated the ferocity and dissoluteness of their ancient habits. Several historians attest the depravation of morals which existed both among the crusaders and in the states formed out of their conquests.[o]

While religion had thus lost almost every quality that renders it conducive to the good order of society, the control of human law was still less efficacious. But this part of my subject has been anticipated in other passages of the present work; and I shall only glance at the want of regular subordination, which rendered legislative and judicial edicts a dead letter, and at the incessant private warfare, rendered legitimate by the usages of most continental nations. Such hostilities, conducted

[m] Henry, Hist. of England, vol. ii. c. 7.

[n] Du Cange, v. Peregrinatio. Non sinantur vagari isti nudi cum ferro, qui dicunt se datâ pœnitentiâ ire vagantes. Melius videtur, ut si aliquod inconsuetum et capitale crimen commiserint, in uno loco permaneant laborantes et servientes et pœnitentiam agentes, secundum quod canonicè iis impositum sit.

[o] I. de Vitriaco, in Gesta Dei per Francos, t. i.; Villani, l. vii. c. 144.

as they must usually have been with injustice and cruelty, could not fail to produce a degree of rapacious ferocity in the general disposition of a people. And this certainly was among the characteristics of every nation for many centuries.

It is easy to infer the degradation of society during the dark ages from the state of religion and police. Certainly there are a few great landmarks of moral distinctions so deeply fixed in human nature, that no degree of rudeness can destroy, nor even any superstition remove them. Wherever an extreme corruption has in any particular society defaced these sacred archetypes that are given to guide and correct the sentiments of mankind, it is in the course of Providence that the society itself should perish by internal discord or the sword of a conqueror. In the worst ages of Europe there must have existed the seeds of social virtues, of fidelity, gratitude, and disinterestedness, sufficient at least to preserve the public approbation of more elevated principles than the public conduct displayed. Without these imperishable elements there could have been no restoration of the moral energies; nothing upon which reformed faith, revived knowledge, renewed law, could exercise their nourishing influences. But history, which reflects only the more prominent features of society, cannot exhibit the virtues that were scarcely able to struggle through the general depravation. I am aware that a tone of exaggerated declamation is at all times usual with those who lament the vices of their own time; and writers of the middle ages are in abundant need of allowance on this score. Nor is it reasonable to found any inferences as to the general condition of society on single instances of crimes, however atrocious, especially when committed under the influence of violent passion. Such enormities are the fruit of every age, and none is to be measured by them. They make, however, a strong impression at the moment, and thus find a place in contemporary annals, from which modern writers are commonly glad to extract whatever may seem to throw light upon manners. I shall, therefore, abstain from producing any particular cases of dissoluteness or cruelty from the records of the middle ages, lest I should weaken a general proposition by offering an imperfect induction to support it, and shall content myself with observing that times to which men sometimes appeal, as to a golden period, were far inferior in every moral comparison to those in which we are

thrown.[p] One crime, as more universal and characteristic than others, may be particularly noticed. All writers agree in the prevalence of judicial perjury. It seems to have almost invariably escaped human punishment; and the barriers of superstition were in this, as in every other instance, too feeble to prevent the commission of crimes. Many of the proofs by ordeal were applied to witnesses as well as those whom they accused; and undoubtedly trial by combat was preserved in a considerable degree on account of the difficulty experienced in securing a just cause against the perjury of witnesses. Robert King of France, perceiving how frequently men forswore themselves upon the relics of saints, and less shocked apparently at the crime than at the sacrilege, caused an empty reliquary of crystal to be used, that those who touched it might incur less guilt in fact, though not in intention. Such an anecdote characterizes both the man and the times.[q]

The favorite diversions of the middle ages, in the intervals of war, were those of hunting and hawking. The former must in all countries be a source of pleasure; but it seems to have been enjoyed in moderation by the Greeks and the Romans. With the northern invaders, however, it was rather a predominant appetite than an amusement; it was their pride and their ornament, the theme of their songs, the object of their laws, and the business of their lives. Falconry, unknown as a diversion to the ancients, became from the fourth century an equally delightful occupation.[r] From the Salic and other barbarous codes of the fifth century to the close of the period under our review, every age would furnish testimony to the ruling passion for these two species of chase, or, as they were sometimes called, the mysteries of woods and rivers. A knight sel-

[p] Henry has taken pains in drawing a picture, not very favorable, of Anglo-Saxon manners. Book II. chap. 7. This perhaps is the best chapter, as the volume is the best volume, of his unequal work. His account of the Anglo-Saxons is derived in a great degree from William of Malmesbury, who does not spare them. Their civil history, indeed, and their laws, speak sufficiently against the character of that people. But the Normans had little more to boast of in respect of moral correctness. Their luxurious and dissolute habits are as much noticed as their insolence. Vid. Ordericus Vitalis, p. 602; Johann. Sarisburiensis Policraticus, p. 194; Velly, Hist. de France, t. iii. p. 59. The state of manners in France under the first two races of kings, and in Italy both under the Lombards and the subsequent dynasties, may be collected from their histories, their laws, and those miscellaneous facts which books of every description contain. Neither Velly, nor Muratori, Dissert. 23, are so satisfactory as we might desire.

[q] Velly, Hist. de France, t. ii. p. 335. It has been observed, that Quid mores sine legibus? is as just a question as that of Horace; and that bad laws must produce bad morals. The strange practice of requiring numerous compurgators to prove the innocence of an accused person had a most obvious tendency to increase perjury.

[r] Muratori, Dissert. 23, t. i. p. 306 (Italian); Beckman's Hist. of Inventions, vol. i. p. 319; Vie privée des Français, t. ii. p. 1.

dom stirred from his house without a falcon on his wrist or a greyhound that followed him. Thus are Harold and his attendants represented, in the famous tapestry of Bayeux. And in the monuments of those who died anywhere but on the field of battle, it is usual to find the greyhound lying at their feet, or the bird upon their wrists. Nor are the tombs of ladies without their falcon; for this diversion, being of less danger and fatigue than the chase, was shared by the delicate sex.[s]

It was impossible to repress the eagerness with which the clergy, especially after the barbarians were tempted by rich bishoprics to take upon them the sacred functions, rushed into these secular amusements. Prohibitions of councils, however frequently repeated, produced little effect. In some instances a particular monastery obtained a dispensation. Thus that of St. Denis, in 774, represented to Charlemagne that the flesh of hunted animals was salutary for sick monks, and that their skins would serve to bind the books in the library.[t] Reasons equally cogent, we may presume, could not be wanting in every other case. As the bishops and abbots were perfectly feudal lords, and often did not scruple to lead their vassals into the field, it was not to be expected that they should debar themselves of an innocent pastime. It was hardly such indeed, when practised at the expense of others. Alexander III., by a letter to the clergy of Berkshire, dispenses with their keeping the archdeacon in dogs and hawks during his visitation.[u] This season gave jovial ecclesiastics an opportunity of trying different countries. An archbishop of York, in 1321, seems to have carried a train of two hundred persons, who were maintained at the expense of the abbeys on his road, and to have hunted with a pack of hounds from parish to parish.[v] The third Council of Lateran, in 1180, had prohibited this amusement on such journeys, and restricted bishops to a train of forty or fifty horses.[w]

Though hunting had ceased to be a necessary means of procuring food, it was a very convenient resource, on which the wholesomeness and comfort, as well as the luxury, of the table depended. Before the natural pastures were improved, and new kinds of fodder for cattle discovered, it was impossible

[s] Vie privée des Français, t. i. p. 320; t. ii. p. 11.
[t] Ibid. t. i. p. 324.
[u] Rymer, t. i. p. 61.
[v] Whitaker's Hist. of Craven, p. 340, and of Whalley, p. 171.
[w] Velly, Hist. de France, t. iii. p. 239.

to maintain the summer stock during the cold season. Hence a portion of it was regularly slaughtered and salted for winter provision. We may suppose that, when no alternative was offered but these salted meats, even the leanest venison was devoured with relish. There was somewhat more excuse therefore for the severity with which the lords of forests and manors preserved the beasts of chase than if they had been considered as merely objects of sport. The laws relating to preservation of game were in every country uncommonly rigorous. They formed in England that odious system of forest laws which distinguished the tyranny of our Norman kings. Capital punishment for killing a stag or wild boar was frequent, and perhaps warranted by law, until the charter of John.[x] The French code was less severe, but even Henry IV. enacted the pain of death against the repeated offence of chasing deer in the royal forests. The privilege of hunting was reserved to the nobility till the reign of Louis IX., who extended it in some degree to persons of lower birth.[y]

This excessive passion for the sports of the field produced those evils which are apt to result from it—a strenuous idleness which disdained all useful occupations, and an oppressive spirit towards the peasantry. The devastation committed under the pretence of destroying wild animals, which had been already protected in their depredations, is noticed in serious authors, and has also been the topic of popular ballads.[z] What effect this must have had on agriculture it is easy to conjecture. The levelling of forests, the draining of morasses, and the extirpation of mischievous animals which inhabit them, are the first objects of man's labor in reclaiming the earth to his use; and these were forbidden by a landed aristocracy, whose control over the progress of agricultural improvement

[x] John of Salisbury inveighs against the game-laws of his age, with an odd transition from the Gospel to the Pandects. Nec veriti sunt hominem pro unâ pestiolâ perdere, quem unigenitus Dei Filius sanguine redemit suo. Quæ feræ naturæ sunt, et de jure occupantium fiunt, sibi audet humana temeritas vindicare, &c. Polycraticon, p. 18.

[y] Le Grand, Vie privée des Français, t. i. p. 325.

[z] For the injuries which this people sustained from the seigniorial rights of the chase, in the eleventh century, see the Recueil des Historiens, in the valuable preface to the eleventh volume, p. 181. This continued to be felt in France down to the revolution, to which it did not perhaps a little contribute. (See Young's Travels in France.) The monstrous privilege of free-warren (monstrous, I mean, when not originally founded upon the property of the soil) is recognized by our own laws; though, in this age, it is not often that a court and jury will sustain its exercise. Sir Walter Scott's ballad of the Wild Huntsman, from a German original, is well known; and, I believe, there are several others in that country not dissimilar in subject.

was unlimited, and who had not yet learned to sacrifice their pleasures to their avarice.

These habits of the rich, and the miserable servitude of those who cultivated the land, rendered its fertility unavailing. Predial servitude indeed, in some of its modifications, has always been the great bar to improvement. In the agricultural economy of Rome the laboring husbandman, a menial slave of some wealthy senator, had not even that qualified interest in the soil which the tenure of villenage afforded to the peasant of feudal ages. Italy, therefore, a country presenting many natural impediments, was but imperfectly reduced into cultivation before the irruption of the barbarians.[a] That revolution destroyed agriculture with every other art, and succeeding calamities during five or six centuries left the finest regions of Europe unfruitful and desolate. There are but two possible modes in which the produce of the earth can be increased; one by rendering fresh land serviceable, the other by improving the fertility of that which is already cultivated. The last is only attainable by the application of capital and of skill to agriculture, neither of which could be expected in the ruder ages of society. The former is, to a certain extent, always practicable while waste lands remain; but it was checked by laws hostile to improvement, such as the manorial and commonable rights in England, and by the general tone of manners.

Till the reign of Charlemagne there were no towns in Germany, except a few that had been erected on the Rhine and Danube by the Romans. A house with its stables and farm-buildings, surrounded by a hedge or enclosure, was called a court, or, as we find it in our law-books, a curtilage; the toft or homestead of a more genuine English dialect. One of these, with the adjacent domain of arable fields and woods, had the name of a villa or manse. Several manses composed a march; and several marches formed a pagus or district.[b] From these

[a] Muratori, Dissert. 21. This dissertation contains ample evidence of the wretched state of culture in Italy, at least in the northern parts, both before the irruption of the barbarians, and in a much greater degree, under the Lombard kings.

[b] Schmidt, Hist. des Allem. t. i. p. 408. The following passage seems to illustrate Schmidt's account of German villages in the ninth century, though relating to a different age and country. "A toft," says Dr. Whitaker, "is a homestead in a village, so called from the small tufts of maple, elm, ash, and other wood, with which dwelling-houses were anciently overhung. Even now it is impossible to enter Craven without being struck with the insulated homesteads, surrounded by their little garths, and overhung with tufts of trees. These are the genuine tofts and crofts of our ancestors, with the substitution only of stone for the wooden crocks and thatched roofs of antiquity." Hist. of Craven, p. 380.

elements in the progress of population arose villages and towns. In France undoubtedly there were always cities of some importance. Country parishes contained several manses or farms of arable lands, around a common pasture, where everyone was bound by custom to feed his cattle.[c]

The condition even of internal trade was hardly preferable to that of agriculture. There is not a vestige perhaps to be discovered for several centuries of any considerable manufacture; I mean, of working up articles of common utility to an extent beyond what the necessities of an adjacent district required.[d] Rich men kept domestic artisans among their servants; even kings, in the ninth century, had their clothes made by the women upon their farms;[e] but the peasantry must have been supplied with garments and implements of labor by purchase; and every town, it cannot be doubted, had its weaver, its smith, and its currier. But there were almost insuperable impediments to any extended traffic—the insecurity of movable wealth, and difficulty of accumulating it; the ignorance of mutual wants; the peril of robbery in conveying merchandise, and the certainty of extortion. In the domains of every lord a toll was to be paid in passing his bridge, or along his highway, or at his market.[f] These customs, equitable and necessary in their principle, became in practice oppressive, because they were arbitrary, and renewed in every petty territory which the road might intersect. Several of Charlemagne's capitularies repeat complaints of these exactions, and endeavor to abolish such tolls as were not founded on prescription.[g] One of them rather amusingly illustrates the modesty and moderation of the landholders. It is enacted that no one shall be compelled to go out of his way in order to pay toll at a particular bridge, when he can cross the river more conveniently at another place.[h] These provisions, like most others of that age, were unlikely to produce much amendment. It was

c It is laid down in the Speculum Saxonicum, a collection of feudal customs which prevailed over most of Germany, that no one might have a separate pasture for his cattle unless he possessed three mansi. Du Cange, v. Mansus. There seems to have been a price paid, I suppose to the lord, for agistment in the common pasture.

d The only mention of a manufacture, as early as the ninth or tenth centuries, that I remember to have met with, is in Schmidt, t. ii. p. 146, who says that cloths were exported from Friesland to England and other parts. He quotes no authority, but I am satisfied that he has not advanced the fact gratuitously.

e Schmidt, t. i. p. 411; t. ii. p. 146.

f Du Cange, Pedagium, Pontaticum, Teloneum, Mercatum, Stallagium, Lastagium, &c.

g Baluz. Capit. p. 621 et alibi.

h Ut nullus cogatur ad pontem ire ad fluvium transeundum propter telonel causas quando ille in alio loco compendiosius illud flumen transire potest, p. 764 et alibi.

only the milder species, however, of feudal lords who were content with the tribute of merchants. The more ravenous descended from their fortresses to pillage the wealthy traveller, or shared in the spoil of inferior plunderers, whom they both protected and instigated. Proofs occur, even in the later periods of the middle ages, when government had regained its energy, and civilization had made considerable progress, of public robberies systematically perpetrated by men of noble rank. In the more savage times, before the twelfth century, they were probably too frequent to excite much attention. It was a custom in some places to waylay travellers, and not only to plunder, but to sell them as slaves, or compel them to pay a ransom. Harold son of Godwin, having been wrecked on the coast of Ponthieu, was imprisoned by the lord, says an historian, according to the custom of that territory.[i] Germany appears to have been, upon the whole, the country where downright robbery was most unscrupulously practised by the great. Their castles, erected on almost inaccessible heights among the woods, became the secure receptacles of predatory bands, who spread terror over the country. From these barbarian lords of the dark ages, as from a living model, the romances are said to have drawn their giants and other disloyal enemies of true chivalry. Robbery, indeed, is the constant theme both of the Capitularies and of the Anglo-Saxon laws; one has more reason to wonder at the intrepid thirst of lucre, which induced a very few merchants to exchange the products of different regions, than to ask why no general spirit of commercial activity prevailed.

Under all these circumstances it is obvious that very little oriental commerce could have existed in these western countries of Europe. Destitute as they have been created, speaking comparatively, of natural productions fit for exportation, their invention and industry are the great resources from which they can supply the demands of the East. Before any manufactures were established in Europe, her commercial intercourse with Egypt and Asia must of necessity have been very trifling; because, whatever inclination she might feel to enjoy the luxuries of those genial regions, she wanted the means of obtaining them. It is not therefore necessary to rest the miserable con-

[i] Eadmer apud Recueil des Historiens des Gaules, t. xi. preface, p. 192. Pro ritu illius loci, a domino terræ captivati addicitur.

dition of oriental commerce upon the Saracen conquests, because the poverty of Europe is an adequate cause; and, in fact, what little traffic remained was carried on with no material inconvenience through the channels of Constantinople. Venice took the lead in trading with Greece and more eastern countries.*j* Amalfi had the second place in the commerce of those dark ages. These cities imported, besides natural productions, the fine clothes of Constantinople; yet as this traffic seems to have been illicit, it was not probably extensive.*k* Their exports were gold and silver, by which, as none was likely to return, the circulating money of Europe was probably less in the eleventh century than at the subversion of the Roman empire; furs, which were obtained from the Sclavonian countries; and arms, the sale of which to pagans or Saracens was vainly prohibited by Charlemagne and by the Holy See.*l* A more scandalous traffic, and one that still more fitly called for prohibitory laws, was carried on in slaves. It is a humiliating proof of the degradation of Christendom, that the Venetians were reduced to purchase the luxuries of Asia by supplying the slave-market of the Saracens.*m* Their apology would perhaps have been, that these were purchased from their heathen neighbors; but a slave-dealer was probably not very inquisitive as to the faith or origin of his victim. This trade was not peculiar to Venice. In England it was very common, even after the Conquest, to export slaves to Ireland, till, in the reign of Henry II., the Irish came to a non-importation agreement, which put a stop to the practice.*n*

j Heeren has frequently referred to a work published in 1789, by Marini, entitled, Storia civille e politica del Commerzio de' Veneziani, which casts a new light upon the early relations of Venice with the East. Of this book I know nothing; but a memoir by de Guignes, in the thirty-seventh volume of the Academy of Inscriptions, on the commerce of France with the East before the crusades, is singularly unproductive; the fault of the subject, not of the author.

k There is an odd passage in Liutprand's relation of his embassy from the Emperor Otho to Nicephorus Phocas. The Greeks making a display of their dress, he told them that in Lombardy the common people wore as good clothes as they. How, they said, can you procure them? Through the Venetian and Amalfitan dealers, he replied, who gain their subsistence by selling them to us. The foolish Greeks were very angry, and declared that any dealer presuming to export their fine clothes should be flogged. Liutprandi Opera, p. 155, edit. Antwerp, 1640.

l Baluz. Capitul. p. 775. One of the main advantages which the Christian nations possessed over the Saracens was the coat of mail, and other defensive armor; so that this prohibition was founded upon very good political reasons.

m Schmidt, Hist. des Allem. t. ii. p. 146; Heeren, sur l'Influence des Croisades, p. 316. In Baluze we find a law of Carloman, brother to Charlemagne: Ut mancipia Christiana paganis non vendantur. Capitularia, t. i. p. 150, vide quoque, p. 361.

n William of Malmesbury accuses the Anglo-Saxon nobility of selling their female servants, even when pregnant by them, as slaves to foreigners. P. 102. I hope there were not many of these Yaricoes; and should not perhaps have given credit to an historian rather prejudiced against the English, if I had

From this state of degradation and poverty all the countries of Europe have recovered, with a progression in some respects tolerably uniform, in others more unequal; and the course of their improvement, more gradual and less dependent upon conspicuous civil revolutions than their decline, affords one of the most interesting subjects into which a philosophical mind can inquire. The commencement of this restoration has usually been dated from about the close of the eleventh century; though it is unnecessary to observe that the subject does not admit of anything approximating to chronological accuracy. It may, therefore, be sometimes not improper to distinguish the first six of the ten centuries which the present work embraces under the appellation of the dark ages; an epithet which I do not extend to the twelfth and three following. In tracing the decline of society from the subversion of the Roman empire, we have been led, not without connection, from ignorance to superstition, from superstition to vice and lawlessness, and from thence to general rudeness and poverty. I shall pursue an inverted order in passing along the ascending scale, and class the various improvements which took place between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries under three principal heads, as they relate to the wealth, the manners, or the taste and learning of Europe. Different arrangements might probably be suggested, equally natural and convenient; but in the disposition of topics that have not always an unbroken connection with each other, no method can be prescribed as absolutely more scientific than the rest. That which I have adopted appears to me as philosophical and as little liable to transitions as any other.

not found too much authority for the general practice. In the canons of a council at London in 1102 we read, Let no one from henceforth presume to carry on that wicked traffic by which men of England have hitherto been sold like brute animals. Wilkin's Concilia, t. i. p. 383. And Giraldus Cambrensis says that the English before the Conquest were generally in the habit of selling their children and other relations to be slaves in Ireland, without having even the pretext of distress or famine, till the Irish, in a national synod, agreed to emancipate all the English slaves in the kingdom. Id. p. 471. This seems to have been designed to take away all pretext for the threatened invasion of Henry II. Lyttelton, vol. iii. p. 70.

PART II.

Progress of Commercial Improvement in Germany, Flanders, and England—in the North of Europe—in the Countries upon the Mediterranean Sea—Maritime Laws—Usury—Banking Companies—Progress of Refinement in Manners—Domestic Architecture—Ecclesiastical Architecture—State of Agriculture in England—Value of Money—Improvement of the Moral Character of Society—its Causes—Police—Changes in Religious Opinion—Various Sects—Chivalry—its Progress, Character, and Influence—Causes of the Intellectual Improvement of European Society—1. The Study of Civil Law—2. Institution of Universities—their Celebrity—Scholastic Philosophy—3. Cultivation of Modern Languages—Provençal Poets—Norman Poets—French Prose Writers—Italian—early Poets in that Language—Dante—Petrarch—English Language—its Progress—Chaucer—4. Revival of Classical Learning—Latin Writers of the Twelfth Century—Literature in the Fourteenth Century—Greek Literature—its Restoration in Italy—Invention of Printing.

The geographical position of Europe naturally divides its maritime commerce into two principal regions—one comprehending those countries which border on the Baltic, the German and the Atlantic Oceans; another, those situated around the Mediterranean Sea. During the four centuries which preceded the discovery of America, and especially the two former of them, this separation was more remarkable than at present, inasmuch as their intercourse, either by land or sea, was extremely limited. To the first region belonged the Netherlands, the coasts of France, Germany, and Scandinavia, and the maritime districts of England. In the second we may class the provinces of Valencia and Catalonia, those of Provence and Languedoc, and the whole of Italy.

1. The former, or northern division, was first animated by the woollen manufacture of Flanders. It is not easy either to discover the early beginnings of this, or to account for its rapid advancement. The fertility of that province and its facilities of interior navigation were doubtless necessary causes; but there must have been some temporary encouragement from the personal character of its sovereigns, or other accidental

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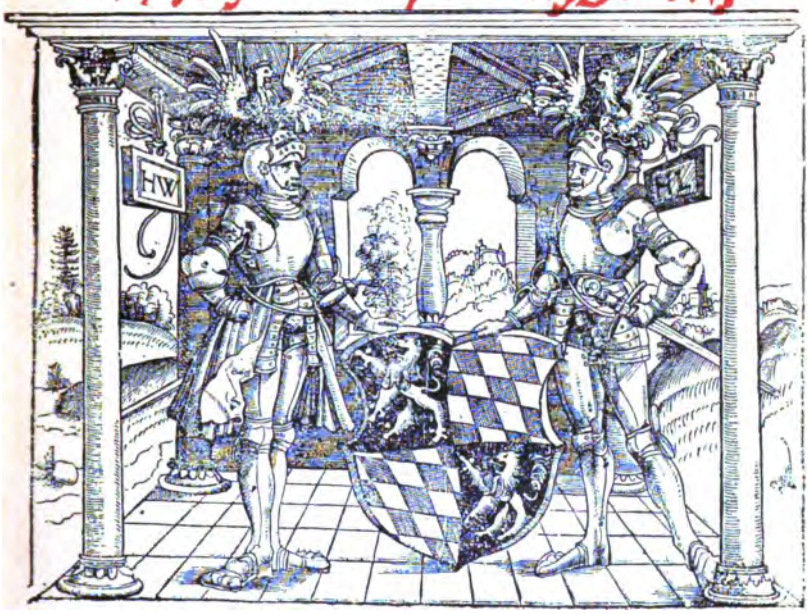
WOODCUT FROM THE BAIRISCH LANDPLOT.

The two knights depicted are Wilhelm and Ludwig, Dukes of Bavaria. The woodcut was printed in 1516, probably at Ingolstadt.

Das büech der gemeinen land-
pot · Landsordnung · Satzung ·
vnd Gebreüch · des Fürstenn-
thümbs · in · Obern · vnd Nidern
Bairn · Im fünftzehnhundert vnd
Sechtzehendem Jar aufgericht



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circumstances. Several testimonies to the flourishing condition of Flemish manufactures occur in the twelfth century, and some might perhaps be found even earlier.[a] A writer of the thirteenth asserts that all the world was clothed from English wool wrought in Flanders.[b] This, indeed, is an exaggerated vaunt; but the Flemish stuffs were probably sold wherever the sea or a navigable river permitted them to be carried. Cologne was the chief trading city upon the Rhine; and its merchants, who had been considerable even under the Emperor Henry IV., established a factory at London in 1220. The woollen manufacture, notwithstanding frequent wars and the impolitic regulations of magistrates,[c] continued to flourish in the Netherlands (for Brabant and Hainault shared it in some degree with Flanders), until England became not only capable of supplying her own demand, but a rival in all the marts of Europe. "All Christian kingdoms, and even the Turks themselves," says an historian of the sixteenth century, "lamented the desperate war between the Flemish cities and their Count Louis, that broke out in 1380. For at that time Flanders was a market for the traders of all the world. Merchants from seventeen kingdoms had their settled domiciles at Bruges, besides strangers from almost unknown countries who repaired thither."[d] During this war, and on all other occasions, the weavers both of Ghent and Bruges distinguished themselves by a democratical spirit, the consequence, no doubt, of their numbers and prosperity.[e] Ghent was one of the largest cities in Europe, and, in the opinion of many, the best situated.[f]

a Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, vol. i. p. 270. Meyer ascribes the origin of Flemish trade to Baldwin Count of Flanders in 958, who established markets at Bruges and other cities. Exchanges were in that age, he says, chiefly effected by barter, little money circulating in Flanders. Annales Flandrici, fol. 18 (edit. 1561).

b Matthew Westmonast. apud Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, vol. i. p. 415.

c Such regulations scared away those Flemish weavers who brought their art into England under Edward III. Macpherson, pp. 467, 494, 546. Several years later the magistrates of Ghent are said by Meyer (Annales Flandrici, fol. 156) to have imposed a tax on every loom. Though the seditious spirit of the Weavers' Company had perhaps justly provoked them, such a tax on their staple manufacture was a piece of madness, when English goods were just coming into competition.

d Terrâ marique mercatura, rerumque commercia et quæstus peribant. Non solum totius Europæ mercatores, verum etiam ipsi Turcæ aliæque sepositæ nationes ob bellum istud Flandriæ magno afficiebantur dolore. Erat nempe Flandria totius prope orbis stabile mercatoribus emporium. Septemdecim regnorum negotiatores tum Brugis sua certa habuere domicilia ac sedes, præter complures incognitas pæne gentes quæ undique confluebant. Meyer, fol. 205, ad ann. 1385.

e Meyer; Froissart; Comines.

f It contained, according to Ludovico Guicciardini, 35,000 houses, and the circuit of its walls was 45,640 Roman feet. Description des Pais Bas, p. 350, &c. (edit. 1609). Part of this enclosure was not built upon. The population of Ghent is reckoned by Guicciardini at 70,000, but in his time it had greatly declined. It is certainly, however, much exaggerated by earlier historians. And I entertain some doubt as to Guicciar-

But Bruges, though in circuit but half the former, was more splendid in its buildings, and the seat of far more trade; being the great staple both for Mediterranean and northern merchandise.[g] Antwerp, which early in the sixteenth century drew away a large part of this commerce from Bruges, was not considerable in the preceding ages; nor were the towns of Zealand and Holland much noted except for their fisheries, though those provinces acquired in the fifteenth century some share of the woollen manufacture.

For the first two centuries after the Conquest our English towns, as has been observed in a different place, made some forward steps towards improvement, though still very inferior to those of the continent. Their commerce was almost confined to the exportation of wool, the great staple commodity of England, upon which, more than any other, in its raw or manufactured state, our wealth has been founded. A woollen manufacture, however, indisputably existed under Henry II.;[h] it is noticed in regulations of Richard I.; and by the importation of woad under John it may be inferred to have still flourished. The disturbances of the next reign, perhaps, or the rapid elevation of the Flemish towns, retarded its growth, though a remarkable law was passed by the Oxford parliament in 1261, prohibiting the export of wool and the importation of cloth. This, while it shows the deference paid by the discontented barons, who predominated in that parliament, to their confederates the burghers, was evidently too premature to be enforced. We may infer from it, however, that cloths were made at home, though not sufficiently for the people's consumption.[i]

Prohibitions of the same nature, though with a different object, were frequently imposed on the trade between England and Flanders by Edward I. and his son. As their political

dini's estimate of the number of houses. If at least he was accurate, more than half of the city must since have been demolished or become uninhabited, which its present appearance does not indicate; for Ghent, though not very flourishing, by no means presents the decay and dilapidation of several Italian towns.

[g] Guicciardini, p. 362; Mém. de Comines, l. v. c. 17; Meyer, fol. 354; Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, vol. i. pp. 647, 651.

[h] Blomefield, the historian of Norfolk, thinks that a colony of Flemings settled as early as this reign at Worsted, a village in that county, and immortalized its name by their manufacture. It soon reached Norwich, though not conspicuous till the reign of Edward I. Hist. of Norfolk, vol. ii. Macpherson speaks of it for the first time in 1327. There were several guilds of weavers in the time of Henry II. Lyttelton, vol. ii. p. 174.

[i] Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, vol. i. p. 412, from Walter Hemingford. I am considerably indebted to this laborious and useful publication, which has superseded that of Anderson.

connections fluctuated, these princes gave full liberty and settlement to the Flemish merchants, or banished them at once from the country.[j] Nothing could be more injurious to England than this arbitrary vacillation. The Flemings were in every respect our natural allies; but besides those connections with France, the constant enemy of Flanders, into which both the Edwards occasionally fell, a mutual alienation had been produced by the trade of the former people with Scotland, a trade too lucrative to be resigned at the King of England's request.[k] An early instance of that conflicting selfishness of belligerents and neutrals, which was destined to aggravate the animosities and misfortunes of our own time.[l]

A more prosperous era began with Edward III., the father, as he may almost be called, of English commerce, a title not indeed more glorious, but by which he may perhaps claim more of our gratitude than as the hero of Crecy. In 1331 he took advantage of discontents among the manufacturers of Flanders to invite them as settlers into his dominions.[m] They brought the finer manufacture of woollen cloths, which had been unknown in England. The discontents alluded to resulted from the monopolizing spirit of their corporations, who oppressed all artisans without the pale of their community. The history of corporations brings home to our minds one cardinal truth, that political institutions have very frequently but a relative and temporary usefulness, and that what forwarded improvement during one part of its course may prove to it in time a most pernicious obstacle. Corporations in England, we may be sure, wanted nothing of their usual character; and it cost Edward no little trouble to protect his colonists from the selfishness and from the blind nationality of the vulgar.[n] The emigration of Flemish weavers into England continued during this reign, and we find it mentioned, at intervals, for more than a century.

Commerce now became, next to liberty, the leading object

[j] Rymer, t. ii. pp. 32, 50, 737, 949, 965; t. iii. pp. 533, 1106, et alibi.

[k] Ibid. p. 759. A Flemish factory was established at Berwick about 1286. Macpherson.

[l] In 1295 Edward I. made masters of neutral ships in English ports find security not to trade with France. Rymer, t. ii. p. 679.

[m] Ibid. t. iv. p. 491, &c. Fuller draws a notable picture of the inducements held out to the Flemings. "Here they should feed on fat beef and mutton, till nothing but their fulness should stint their stomachs; their beds should be good, and their bedfellows better, seeing the richest yeomen in England would not disdain to marry their daughters unto them, and such the English beauties that the most envious foreigners could not but commend them." Fuller's Church History, quoted in Blomefield's Hist. of Norfolk.

[n] Rymer, t. v. pp. 137, 430, 540.

of parliament. For the greater part of our statutes from the accession of Edward III. bear relation to this subject; not always well advised, or liberal, or consistent, but by no means worse in those respects than such as have been enacted in subsequent ages. The occupation of a merchant became honorable; and, notwithstanding the natural jealousy of the two classes, he was placed, in some measure, on a footing with landed proprietors. By the statute of apparel, in 37 Edw. III., merchants and artificers who had five hundred pounds value in goods and chattels might use the same dress as squires of one hundred pounds a year. And those who were worth more than this might dress like men of double that estate. Wool was still the principal article of export and source of revenue. Subsidies granted by every parliament upon this article were, on account of the scarcity of money, commonly taken in kind. To prevent evasion of this duty seems to have been the principle of those multifarious regulations which fix the staple, or market for wool, in certain towns, either in England, or, more commonly, on the continent. To these all wool was to be carried, and the tax was there collected. It is not easy, however, to comprehend the drift of all the provisions relating to the staple, many of which tend to benefit foreign at the expense of English merchants. By degrees the exportation of woollen cloths increased so as to diminish that of the raw material, but the latter was not absolutely prohibited during the period under review;[o] although some restrictions were imposed upon it by Edward IV. For a much earlier statute, in the 11th of Edward III., making the exportation of wool a capital felony, was in its terms provisional, until it should be otherwise ordered by the council; and the king almost immediately set it aside.[p]

[o] In 1409 woollen cloths formed great part of our exports, and were extensively used over Spain and Italy. And in 1449, English cloths having been prohibited by the Duke of Burgundy, it was enacted that, until he should repeal this ordinance, no merchandise of his dominions should be admitted into England. 27 H. VI. c. 1. The system of prohibiting the import of foreign wrought goods was acted upon very extensively in Edward IV.'s reign.

[p] Stat. 11 E. III. c. 1. Blackstone says that transporting wool out of the kingdom, to the detriment of our staple manufacture, was forbidden at common law (vol. iv. c. 19), not recollecting that we had no staple manufactures in the ages when the common law was formed, and that the export of wool was almost the only means by which this country procured silver, or any other article of which it stood in need, from the continent. In fact, the landholders were so far from neglecting this source of their wealth, that a minimum was fixed upon it, by a statute of 1343 (repealed indeed the next year, 18 E. III. c. 3), below which price it was not to be sold; from a laudable apprehension, as it seems, that foreigners were getting it too cheap. And this was revived in the 32d of H. VI., though the act is not printed among the statutes. Rot. Parl. t. v. p. 275.

A manufacturing district, as we see in our own country, sends out, as it were, suckers into all its neighborhood. Accordingly, the woollen manufacture spread from Flanders along the banks of the Rhine and into the northern provinces of France.[q] I am not, however, prepared to trace its history in these regions. In Germany the privileges conceded by Henry V. to the free cities, and especially to their artisans, gave a soul to industry; though the central parts of the empire were, for many reasons, very ill-calculated for commercial enterprise during the middle ages.[r] But the French towns were never so much emancipated from arbitrary power as those of Germany or Flanders; and the evils of exorbitant taxation, with those produced by the English wars, conspired to retard the advance of manufactures in France. That of linen made some little progress; but this work was still, perhaps, chiefly confined to the labor of female servants.[s]

The manufactures of Flanders and England found a market, not only in these adjacent countries, but in a part of Europe which for many ages had only been known enough to be dreaded. In the middle of the eleventh century a native of Bremen, and a writer much superior to most others of his time, was almost entirely ignorant of the geography of the Baltic; doubting whether anyone had reached Russia by that sea, and reckoning Esthonia and Courland among its islands.[t] But in one hundred years more the maritime regions of Mecklenberg and Pomerania, inhabited by a tribe of heathen Scla-

The exportation of sheep was prohibited in 1338—Rymer, t. v. p. 36; and by act of Parliament in 1425—3 H. VI. c. 2. But this did not prevent our importing the wool of a foreign country, to our own loss. It is worthy of notice that English wool was superior to any other for fineness during these ages. Henry II., in his patent to the Weavers' Company, directs that, if any weaver mingled Spanish wool with English, it should be burned by the lord mayor. Macpherson, p. 382. An English flock transported into Spain about 1348 is said to have been the source of the fine Spanish wool. Ibid. p. 539. But the superiority of English wool, even as late as 1438, is proved by the laws of Barcelona forbidding its adulteration. P. 654. Another exportation of English sheep to Spain took place about 1465, in consequence of a commercial treaty. Rymer, t. xi. p. 534 et alibi. In return, Spain supplied England with horses, her breed of which was reckoned the best in Europe; so that the exchange was tolerably fair. Macpherson, p. 596. The best horses had been very dear in England, being imported from Spain and Italy. Ibid.

[q] Schmidt, t. iv. p. 18.

[r] Considerable woollen manufactures appear to have existed in Picardy about 1315. Macpherson ad annum. Capmany, t. iii. part 2, p. 151.

[s] The sheriffs of Wiltshire and Sussex are directed in 1258 to purchase for the king 1,000 ells of fine linen, lineæ telæ pulchræ et delicate. This Macpherson supposes to be of domestic manufacture, which, however, is not demonstrable. Linen was made at that time in Flanders; and as late as 1417 the fine linen used in England was imported from France and the Low Countries. Macpherson, from Rymer, t. ix. p. 334. Velly's history is defective in giving no account of the French commerce and manufactures, or at least none that is at all satisfactory.

[t] Adam Bremensis, de Situ Daniæ, p. 13. (Elzevir edit.)

vonians, were subdued by some German princes; and the Teutonic Order some time afterwards, having conquered Prussia, extended a line of at least comparative civilization as far as the Gulf of Finland. The first town erected on the coasts of the Baltic was Lubeck, which owes its foundation to Adolphus Count of Holstein, in 1140. After several vicissitudes it became independent of any sovereign but the emperor in the thirteenth century. Hamburg and Bremen, upon the other side of the Cimbric peninsula, emulated the prosperity of Lubeck; the former city purchased independence of its bishop in 1225. A colony from Bremen founded Riga in Livonia about 1162. The city of Dantzic grew into importance about the end of the following century. Konigsberg was founded by Ottocar King of Bohemia in the same age.

But the real importance of these cities is to be dated from their famous union into the Hanseatic confederacy. The origin of this is rather obscure, but it may certainly be nearly referred in point of time to the middle of the thirteenth century,[u] and accounted for by the necessity of mutual defence, which piracy by sea and pillage by land had taught the merchants of Germany. The nobles endeavored to obstruct the formation of this league, which indeed was in great measure designed to withstand their exactions. It powerfully maintained the influence which the free imperial cities were at this time acquiring. Eighty of the most considerable places constituted the Hanseatic confederacy, divided into four colleges, whereof Lubeck, Cologne, Brunswick, and Dantzic were the leading towns. Lubeck held the chief rank, and became, as it were, the patriarchal see of the league; whose province it was to preside in all general discussions for mercantile, political, or military purposes, and to carry them into execution. The league had four principal factories in foreign parts, at London, Bruges, Bergen, and Novogorod; endowed by the sovereigns of those cities with considerable privileges, to which every merchant belonging to a Hanseatic town was entitled.[v] In England the German guildhall or factory was established by concession of Henry III.; and in later periods the Hanse traders were favored above many others in the capricious vacil-

[u] Schmidt, t. iv. p. 8. Macpherson, p. 392. The latter writer thinks they were not known by the name of Hanse so early.

[v] Pfeffel, t. i. p. 143; Schmidt, t. iv. p. 18; t. v. p. 512; Macpherson's Annals, vol. i. p. 693.

lations of our mercantile policy.[w] The English had also their factories on the Baltic coast as far as Prussia and in the dominions of Denmark.[x]

This opening of a northern market powerfully accelerated the growth of our own commercial opulence, especially after the woollen manufacture had begun to thrive. From about the middle of the fourteenth century we find continual evidences of a rapid increase in wealth. Thus, in 1363, Picard, who had been lord mayor some years before, entertained Edward III. and the Black Prince, the kings of France, Scotland, and Cyprus, with many of the nobility, at his own house in the Vintry, and presented them with handsome gifts.[y] Philpot, another eminent citizen in Richard II.'s time, when the trade of England was considerably annoyed by privateers, hired 1,000 armed men, and despatched them to sea, where they took fifteen Spanish vessels with their prizes.[z] We find Richard obtaining a great deal from private merchants and trading towns. In 1379 he got 5,000*l.* from London, 1,000 marks from Bristol, and in proportion from smaller places. In 1386 London gave 4,000*l.* more, and 10,000 marks in 1397.[a] The latter sum was obtained also for the coronation of Henry VI.[b] Nor were the contributions of individuals contemptible, considering the high value of money. Hinde, a citizen of London, lent to Henry IV. 2,000*l.* in 1407, and Whittington one-half of that sum. The merchants of the staple advanced 4,000*l.* at the same time.[c] Our commerce continued to be regularly and rapidly progressive during the fifteenth century. The famous Canynges of Bristol, under Henry VI. and Edward IV., had ships of 900 tons burden.[d] The trade and even the internal wealth of England reached so much higher a pitch in the reign of the last-mentioned king than at any former period, that we may perceive the wars of York and Lancaster to have produced no very serious effect on national prosperity. Some battles were doubtless sanguinary; but the loss of lives in battle is soon repaired by a flourishing nation; and the devastation occasioned by armies was both partial and transitory.

A commercial intercourse between these northern and south-

w Macpherson, vol. i. passim.
x Rymer, t. viii. p. 360.
y Macpherson (who quotes Stow), p. 415.
z Walsingham, p. 211.
a Rymer, t. vii. pp. 210, 341; t. viii. p. 9.
b Ibid. t. x. p. 461.
c Ibid. t. viii. p. 488.
d Macpherson, p. 667.

ern regions of Europe began about the early part of the fourteenth century, or, at most, a little sooner. Until, indeed, the use of the magnet was thoroughly understood, and a competent skill in marine architecture, as well as navigation, acquired, the Italian merchants were scarce likely to attempt a voyage perilous in itself and rendered more formidable by the imaginary difficulties which had been supposed to attend an expedition beyond the straits of Hercules. But the English, accustomed to their own rough seas, were always more intrepid, and probably more skilful navigators. Though it was extremely rare, even in the fifteenth century, for an English trading vessel to appear in the Mediterranean,[e] yet a famous military armament, that destined for the crusade of Richard I., displayed at a very early time the seamanship of our countrymen. In the reign of Edward II. we find mention in Rymer's collection of Genoese ships trading to Flanders and England. His son was very solicitous to preserve the friendship of that opulent republic; and it is by his letters to his senate, or by royal orders restoring ships unjustly seized, that we come by a knowledge of those facts which historians neglect to relate. Pisa shared a little in this traffic, and Venice more considerably; but Genoa was beyond all competition at the head of Italian commerce in these seas during the fourteenth century. In the next her general decline left it more open to her rival; but I doubt whether Venice ever maintained so strong a connection with England. Through London and Bruges, their chief station in Flanders, the merchants of Italy and Spain transported oriental produce to the farthest parts of the north. The inhabitants of the Baltic coast were stimulated by the desire of precious luxuries which

[e] Richard III., in 1485, appointed a Florentine merchant to be English consul at Pisa, on the ground that some of his subjects intended to trade to Italy. Macpherson, p. 705, from Rymer. Perhaps we cannot positively prove the existence of a Mediterranean trade at an earlier time: and even this instrument is not conclusive. But a considerable presumption arises from two documents in Rymer, of the year 1412, which inform us of a great shipment of wool and other goods made by some merchants of London for the Mediterranean, under supercargoes, whom, it being a new undertaking, the king expressly recommended to the Genoese republic. But that people, impelled probably by commercial jealousy, seized the vessels and their cargoes; which induced the king to grant the owners letters of reprisal against all Genoese property. Rymer, t. viii. pp. 717, 773. Though it is not perhaps evident that the vessels were English, the circumstances render it highly probable. The bad success, however, of this attempt, might prevent its imitation. A Greek author about the beginning of the fifteenth century reckons the Ἰγγλαμνοι among the nations who traded to a port in the Archipelago. Gibbon, vol. xii. p. 52. But these enumerations are generally swelled by vanity or the love of exaggeration; and a few English sailors on board a foreign vessel would justify the assertion. Benjamin of Tudela, a Jewish traveller, pretends that the port of Alexandria, about 1160, contained vessels not only from England, but from Russia, and even Cracow. Harris's Voyages, vol. i. p. 554.

they had never known; and these wants, though selfish and frivolous, are the means by which nations acquire civilization, and the earth is rendered fruitful of its produce. As the carriers of this trade the Hanseatic merchants resident in England and Flanders derived profits through which eventually of course those countries were enriched. It seems that the Italian vessels unloaded at the marts of London or Bruges, and that such parts of their cargoes as were intended for a more northern trade came there into the hands of the German merchants. In the reign of Henry VI. England carried on a pretty extensive traffic with the countries around the Mediterranean, for whose commodities her wool and woollen cloths enabled her to pay.

The commerce of the southern division, though it did not, I think, produce more extensively beneficial effects upon the progress of society, was both earlier and more splendid than that of England and the neighboring countries. Besides Venice, which has been mentioned already, Amalfi kept up the commercial intercourse of Christendom with the Saracen countries before the first crusade.[f] It was the singular fate of this city to have filled up the interval between two periods of civilization, in neither of which she was destined to be distinguished. Scarcely known before the end of the sixth century, Amalfi ran a brilliant career, as a free and trading republic, which was checked by the arms of a conqueror in the middle of the twelfth. Since her subjugation by Roger King of Sicily, the name of a people who for a while connected Europe with Asia has hardly been repeated, except for two discoveries falsely imputed to them, those of the Pandects and of the compass.

[f] The Amalfitans are thus described by William of Apulia, apud Muratori, Dissert. 30.

Urbs hæc dives opum, populoque referta videtur,
Nulla magis locuples argento, vestibus, auro.
Partibus innumeris ac plurimus urbe moratur
Nauta, maris cœlique vias aperire peritus.
Huc et Alexandri diversa feruntur ab urbe.
Regis et Antiochi. Hæc [etiam?] freta plurima transit.
Hic Arabes, Indi, Siculi noscuntur, et Afri.
Hæc gens est totum prope nobilitata per orbem,
Et mercanda ferens, et amans mercata referre.

[There must be, I suspect, some exaggeration about the commerce and opulence of Amalfi, in the only age when she possessed any at all. The city could never have been considerable, as we may judge from its position immediately under a steep mountain; and what is still more material, has a very small port. According to our notions of trade, she could never have enjoyed much; the lines quoted from William of Apulia are to be taken as a poet's panegyric. It is of course a question of degree; Amalfi was no doubt a commercial republic to the extent of her capacity; but those who have ever been on the coast must be aware how limited that was. At present she has, I believe, no foreign trade at all. 1848.]

But the decline of Amalfi was amply compensated to the rest of Italy by the constant elevation of Pisa, Genoa, and Venice in the twelfth and ensuing ages. The crusades led immediately to this growing prosperity of the commercial cities. Besides the profit accruing from so many naval armaments which they supplied, and the continual passage of private adventurers in their vessels, they were enabled to open a more extensive channel of oriental traffic than had hitherto been known. These three Italian republics enjoyed immunities in the Christian principalities of Syria; possessing separate quarters in Acre, Tripoli, and other cities, where they were governed by their own laws and magistrates. Though the progress of commerce must, from the condition of European industry, have been slow, it was uninterrupted; and the settlements in Palestine were becoming important as factories, a use of which Godfrey and Urban little dreamed, when they were lost through the guilt and imprudence of their inhabitants.[g] Villani laments the injury sustained by commerce in consequence of the capture of Acre, "situated, as it was, on the coast of the Mediterranean, in the centre of Syria, and, as we might say, of the habitable world, a haven for all merchandise, both from the East and the West, which all the nations of the earth frequented for this trade."[h] But the loss was soon retrieved, not perhaps by Pisa and Genoa, but by Venice, who formed connections with the Saracen governments, and maintained her commercial intercourse with Syria and Egypt by their license, though subject probably to heavy exactions. Sanuto, a Venetian author at the beginning of the fourteenth century, has left a curious account of the Levant trade which his countrymen carried on at that time. Their imports it is easy to guess, and it appears that timber, brass, tin, and lead, as well as the precious metals, were exported to Alexandria, besides oil, saffron, and some of the productions of Italy, and even wool and woollen cloths.[i] The European side of the account had therefore become respectable.

The commercial cities enjoyed as great privileges at Constantinople as in Syria, and they bore an eminent part in the vicissitudes of the Eastern empire. After the capture of Con-

[g] The inhabitants of Acre were noted, in an age not very pure, for the excess of their vices. In 1291 they plundered some of the subjects of a neighboring Mohammedan prince, and, refusing reparation, the city was besieged and taken by storm. Muratori, ad ann. Gibbon, c. 59.

[h] Villani, l. vii. c. 144.

[i] Macpherson, p. 490.

stantinople by the Latin crusaders, the Venetians, having been concerned in that conquest, became, of course, the favored traders under the new dynasty; possessing their own district in the city, with their magistrate or podestà, appointed at Venice, and subject to the parent republic. When the Greeks recovered the seat of their empire, the Genoese, who, from jealousy of their rivals, had contributed to that revolution, obtained similar immunities. This powerful and enterprising state, in the fourteenth century, sometimes the ally, sometimes the enemy, of the Byzantine court, maintained its independent settlement at Pera. From thence she spread her sails into the Euxine, and, planting a colony at Caffa in the Crimea, extended a line of commerce with the interior regions of Asia, which even the skill and spirit of our own times has not yet been able to revive.*j*

The French provinces which border on the Mediterranean Sea partook in the advantages which it offered. Not only Marseilles, whose trade had continued in a certain degree throughout the worst ages, but Narbonne, Nismes, and especially Montpelier, were distinguished for commercial prosperity.*k* A still greater activity prevailed in Catalonia. From the middle of the thirteenth century (for we need not trace the rudiments of its history) Barcelona began to emulate the Italian cities in both the branches of naval energy, war and commerce. Engaged in frequent and severe hostilities with Genoa, and sometimes with Constantinople, while their vessels traded to every part of the Mediterranean, and even of the English Channel, the Catalans might justly be reckoned among the first of maritime nations. The commerce of Barcelona

j Capmany, Memorias Historicas, t. iii. preface, p. 11; and part 2, p. 131. His authority is Balducci Pegalotti, a Florentine writer upon commerce about 1340, whose work I have never seen. It appears from Balducci that the route to China was from Asoph to Astrakan, and thence, by a variety of places which cannot be found in modern maps, to Cambalu, probably Pekin, the capital city of China, which he describes as being one hundred miles in circumference. The journey was of rather more than eight months, going and returning; and he assures us it was perfectly secure, not only for caravans, but for a single traveller with a couple of interpreters and a servant. The Venetians had also a settlement in the Crimea, and appear, by a passage in Petrarch's letters, to have possessed some of the trade through Tartary. In a letter written from Venice, after extolling in too rhetorical a manner the commerce of that republic, he mentions a particular ship that had just sailed for the Black Sea. Et ipsa quidem Tanaim it visura, nostri enim maris navigatio non ultra tenditur; eorum vero aliqui, quos hæc fert. illic iter [instituent] eam egressuri, nec antea substituri, quàm Gange et Caucaso superato, ad Indos atque extremos Seres et Orientalem perveniatur Oceanum. En quo ardens et inexplebilis habendi sitis hominum mentes rapit! Petrarcæ Opera, Senil. l. ii. ep. 3, p. 760 edit. 1581.

k Hist. de Languedoc, t. iii. p. 531; t. iv. p. 517. Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, t. xxxvii.

has never since attained so great a height as in the fifteenth century.[l]

The introduction of a silk manufacture at Palermo, by Roger Guiscard in 1148, gave perhaps the earliest impulse to the industry of Italy. Nearly about the same time the Genoese plundered two Moorish cities of Spain, from which they derived the same art. In the next age this became a staple manufacture of the Lombard and Tuscan republics, and the cultivation of mulberries was enforced by their laws.[m] Woollen stuffs, though the trade was perhaps less conspicuous than that of Flanders, and though many of the coarser kinds were imported from thence, employed a multitude of workmen in Italy, Catalonia, and the south of France.[n] Among the trading companies into which the middling ranks were distributed, those concerned in silk and woollens were most numerous and honorable.[o]

A property of a natural substance, long overlooked even though it attracted observation by a different peculiarity, has influenced by its accidental discovery the fortunes of mankind more than all the deductions of philosophy. It is, perhaps, impossible to ascertain the epoch when the polarity of the magnet was first known in Europe. The common opinion, which ascribes its discovery to a citizen of Amalfi in the fourteenth century, is undoubtedly erroneous. Guiot de Provins, a French poet, who lived about the year 1200, or, at the latest under St. Louis, describes it in the most unequivocal language. James de Vitry, a bishop in Palestine, before the middle of the thirteenth century, and Guido Guinizzelli, an Italian poet of the same time, are equally explicit. The French, as well as Italians, claim the discovery as their own; but whether it were due to either of these nations, or rather learned from their intercourse with the Saracens, is not easily to be ascertained.[p]

[l] Capmany, Memorias Historicas de Barcelona, t. i. part 2. See particularly p. 36.

[m] Muratori, Dissert. 30. Denina, Rivoluzione d'Italia, l. xiv. c. 11. The latter writer is of opinion that mulberries were not cultivated as an important object till after 1300, nor even to any great extent till after 1500; the Italian manufacturers buying most of their silk from Spain or the Levant.

[n] The history of Italian states, and especially Florence, will speak for the first country; Capmany attests the woollen manufacture of the second—Mem. Hist. de Barcel. t. i. part 3, p. 7, &c.; and Vaissette that of Carcassonne and its vicinity—Hist. de Lang. t. iv. p. 517.

[o] None were admitted to the rank of burgesses in the town of Aragon who used any manual trade, with the exception of dealers in fine cloths. The woollen manufacture of Spain did not at any time become a considerable article of export, nor even supply the internal consumption, as Capmany has well shown. Memorias Historicas, t. iii. p. 325 et seq., and Edinburgh Review, vol. x.

[p] Boucher, the French translator of Il Consolato del Mare, says that Edrisi,

For some time, perhaps, even this wonderful improvement in the art of navigation might not be universally adopted by vessels sailing within the Mediterranean, and accustomed to their old system of observations. But when it became more established, it naturally inspired a more fearless spirit of adventure. It was not, as has been mentioned, till the beginning of the fourteenth century that the Genoese and other nations around that inland sea steered into the Atlantic Ocean towards England and Flanders. This intercourse with the northern countries enlivened their trade with the Levant by the exchange of productions which Spain and Italy do not supply, and enriched the merchants by means of whose capital the exports of London and of Alexandria were conveyed into each other's harbors.

The usual risks of navigation, and those incident to commercial adventure, produce a variety of questions in every system of jurisprudence, which, though always to be determined, as far as possible, by principles of natural justice, must in many cases depend upon established customs. These customs of maritime law were anciently reduced into a code by the Rhodians, and the Roman emperors preserved or reformed the constitutions of that republic. It would be hard to say how far the tradition of this early jurisprudence survived the decline of commerce in the darker ages; but after it began to recover itself, necessity suggested, or recollection prompted, a scheme

a Saracen geographer who lived about 1100, gives an account, though in a confused manner, of the polarity of the magnet. T. ii. p. 280. However, the lines of Guiot de Provins are decisive. These are quoted in Hist. Littéraire de la France, t. ix. p. 199; Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. t. xxi. p. 192; and several other works. Guinizzelli has the following passage, in a canzone quoted by Ginguené, Hist. Littéraire de l'Italie, t. i. p. 413:—

In quelle parti sotto tramontana,
Sono li monti della calamita,
Che dan virtute all' aere
Di trarre il ferro; ma perchè lontana,
Volè di simil pietra aver aita,
A far la adoperare,
E dirizzar lo ago in ver la stella.

We cannot be diverted, by the nonsensical theory these lines contain, from perceiving the positive testimony of the last verse to the poet's knowledge of the polarity of the magnet. But if any doubt could remain, Tiraboschi (t. iv. p. 171) has fully established, from a series of passages, that this phenomenon was well known in the thirteenth century; and puts an end altogether to the pretensions of Flavio Gioja, if such a person ever existed. See also Macpherson's Annals, pp. 364 and 418. It is provoking to find an historian like Robertson asserting, without hesitation, that this citizen of Amalfi was the inventor of the compass, and thus accrediting an error which had already been detected.

It is a singular circumstance, and only to be explained by the obstinacy with which men are apt to reject improvement, that the magnetic needle was not generally adopted in navigation till very long after the discovery of its properties, and even after their peculiar importance had been perceived. The writers of the thirteenth century, who mention the polarity of the needle, mention also its use in navigation; yet Capmany has found no distinct proof of its employment till 1403, and does not believe that it was frequently on board Mediterranean ships at the latter part of the preceding age. Memorias Historicas, t. iii. p. 70. Perhaps, however, he has inferred too much from his negative proof; and this subject seems open to further inquiry.

of regulations resembling in some degree, but much more enlarged than those of antiquity. This was formed into a written code, Il Consolato del Mare, not much earlier, probably, than the middle of the thirteenth century; and its promulgation seems rather to have proceeded from the citizens of Barcelona than from those of Pisa or Venice, who have also claimed to be the first legislators of the sea.[q] Besides regulations simply mercantile, this system has defined the mutual rights of neutral and belligerent vessels, and thus laid the basis of the positive law of nations in its most important and disputed cases. The King of France and Count of Provence solemnly acceded to this maritime code, which hence acquired a binding force within the Mediterranean Sea; and in most respects the law merchant of Europe is at present conformable to its provisions. A set of regulations, chiefly borrowed from the Consolato, was compiled in France under the reign of Louis IX., and prevailed in their own country. These have been denominated the laws of Oleron, from an idle story that they were enacted by Richard I., while his expedition to the Holy Land lay at anchor in that island.[r] Nor was the north without its peculiar code of maritime jurisprudence; namely, the Ordinances of Wisbuy, a town in the isle of Gothland, principally compiled from those of Oleron, before the year 1400, by which the Baltic traders were governed.[s]

There was abundant reason for establishing among maritime nations some theory of mutual rights, and for securing the redress of injuries, as far as possible, by means of acknowledged tribunals. In that state of barbarous anarchy

[q] Boucher supposes it to have been compiled at Barcelona about 900; but his reasonings are inconclusive, t. i. p. 72; and indeed Barcelona at that time was little, if at all, better than a fishing-town. Some arguments might be drawn in favor of Pisa from the expressions of Henry IV.'s charter granted to that city in 1081. Consuetudines, quas habent de mari, sic iis observabimus sicut illorum est consuetudo. Muratori, Dissert. 45. Giannone seems to think the collection was compiled about the reign of Louis IX. l. xi. c. 6. Capmany, the last Spanish editor, whose authority ought perhaps to outweigh every other, asserts and seems to prove them to have been enacted by the mercantile magistrates of Barcelona, under the reign of James the Conqueror which is much the same period. Codigo de las Costumbres Maritimas de Barcelona, Madrid, 1791. But, by whatever nation they were reduced into their present form, these laws were certainly the ancient and established usages of the Mediterranean states: and Pisa may very probably have taken a great share in first practising what a century or two afterwards was rendered more precise at Barcelona.

[r] Macpherson, p. 358. Boucher supposes them to be registers of actual decisions.

[s] I have only the authority of Boucher for referring the Ordinances of Wisbuy to the year 1400. Beckman imagines them to be older than those of Oleron. But Wisbuy was not enclosed by a wall till 1288, a proof that it could not have been previously a town of much importance. It flourished chiefly in the first part of the fourteenth century, and was at that time an independent republic, but fell under the yoke of Denmark before the end of the same age.

which so long resisted the coercive authority of civil magistrates, the sea held out even more temptation and more impunity than the land; and when the laws had regained their sovereignty, and neither robbery nor private warfare was any longer tolerated, there remained that great common of mankind, unclaimed by any king, and the liberty of the sea was another name for the security of plunderers. A pirate, in a well-armed quick-sailing vessel, must feel, I suppose, the enjoyments of his exemption from control more exquisitely than any other freebooter; and darting along the bosom of the ocean, under the impartial radiance of the heavens, may deride the dark concealments and hurried flights of the forest robber. His occupation is, indeed, extinguished by the civilization of later ages, or confined to distant climates. But in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a rich vessel was never secure from attack; and neither restitution nor punishment of the criminals was to be obtained from governments who sometimes feared the plunderer and sometimes connived at the offence.[t] Mere piracy, however, was not the only danger. The maritime towns of Flanders, France, and England, like the free republics of Italy, prosecuted their own quarrels by arms, without asking the leave of their respective sovereigns. This practice, exactly analogous to that of private war in the feudal system, more than once involved the kings of France and England in hostility.[u] But where the quarrel did not proceed to such a length as absolutely to engage two opposite towns, a modification of this ancient right of revenge formed part of the regular law of nations, under the name of reprisals. Whoever was plundered or injured by the inhabitant of another town obtained authority from his own magistrates to seize the property of any other person belonging to it, until his loss should be compensated. This law of reprisal was not confined to maritime places; it prevailed in Lombardy, and probably in the German cities. Thus, if a citizen of Modena was robbed by a Bolognese, he complained to the magistrates of the former

[t] Hugh Despenser seized a Genoese vessel valued at 14,300 marks, for which no restitution was ever made. Rym. t. iv. p. 701. Macpherson, A.D. 1336.

[u] The Cinque Ports and other trading towns of England were in a constant state of hostility with their opposite neighbors during the reigns of Edward I. and II. One might quote almost half the instruments in Rymer in proof of these conflicts, and of those with the mariners of Norway and Denmark. Sometimes mutual envy produced frays between different English towns. Thus, in 1254 the Winchelsea mariners attacked a Yarmouth galley, and killed some of her men. Matt. Paris, apud Macpherson.

city, who represented the case to those of Bologna, demanding redress. If this were not immediately granted, letters of reprisals were issued to plunder the territory of Bologna till the injured party should be reimbursed by sale of the spoil.[v] In the laws of Marseilles it is declared, "If a foreigner take anything from a citizen of Marseilles, and he who has jurisdiction over the said debtor or unjust taker does not cause right to be done in the same, the rector or consuls, at the petition of the said citizen, shall grant him reprisals upon all the goods of the said debtor or unjust taker, and also upon the goods of others who are under the jurisdiction of him who ought to do justice, and would not, to the said citizen of Marseilles."[w] Edward III. remonstrates, in an instrument published by Rymer, against letters of marque granted by the King of Aragon to one Berenger de la Tone, who had been robbed by an English pirate of 2,000*l*., alleging that, inasmuch as he had always been ready to give redress to the party, it seemed to his counsellors that there was no just cause for reprisals upon the king's or his subjects' property.[x] This passage is so far curious as it asserts the existence of a customary law of nations, the knowledge of which was already a sort of learning. Sir E. Coke speaks of this right of private reprisals as if it still existed;[y] and, in fact, there are instances of granting such letters as late as the reign of Charles I.

A practice, founded on the same principles as reprisal, though rather less violent, was that of attaching the goods or persons of resident foreigners for the debts of their countrymen. This indeed, in England, was not confined to foreigners until the statute of Westminster I. c. 23, which enacts that "no stranger who is of this realm shall be distrained in any town or market for a debt wherein he is neither principal nor surety." Henry III. had previously granted a charter to the burgesses of Lubeck, that they should "not be arrested for the debt of any of their countrymen, unless the magistrates of Lubeck neglected to compel payment."[z] But by a variety of grants from Edward II. the privileges of English subjects under the statute

[v] Muratori, Dissert. 53.
[w] Du Cange, voc. Laudum.
[x] Rymer, t. iv. p. 576. Videtur saplentibus et peritis, quod causa, de jure, non subfuit marcham seu reprisaliam in nostris, seu subditorum nostrorum, bonis concedendi. See too a case of neutral goods on board an enemy's vessel claimed by the owners, and a legal distinction taken in favor of the captors. t. vi. p. 14.
[y] 27 E. III. stat. ii. c. 17. 2 Inst. p. 205.
[z] Rymer, t. i. p. 839.

of Westminster were extended to most foreign nations.[a] This unjust responsibility had not been confined to civil cases. One of a company of Italian merchants, the Spini, having killed a man, the officers of justice seized the bodies and effects of all the rest.[b]

If under all these obstacles, whether created by barbarous manners, by national prejudice, or by the fraudulent and arbitrary measures of princes, the merchants of different countries became so opulent as almost to rival the ancient nobility, it must be ascribed to the greatness of their commercial profits. The trading companies possessed either a positive or a virtual monopoly, and held the keys of those eastern regions, for the luxuries of which the progressive refinement of manners produced an increasing demand. It is not easy to determine the average rate of profit;[c] but we know that the interest of money was exceedingly high throughout the middle ages. At Verona, in 1228, it was fixed by law at twelve and a half per cent.; at Modena, in 1270, it seems to have been as high as twenty.[d] The republic of Genoa, towards the end of the fourteenth century, when Italy had grown wealthy, paid only from seven to ten per cent. to her creditors.[e] But in France and England the rate was far more oppressive. An ordinance of Philip the Fair, in 1311, allows twenty per cent. after the first year of the loan.[f] Under Henry III., according to Matthew Paris, the debtor paid ten per cent. every two months;[g] but this is absolutely incredible as a general practice. This was not merely owing to scarcity of money, but to the discouragement which a strange prejudice opposed to one of the most useful and legitimate branches of commerce. Usury, or lending money for profit, was treated as a crime by the theologians of the middle ages; and though the superstition has been eradicated, some part of the prejudice remains in our legislation. This trade in money, and indeed a great part of inland trade in general, had originally fallen to the Jews, who were noted

a Rymer, t. iii. pp. 458, 647, 678, et infra. See too the ordinances of the staple, in 27 Edw. III., which confirm this among other privileges, and contain manifold evidence of the regard paid to commerce in that reign.

b Ibid. t. ii. p. 891. Madox, Hist. Exchequer, c. xxii. s. 7.

c In the remarkable speech of the Doge Mocenigo, quoted in another place, vol. i. p. 383, the annual profits made by Venice on her mercantile capital is reckoned at forty per cent.

d Muratori, Dissert. 16.

e Bizarri, Hist. Genuens. p. 797. The rate of discount on bills, which may not have exactly corresponded to the average annual interest of money, was ten per cent. at Barcelona in 1435. Capmany, t. i. p. 209.

f Du Cange, v. Usura.

g Muratori, Diss. 16.

for their usury so early as the sixth century.[h] For several subsequent ages they continued to employ their capital and industry to the same advantage, with little molestation from the clergy, who always tolerated their avowed and national infidelity, and often with some encouragement from princes. In the twelfth century we find them not only possessed of landed property in Languedoc, and cultivating the studies of medicine and Rabbinical literature in their own academy at Montpelier, under the protection of the Count of Toulouse, but invested with civil offices.[i] Raymond Roger, Viscount of Carcasonne, directs a writ "to his bailiffs, Christian and Jewish."[j] It was one of the conditions imposed by the church on the Count of Toulouse, that he should allow no Jews to possess magistracy in his dominions.[k] But in Spain they were placed by some of the municipal laws on the footing of Christians, with respect to the composition for their lives, and seem in no other European country to have been so numerous or considerable.[l] The diligence and expertness of this people in all pecuniary dealings recommended them to princes who were solicitous about the improvement of their revenue. We find an article in the general charter of privileges granted by Peter III. of Aragon, in 1283, that no Jew should hold the office of a bayle or judge. And two kings of Castile, Alonzo XI. and Peter the Cruel, incurred much odium by employing Jewish ministers in their treasury. But, in other parts of Europe, their condition had, before that time, begun to change for the worse—partly from the fanatical spirit of the crusades, which prompted the populace to massacre, and partly from the jealousy which their opulence excited. Kings, in order to gain money and popularity at once, abolished the debts due to the children of Israel, except a part which they retained as the price of their bounty. One is at a loss to conceive the process of reasoning in an ordinance of St. Louis, where, "for the salvation of his own soul and those of his ancestors, he releases to all Christians a third part of what was owing by them to Jews."[m] Not content with such edicts, the kings of France sometimes banished the whole nation from their dominions, seizing their effects at the same time; and a season of alternative severity

[h] Greg. Turon. l. iv.
[i] Hist. de Languedoc, t. ii. p. 517; t. iii. p. 531.
[j] Id. t. iii. p. 121.
[k] Id. t. iii. p. 163.
[l] Marina, Ensayo Historico-Critico, p. 143.
[m] Martenne Thesaurus Anecdotorum, t. i. p. 984.

and toleration continued till, under Charles VI., they were expelled from the kingdom, where they never possessed any legal settlement until long afterwards.[n] They were expelled from England under Edward I., and never obtained any legal permission to reside till the time of Cromwell. This decline of the Jews was owing to the transference of their trade in money to other hands. In the early part of the thirteenth century the merchants of Lombardy and of the south of France[o] took up the business of remitting money by bills of exchange[p] and of making profit upon loans. The utility of this was found so great, especially by the Italian clergy, who thus in an easy manner drew the income of their transalpine benefices, that in spite of much obloquy, the Lombard usurers established themselves in every country, and the general progress of commerce wore off the bigotry that had obstructed their reception. A distinction was made between moderate and exorbitant interest; and though the casuists did not acquiesce in this legal regulation, yet it satisfied, even in superstitious times, the consciences of provident traders.[q] The Italian bankers were frequently allowed to farm the customs in England, as a security perhaps for loans which were not very punctually repaid.[r] In

[n] Velly, t. iv. p. 136.

[o] The city of Cahors, in Quercy, the modern department of the Lot, produced a tribe of money-dealers. The Caursini are almost as often noticed as the Lombards. See the article in Du Cange. In Lombardy, Asti, a city of no great note in other respects, was famous for the same department of commerce.

[p] There were three species of paper credit in the dealings of merchants: 1. General letters of credit, not directed to any one, which are not uncommon in the Levant: 2. Orders to pay money to a particular person: 3. Bills of exchange regularly negotiable. Boucher, t. ii. p. 621. Instances of the first are mentioned by Macpherson about 1200, p. 367. The second species was introduced by the Jews, about 1183 (Capmany, t. i. p. 297); but it may be doubtful whether the last stage of the progress was reached nearly so soon. An instrument in Rymer, however, of the year 1364 (t. vi. p. 495), mentions literæ cambitoriæ, which seem to have been negotiable bills; and by 1400 they were drawn in sets, and worded exactly as at present. Macpherson, p. 614, and Beckman, History of Inventions, vol. iii. p. 430, give from Capmany an actual precedent of a bill dated in 1404.

[q] Usury was looked upon with horror by our English divines long after the Reformation. Fleury, in his Institutions au Droit Ecclésiastique, t. ii. p. 129, has shown the subterfuges to which men had recourse in order to evade this prohibition. It is an unhappy truth, that great part of the attention devoted to the best of sciences, ethics and jurisprudence, has been employed to weaken principles that ought never to have been acknowledged.

One species of usury, and that of the highest importance to commerce, was always permitted, on account of the risk that attended it. This was marine insurance, which could not have existed, until money was considered, in itself, as a source of profit. The earliest regulations on the subject of insurance are those of Barcelona in 1433; but the practice was, of course, earlier than these, though not of great antiquity. It is not mentioned in the Consolato del Mare, nor in any of the Hanseatic laws of the fourteenth century. Beckman, vol. i. p. 388. This author, not being aware of the Barcelonese laws on this subject published by Capmany, supposes the first provisions regulating marine assurance to have been made at Florence in 1523.

[r] Macpherson, p. 487, et alibi. They had probably excellent bargains: in 1329 the Bardi farmed all the customs in England for 20*l.* a day. But in 1282 the customs had produced 8,411*l.*, and half a century of great improvement had elapsed.

1345 the Bardi at Florence, the greatest company in Italy, became bankrupt, Edward III. owing them, in principal and interest, 900,000 gold florins. Another, the Peruzzi, failed at the same time, being creditors to Edward for 600,000 florins. The King of Sicily owed 100,000 florins to each of these bankers. Their failure involved, of course, a multitude of Florentine citizens, and was a heavy misfortune to the state.[s]

The earliest bank of deposit, instituted for the accommodation of private merchants, is said to have been that of Barcelona, in 1401.[t] The banks of Venice and Genoa were of a different description. Although the former of these two has the advantage of greater antiquity, having been formed, as we are told, in the twelfth century, yet its early history is not so clear as that of Genoa, nor its political importance so remarkable, however similar might be its origin.[u] During the wars of Genoa in the fourteenth century, she had borrowed large sums of private citizens, to whom the revenues were pledged for repayment. The republic of Florence had set a recent, though not a very encouraging example of a public loan, to defray the expense of her war against Mastino della Scala, in 1336. The chief mercantile firms, as well as individual citizens, furnished money on an assignment of the taxes, receiving fifteen per cent. interest, which appears to have been above the rate of private usury.[v] The state was not unreasonably considered a worse debtor than some of her citizens, for in a few years these loans were consolidated into a general fund, or monte, with some deduction from the capital and a great diminution of interest; so that an original debt of one hundred florins sold only for twenty-five.[w] But I have not found that these creditors formed at Florence a corporate body, or took any part, as such, in the affairs of the republic. The case was different at Genoa. As a security, at least, for their interest, the subscribers to public loans were permitted to receive the produce of the taxes by their own collectors, paying the excess into the treasury. The number and distinct classes of these subscribers becoming at length inconvenient, they were formed, about the year 1407, into a single corporation, called

[s] Villani, l. xii. c. 55, 87. He calls these two banking-houses the pillars which sustained great part of the commerce of Christendom.

[t] Capmany, t. i. p. 213.

[u] Macpherson, p. 341, from Sanuto. The bank of Venice is referred to 1171.

[v] G. Villani, l. xi. c. 49.

[w] Matt. Villani, p. 227 (in Muratori, Script. Rer. Ital. t. xiv.)

the bank of St. George, which was from that time the sole national creditor and mortgagee. The government of this was intrusted to eight protectors. It soon became almost independent of the state. Every senator, on his admission, swore to maintain the privileges of the bank, which were confirmed by the pope, and even by the emperor. The bank interposed its advice in every measure of government, and generally, as is admitted, to the public advantage. It equipped armaments at its own expense, one of which subdued the island of Corsica; and this acquisition, like those of our great Indian corporation, was long subject to a company of merchants, without any interference of the mother country.[x]

The increasing wealth of Europe, whether derived from internal improvement or foreign commerce, displayed itself in more expensive consumption, and greater refinements of domestic life. But these effects were for a long time very gradual, each generation making a few steps in the progress, which are hardly discernible except by an attentive inquirer. It is not till the latter half of the thirteenth century that an accelerated impulse appears to be given to society. The just government and suppression of disorder under St. Louis, and the peaceful temper of his brother Alfonso, Count of Toulouse and Poitou, gave France leisure to avail herself of her admirable fertility. England, that to a soil not greatly inferior to that of France united the inestimable advantage of an insular position, and was invigorated, above all, by her free constitution and the steady industriousness of her people, rose with a pretty uniform motion from the time of Edward I. Italy, though the better days of freedom had passed away in most of her republics, made a rapid transition from simplicity to refinement. "In those times," says a writer about the year 1300, speaking of the age of Frederic II., "the manners of the Italians were rude. A man and his wife ate off the same plate. There was no wooden-handled knives, nor more than one or two drinking cups in a house. Candles of wax or tallow were unknown; a servant held a torch during supper. The clothes of men were of leather unlined: scarcely any gold or silver was seen on their dress. The common people ate flesh but three times a week, and kept their cold meat for supper. Many did not drink wine

[x] Bizairri, Hist. Genuens. P. 797 (Antwerp, 1579); Machiavelli, Storia Florentina, l. viii.

in summer. A small stock of corn seemed riches. The portions of women were small; their dress, even after marriage, was simple. The pride of men was to be well provided with arms and horses; that of the nobility to have lofty towers, of which all the cities in Italy were full. But now frugality has been changed for sumptuousness; everything exquisite is sought after in dress; gold, silver, pearls, silks, and rich furs. Foreign wines and rich meats are required. Hence usury, rapine, fraud, tyranny," &c.[y] This passage is supported by other testimonies nearly of the same time. The conquest of Naples by Charles of Anjou in 1266 seems to have been the epoch of increasing luxury throughout Italy. His Provençal knights with their plumed helmets and golden collars, the chariot of his queen covered with blue velvet and sprinkled with lilies of gold, astonished the citizens of Naples.[z] Provence had enjoyed a long tranquillity, the natural source of luxurious magnificence; and Italy, now liberated from the yoke of the empire, soon reaped the same fruit of a condition more easy and peaceful than had been her lot for several ages. Dante speaks of the change of manners at Florence from simplicity and virtue to refinement and dissoluteness, in terms very nearly similar to those quoted above.[a]

Throughout the fourteenth century there continued to be a rapid but steady progression in England of what we may denominate elegance, improvement, or luxury; and if this was for a time suspended in France, it must be ascribed to the unusual calamities which befell that country under Philip of Valois and his son. Just before the breaking out of the English wars an excessive fondness for dress is said to have distinguished not only the higher ranks, but the burghers, whose

y Ricobaldus Ferrarensis, apud Murat. Dissert. 23; Francisc. Pippinus, ibidem. Muratori endeavors to extenuate the authority of this passage, on account of some more ancient writers who complain of the luxury of their times, and of some particular instances of magnificence and expense. But Ricobaldi alludes, as Muratori himself admits, to the mode of living in the middle ranks, and not to that of courts, which in all ages might occasionally display considerable splendor. I see nothing to weaken so explicit a testimony of a contemporary, which in fact is confirmed by many writers of the next age, who, according to the practice of Italian chroniclers, have copied it as their own.

z Murat. Dissert. 23.

a Bellincion Berti vid' io andar cinto
Di cuojo e d' osso, e venir dallo specchio
La donna sua senza 'l viso dipinto,
E vidi quel di Nerli, e quel del Vecchio
Esser contenti alla pelle scoverta,
E sue donne al fuso ed al pennechio.
Paradis. canto xv.

See too the rest of this canto. But this is put in the mouth of Cacciaguida, the poet's ancestor, who lived in the former half of the twelfth century. The change, however, was probably subsequent to 1250, when the times of wealth and turbulence began at Florence.

foolish emulation at least indicates their easy circumstances.[b] Modes of dress hardly perhaps deserve our notice on their own account; yet so far as their universal prevalence was a symptom of diffused wealth, we should not overlook either the invectives bestowed by the clergy on the fantastic extravagances of fashion, or the sumptuary laws by which it was endeavored to restrain them.

The principle of sumptuary laws was partly derived from the small republics of antiquity, which might perhaps require that security for public spirit and equal rights—partly from the austere and injudicious theory of religion disseminated by the clergy. These prejudices united to render all increase of general comforts odious under the name of luxury; and a third motive more powerful than either, the jealousy with which the great regard anything like imitation in those beneath them, co-operated to produce a sort of restrictive code in the laws of Europe. Some of these regulations are more ancient; but the chief part were enacted, both in France and England, during the fourteenth century, extending to expenses of the table as well as apparel. The first statute of this description in our own country was, however, repealed the next year;[c] and subsequent provisions were entirely disregarded by a nation which valued liberty and commerce too much to obey laws conceived in a spirit hostile to both. Laws indeed designed by those governments to restrain the extravagance of their subjects may well justify the severe indignation which Adam Smith has poured upon all such interference with private expenditure. The kings of France and England were undoubtedly more egregious spendthrifts than any others in their dominions; and contributed far more by their love of pageantry to excite a taste for dissipation in their people than by their ordinances to repress it.

Mussus, an historian of Placentia, has left a pretty copious account of the prevailing manners among his countrymen about 1388, and expressly contrasts their more luxurious living with

[b] Velly, t. xiii. p. 352. The second continuator of Nangis vehemently inveighs against the long beards and short breeches of his age; after the introduction of which novelties, he judiciously observes, the French were much more disposed to run away from their enemies than before. Spicilegium, t. iii. p. 105.

[c] 37 E. III. Rep. 38 E. III. Several other statutes of a similar nature were passed in this and the ensuing reign. In France, there were sumptuary laws as old as Charlemagne, prohibiting or taxing the use of furs; but the first extensive regulation was under Philip the Fair. Velly, t. vii. p. 64; t. xi. p. 190. These attempts to restrain what cannot be restrained continued even down to 1700. De la Mare, Traité de la Police, t. i. l. iii.

the style of their ancestors seventy years before, when, as we have seen, they had already made considerable steps towards refinement. This passage is highly interesting, because it shows the regular tenor of domestic economy in an Italian city rather than a mere display of individual magnificence, as in most of the facts collected by our own and the French antiquaries. But it is much too long for insertion in this place.[d] No other country, perhaps, could exhibit so fair a picture of middle life: in France the burghers, and even the inferior gentry, were for the most part in a state of poverty at this period, which they concealed by an affectation of ornament; while our English yeomanry and tradesmen were more anxious to invigorate their bodies by a generous diet than to dwell in well-furnished houses, or to find comfort in cleanliness and elegance.[e] The German cities, however, had acquired with liberty the spirit of improvement and industry. From the time that Henry V. admitted their artisans to the privileges of free burghers they became more and more prosperous;[f] while the steadiness and frugality of the German character compensated for some disadvantages arising out of their inland situation. Spire, Nuremberg, Ratisbon, and Augsburg were not indeed like the rich markets of London and Bruges, nor could their burghers rival the princely merchants of Italy; but they enjoyed the blessings of competence diffused over a large class of industrious freemen, and in the fifteenth century one of the politest Italians could extol their splendid and well-furnished dwellings, their rich apparel, their easy and affluent mode of living, the security of their rights and just equality of their laws.[g]

d Muratori, Antichità Italiane, Dissert. 23, t. i. p. 325.

e "These English," said the Spaniards who came over with Philip II., "have their houses made of sticks and dirt, but they fare commonly so well as the king." Harrison's Description of Britain, prefixed to Holingshed, vol. i. p. 315 (edit. 1807).

f Pfeffel, t. i. p. 293.

g Æneas Sylvius, de Moribus Germanorum. This treatise is an amplified panegyric upon Germany, and contains several curious passages: they must be taken perhaps with some allowance; for the drift of the whole is to persuade the Germans, that so rich and noble a country could afford a little money for the poor pope. Civitates quas vocant liberas, cum Imperatori solùm subjiciuntur, cujus jugum est instar libertatis; nec profectò usquam gentium tanta libertas est, quantâ fruuntur hujuscemodi civitates. Nam populi quos Itali vocant liberos, hi potissimùm serviunt, sive Venetias inspectes, sive Florentiam aut Cænas, in quibus cives, præter paucos qui reliquos ducunt, loco mancipiorum habentur. Cum nec rebus suis uti, ut libet, vel fari quæ velint, et gravissimis opprimuntur pecuniarum exactionibus. Apud Germanos omnia læta sunt, omnia jucunda; nemo suis privatur bonis. Salvo cuique sua hæreditas est, nulli nisi nocenti magistratus nocent. Nec apud eos factiones sicut apud Italas urbes grassantur. Sunt autem supra centum civitates hâc libertate fruentes. P. 1058.

In another part of his work (p. 719) he gives a specious account of Vienna. The houses, he says, had glass windows

No chapter in the history of national manners would illustrate so well, if duly executed, the progress of social life as that dedicated to domestic architecture. The fashions of dress and of amusements are generally capricious and irreducible to rule; but every change in the dwellings of mankind, from the rudest wooden cabin to the stately mansion, has been dictated by some principle of convenience, neatness, comfort, or magnificence. Yet this most interesting field of research has been less beaten by our antiquaries than others comparatively barren. I do not pretend to a complete knowledge of what has been written by these learned inquirers; but I can only name one book in which the civil architecture of our ancestors has been sketched, loosely indeed, but with a superior hand, and another in which it is partially noticed. I mean by the first a chapter in the Appendix to Dr. Whitaker's History of Whalley; and by the second Mr. King's Essays on Ancient Castles in the Archæologia.[h] Of these I shall make free use in the following paragraphs.

The most ancient buildings which we can trace in this island, after the departure of the Romans, were circular towers of no great size, whereof many remain in Scotland, erected either on a natural eminence or on an artificial mound of earth. Such are Conisborough Castle in Yorkshire and Castleton in Derbyshire, built, perhaps, according to Mr. King, before the Conquest.[i] To the lower chambers of those gloomy keeps there was no admission of light or air except through long

and iron doors. Fenestræ undique vitreæ perlucent, et ostia plerumque ferrea. In domibus multa et munda supellex. Altæ domus magnificæque visuntur. Unum id dedecori est, quod tecta plerumque tigno contegunt, pauca latere. Cætera ædificia muro lapideo consistunt. Pictæ domus et exterius et interius splendent. Civitatis populus 50,000 *communicantium* creditur. I suppose this gives at least double for the total population. He proceeds to represent the manners of the city in a less favorable point of view, charging the citizens with gluttony and libertinism, the nobility with oppression, the judges with corruption, &c. Vienna probably had the vices of a flourishing city; but the love of amplification in so rhetorical a writer as Æneas Sylvius weakens the value of his testimony, on whichever side it is given.

[h] Vols. iv. and vi.

[i] Mr. Lysons refers Castleton to the age of William the Conqueror, but without giving any reasons. Lysons's Derbyshire, p. ccxxxvi. Mr. King had satisfied himself that it was built during the Heptarchy, and even before the conversion of the Saxons to Christianity; but in this he gave the reins, as usual, to his imagination, which as much exceeded his learning, as the latter did his judgment. Conisborough should seem, by the name, to have been a royal residence, which it certainly never was after the Conquest. But if the engravings of the decorative parts in the Archæologia, vol. vi. p. 244, are not remarkably inaccurate, the architecture is too elegant for the Danes, much more for the unconverted Saxons. Both these castles are enclosed by a court or ballium, with a fortified entrance, like those erected by the Normans.

[No doubt is now entertained but that Conisborough was built late in the Norman period. Mr. King's authority, which I followed for want of a better, is by no means to be depended upon. 1848.]

narrow loop-holes and an aperture in the roof. Regular windows were made in the upper apartments. Were it not for the vast thickness of the walls, and some marks of attention both to convenience and decoration in these structures, we might be induced to consider them as rather intended for security during the transient inroad of an enemy than for a chieftain's usual residence. They bear a close resemblance, except by their circular form and more insulated situation, to the peels, or square towers of three or four stories, which are still found contiguous to ancient mansion-houses, themselves far more ancient, in the northern counties,*j* and seem to have been designed for places of refuge.

In course of time, the barons who owned these castles began to covet a more comfortable dwelling. The keep was either much enlarged, or altogether relinquished as a place of residence except in time of siege; while more convenient apartments were sometimes erected in the tower of entrance, over the great gateway, which led to the inner ballium or court-yard. Thus at Tunbridge Castle, this part of which is referred by Mr. King to the beginning of the thirteenth century, there was a room, twenty-eight feet by sixteen, on each side of the gateway; another above of the same dimensions, with an intermediate room over the entrance; and one large apartment on the second floor occupying the whole space, and intended for state. The windows in this class of castles were still little better than loop-holes on the basement story, but in the upper rooms often large and beautifully ornamented, though always looking inwards to the court. Edward I. introduced a more splendid and convenient style of castles, containing many habitable towers, with communicating apartments. Conway and Carnarvon will be familiar examples. The next innovation was the castle-palace—of which Windsor, if not quite the earliest, is the most magnificent instance. Alnwick, Naworth, Harewood, Spofforth, Kenilworth, and Warwick, were all built upon this scheme during the fourteenth century, but subsequent enlargements have rendered caution necessary to distinguish their original remains. "The odd mixture," says Mr. King, "of convenience and magnificence with cautious designs for protection and defence, and with the inconveniences of the former confined plan of a close fortress, is very striking."

j Whitaker's Hist. of Whalley; Lysons's Cumberland, p. ccvi.

The provisions for defence became now, however, little more than nugatory; large arched windows, like those of cathedrals, were introduced into halls, and this change in architecture manifestly bears witness to the cessation of baronial wars and the increasing love of splendor in the reign of Edward III.

To these succeeded the castellated houses of the fifteenth century, such as Herstmonceux in Sussex, Haddon Hall in Derbyshire, and the older part of Knowle in Kent.[k] They resembled fortified castles in their strong gateways, their turrets and battlements, to erect which a royal license was necessary; but their defensive strength could only have availed against a sudden affray or attempt at forcible dispossession. They were always built round one or two court-yards, the circumference of the first, when they were two, being occupied by the offices and servants' rooms, that of the second by the state-apartments. Regular quadrangular houses, not castellated, were sometimes built during the same age, and under Henry VII. became universal in the superior style of domestic architecture.[l] The quadrangular form, as well from security and convenience as from imitation of conventual houses, which were always constructed upon that model, was generally preferred—even where the dwelling-house, as indeed was usual, only took up one side of the enclosure, and the remaining three contained the offices, stables, and farm-buildings, with walls of communication. Several very old parsonages appear to have been built in this manner.[m] It is, however, not very easy to discover any large fragments of houses inhabited by the gentry before the reign, at soonest, of Edward III., or even to trace them by engravings in the older topographical works, not only from the dilapidations of time, but because very few considerable mansions had been erected by that class. A great part of England affords no stone fit for building, and the vast though unfortunately not inexhaustible resources of her oak forests were easily applied to less durable and magnificent structures. A frame of massive timber, independent of walls and resembling the inverted hull of a large ship, formed the skeleton, as it were, of an ancient hall—the principal beams springing from the ground naturally curved,

[k] The ruins of Herstmonceux are, I believe, tolerably authentic remains of Henry VI.'s age, but only a part of Haddon Hall is of the fifteenth century.

[l] Archæologia, vol. vi.

[m] Blomefield's Norfolk, vol. iii. p. 242.

and forming a Gothic arch overhead. The intervals of these were filled up with horizontal planks; but in the earlier buildings, at least in some districts, no part of the walls was of stone.[n] Stone houses are, however, mentioned as belonging to citizens of London, even in the reign of Henry II;[o] and, though not often perhaps regularly hewn stones, yet those scattered over the soil or dug from flint quarries, bound together with a very strong and durable cement, were employed in the construction of manorial houses, especially in the western counties and other parts where that material is easily procured.[p] Gradually even in timber buildings the intervals of the main beams, which now became perpendicular, not throwing off their curved springers till they reached a considerable height, were occupied by stone walls, or where stone was expensive, by mortar or plaster, intersected by horizontal or diagonal beams, grooved into the principal piers.[q] This mode of building continued for a long time, and is still familiar to our eyes in the older streets of the metropolis and other towns, and in many parts of the country.[r] Early in the fourteenth century the art of building with brick, which had been lost since the Roman dominion, was introduced probably from Flanders. Though several edifices of that age are constructed with this material, it did not come into general use till the reign of Henry VI.[s] Many considerable houses as well as public buildings were erected with bricks during his reign and that of Edward IV., chiefly in the eastern counties, where the deficiency of stone was most experienced. Few, if any, brick mansion-houses of the fifteenth century exist, except in a dilapidated state; but Queen's College and Clare Hall at Cambridge, and part of Eton College, are subsisting witnesses to the durability of the material as it was then employed.

It is an error to suppose that the English gentry were lodged in stately or even in well-sized houses. Generally speaking, their dwellings were almost as inferior to those of their descendants in capacity as they were in convenience. The usual

[n] Whitaker's Hist. of Whalley.

[o] Lyttelton, t. iv. p. 130.

[p] Harrison says, that few of the houses of the commonalty, except here and there in the west country towns, were made of stone. P. 314. This was about 1570.

[q] Hist. of Whalley.

[r] "The ancient manors and houses of our gentlemen," says Harrison, "are yet, and for the most part, of strong timber, in framing whereof our carpenters have been and are worthily preferred before those of like science among all other nations. Howbeit such as are lately builded are either of brick or hard stone, or both." P. 316.

[s] Archæologia, vol. i. p. 143; vol. iv. p. 91.

arrangement consisted of an entrance-passage running through the house, with a hall on one side, a parlor beyond, and one or two chambers above, and on the opposite side, a kitchen, pantry, and other offices.[t] Such was the ordinary manor-house of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as appears not only from the documents and engravings, but as to the latter period, from the buildings themselves, sometimes, though not very frequently, occupied by families of consideration, more often converted into farm-houses or distinct tenements. Larger structures were erected by men of great estates during the reigns of Henry IV. and Edward IV.; but very few can be traced higher; and such has been the effect of time, still more through the advance or decline of families and the progress of architectural improvement, than the natural decay of these buildings, that I should conceive it difficult to name a house in England, still inhabited by a gentleman and not belonging to the order of castles, the principal apartments of which are older than the reign of Henry VII. The instances at least must be extremely few.[u]

France by no means appears to have made a greater progress than our own country in domestic architecture. Except fortified castles, I do not find in the work of a very miscellaneous but apparently diligent writer,[v] any considerable dwellings mentioned before the reign of Charles VII., and very few of so early a date.[w] Jacques Cœur, a famous merchant unjustly persecuted by that prince, had a handsome house at Paris, as well as another at Bourges.[x] It is obvious that the long calam-

[t] Hist. of Whalley. In Strutt's View of Manners we have an inventory of furniture in the house of Mr. Richard Fermor, ancestor of the Earl of Pomfret, at Easton in Northamptonshire, and another in that of Sir Adrian Foskewe. Both these houses appear to have been of the dimensions and arrangement mentioned.

[u] Single rooms, windows, door-ways, &c., of an earlier date may perhaps not unfrequently be found; but such instances are always to be verified by their intrinsic evidence, not by the tradition of the place. [Note II.]

[v] Mélanges tirés d'une grande bibliothèque, par M. de Paulmy, t. iii. et xxxi. It is to be regretted that Le Grand d'Aussy never completed that part of his Vie privée des Français which was to have comprehended the history of civil architecture. Villaret has slightly noticed its state about 1380. t. ii. p. 141.

[w] Chenonceaux in Touraine was built by a nephew of Chancellor Duprat; Gaillon in the department of Eure by Cardinal Amboise; both at the beginning of the sixteenth century. These are now considered, in their ruins, as among the most ancient houses in France. A work by Ducerceau (Les plus excellens Batimens de France, 1607) gives accurate engravings of thirty houses; but with one or two exceptions, they seem all to have been built in the sixteenth century. Even in that age, defence was naturally an object in constructing a French mansion-house; and where defence is to be regarded, splendor and convenience must give way. The name of château was not retained without meaning.

[x] Mélanges tirés, &c. t. iii. For the prosperity and downfall of Jacques Cœur, see Villaret, t. xvi. p. 11; but more especially Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. t. xx. p. 509. His mansion at Bourges still exists, and is well known to the curious in architectural antiquity. In former editions I have mentioned a house of Jacques Cœur at Beaumont-

ities which France endured before the expulsion of the English must have retarded this eminent branch of national improvement.

Even in Italy, where from the size of her cities and social refinements of her inhabitants, greater elegance and splendor in building were justly to be expected, the domestic architecture of the middle ages did not attain any perfection. In several towns the houses were covered with thatch, and suffered consequently from destructive fires. Costanzo, a Neapolitan historian near the end of the sixteenth century, remarks the change of manners that had occurred since the reign of Joanna II. one hundred and fifty years before. The great families under the queen expended all their wealth on their retainers, and placed their chief pride in bringing them into the field. They were ill lodged, not sumptuously clothed, nor luxurious in their tables. The house of Caracciolo, high steward of that princess, one of the most powerful subjects that ever existed, having fallen into the hands of persons incomparably below his station, had been enlarged by them, as insufficient for their accommodation.[y] If such were the case in the city of Naples so late as the beginning of the fifteenth century, we may guess how mean were the habitations in less polished parts of Europe.

The two most essential improvements in architecture during this period, one of which had been missed by the sagacity of Greece and Rome, were chimneys and glass windows. Nothing apparently can be more simple than the former; yet the wisdom of ancient times had been content to let the smoke escape by an aperture in the centre of the roof; and a discovery, of which Vitruvius had not a glimpse, was made, perhaps in this country, by some forgotten semi-barbarian. About the middle of the fourteenth century the use of chimneys is distinctly mentioned in England and in Italy; but they are found in several of our castles which bear a much older date.[z] This

sur-Oise; but this was probably by mistake, as I do not recollect, nor can find, any authority for it.

[y] Giannone, Ist. di Napoli, t. iii. p. 280.

[z] Muratori, Antich. Ital. Dissert. 25, p. 390. Beckman, in his History of Inventions, vol. i., a work of very great research, cannot trace any explicit mention of chimneys beyond the writings of John Villani, wherein, however, they are not noticed as a new invention. Piers Plowman, a few years later than Villani, speaks of a "chambre with a chimney" in which rich men usually dined. But in the account-book of Bolton Abbey, under the year 1311, there is a charge pro faciendo camino in the rectory-house of Gargrave. Whitaker's Hist. of Craven, p. 331. This may, I think, have been only an iron stove or fire-pan; though Dr. W. without hesitation translates it a chimney. However, Mr. King, in his observations on ancient castles, Archæol. vol. vi., and Mr. Strutt, in his View of Manners, vol. i., describe chimneys in castles of a very old construction. That at Conisbor-

country seems to have lost very early the art of making glass, which was preserved in France, whence artificers were brought into England to furnish the windows in some new churches in the seventh century.[a] It is said that in the reign of Henry III. a few ecclesiastical buildings had glazed windows.[b] Suger, however, a century before, had adorned his great work, the abbey of St. Denis, with windows, not only glazed but painted;[c] and I presume that other churches of the same class, both in France and England, especially after the lancet-shaped window had yielded to one of ampler dimensions, were generally decorated in a similar manner. Yet glass is said not to have been employed in the domestic architecture of France before the fourteenth century;[d] and its introduction into England was probably by no means earlier. Nor indeed did it come into general use during the period of the middle ages. Glazed windows were considered as movable furniture, and probably bore a high price. When the earls of Northumberland, as late as the reign of Elizabeth, left Alnwick Castle, the windows were taken out of their frames, and carefully laid by.[e]

But if the domestic buildings of the fifteenth century would not seem very spacious or convenient at present, far less would this luxurious generation be content with their internal accommodations. A gentleman's house containing three or four beds was extraordinarily well provided; few probably had

ough in Yorkshire is peculiarly worthy of attention, and carries back this important invention to a remote antiquity.

In a recent work of some reputation, it is said:—"There does not appear to be any evidence of the use of chimney-shafts in England prior to the twelfth century. In Rochester Castle, which is in all probability the work of William Cerbyl, about 1130, there are complete fireplaces with semicircular backs, and a shaft in each jamb, supporting a semicircular arch over the opening, and that is enriched with the zigzag moulding; some of these project slightly from the wall; the flues, however, go only a few feet up in the thickness of the wall, and are then turned out at the back, the apertures being small, oblong holes. At the castle, Hedingham, Essex, which is of about the same date, there are fireplaces and chimneys of a similar kind. A few years later, the improvement of carrying the flue up the whole height of the wall appears; as at Christ Church, Hants; the keep at Newcastle; Sherborne Castle, &c. The early chimney-shafts are of considerable height, and similar; afterwards they assumed a great variety of forms, and during the fourteenth century they are frequently very short." Glossary of Ancient Architecture, p. 100, edit. 1845. It is said, too, here that chimneys were seldom used in halls till near the end of the fifteenth century; the smoke took its course, if it pleased, through a hole in the roof.

Chimneys are still more modern in France; and seem, according to Paulmy, to have come into common use since the middle of the seventeenth century. Jadis nos pères n'avoient qu'un unique chauffoir, qui étoit commun à toute une famille, et quelquefois à plusieurs. T. iii. p. 133. In another place, however, he says: Il parait que les tuyaux de cheminées étaient déjà très en usage en France, t. xxxi. p. 232.

a Du Cange, v. Vitreæ; Bentham's History of Ely, p. 22.

b Matt. Paris; Vitæ Abbatum St. Alb. 122.

c Recueil des Hist. t. xii. p. 101.

d Paulmy, t. iii. p. 132. Villaret, t. xi. p. 141. Macpherson, p. 679.

e Northumberland Household Book, preface, p. 16. Bishop Percy says, on the authority of Harrison, that glass was not commonly used in the reign of Henry VIII.

more than two. The walls were commonly bare, without wainscot or even plaster; except that some great houses were furnished with hangings, and that perhaps hardly so soon as the reign of Edward IV. It is unnecessary to add, that neither libraries of books nor pictures could have found a place among furniture. Silver plate was very rare, and hardly used for the table. A few inventories of furniture that still remain exhibit a miserable deficiency.[f] And this was incomparably greater in private gentlemen's houses than among citizens, and especially foreign merchants. We have an inventory of the goods belonging to Contarini, a rich Venetian trader, at his house in St. Botolph's Lane, A.D. 1481. There appear to have been no less than ten beds, and glass windows are especially noticed as movable furniture. No mention however is made of chairs or looking-glasses.[g] If we compare this account, however trifling in our estimation, with a similar inventory of furniture in Skipton Castle, the great honor of the earls of Cumberland, and among the most splendid mansions of the north, not at the same period, for I have not found any inventory of a nobleman's furniture so ancient, but in 1572, after almost a century of continual improvement, we shall be astonished at the inferior provision of the baronial residence. There were not more than seven or eight beds in this great castle; nor had any of the chambers either chairs, glasses, or carpets.[h] It is

[f] See some curious valuations of furniture and stock in trade at Colchester in 1296 and 1301. Eden's Introduct. to State of the Poor, pp. 20 and 25, from the Rolls of Parliament. A carpenter's stock was valued at a shilling, and consisted of five tools. Other tradesmen were almost as poor; but a tanner's stock, if there is no mistake, was worth 9*l.* 7*s.* 10*d.*, more than ten times any other. Tanners were principal tradesmen, the chief part of dress being made of leather. A few silver cups and spoons are the only articles of plate; and as the former are valued but at one or two shillings, they had, I suppose, but a little silver on the rim.

[g] Nicholl's Illustrations, p. 119. In this work, among several interesting facts of the same class, we have another inventory of the goods of "John Port, late the king's servant," who died about 1524: he seems to have been a man of some consideration and probably a merchant. The house consisted of a hall, parlor, buttery, and kitchen, with two chambers, and one smaller, on the floor above; a napery, or linen room, and three garrets, besides a shop, which was probably detached. There were five bedsteads in the house, and on the whole a great deal of furniture for those times; much more than I have seen in any other inventory. His plate is valued at 94*l.*; his jewels at 23*l.*; his funeral expenses come to 73*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* P. 119.

[h] Whitaker's Hist. of Craven, p. 289. A better notion of the accommodations usual in the rank immediately below may be collected from two inventories published by Stratt, one of Mr. Fermor's houses at Easton, the other Sir Adrian Foskewe's. I have mentioned the size of these gentlemen's houses already. In the former, the parlor had wainscot, a table, and a few chairs; the chambers above had two best beds, and there was one servant's bed; but the inferior servants had only mattresses on the floor. The best chambers had window, shutters, and curtains. Mr. Fermor, being a merchant, was probably better supplied than the neighboring gentry. His plate, however, consisted only of sixteen spoons, and a few goblets and ale pots. Sir Adrian Foskewe's opulence appears to have been greater; he had a service of silver plate, and his parlor was furnished with hangings. This was in 1539; it is not to be imagined that a knight of the shire a hundred years before would have rivalled

in this sense, probably, that we must understand Æneas Sylvius, if he meant anything more than to express a traveller's discontent, when he declares that the kings of Scotland would rejoice to be as well lodged as the second class of citizens at Nuremberg.[i] Few burghers of that town had mansions, I presume, equal to the palaces of Dumferlin or Stirling, but it is not unlikely that they were better furnished.

In the construction of farm-houses and cottages, especially the latter, there have probably been fewer changes; and those it would be more difficult to follow. No building of this class can be supposed to exist of the antiquity to which the present work is confined; and I do not know that we have any document as to the inferior architecture of England, so valuable as one which M. de Paulmy has quoted for that of France, though perhaps more strictly applicable to Italy, an illuminated manuscript of the fourteenth century, being a translation of Crescentio's work on agriculture, illustrating the customs, and, among other things, the habitations of the agricultural class. According to Paulmy, there is no other difference between an ancient and a modern farm-house than arises from the introduction of tiled roofs.[j] In the original works of Crescentio, a native of Bologna, who composed this treatise on rural affairs about the year 1300, an Italian farm-house, when built at least according to his plan, appears to have been commodious both in size and arrangement.[k] Cottages in England seem to have generally consisted of a single room without division of stories. Chimneys were unknown in such dwellings till the early part of Elizabeth's reign, when a very rapid and sensible improvement took place in the comforts of our yeomanry and cottagers.[l]

It must be remembered that I have introduced this disadvantageous representation of civil architecture, as a proof of general poverty and backwardness in the refinements of life.

even this scanty provision of movables. Strutt's View of Manners, vol. iii. p. 63. These details, trifling as they may appear, are absolutely necessary in order to give an idea with some precision of a state of national wealth so totally different from the present.

[i] Cuperent tam egregiè Scotorum reges quàm mediocres Nurembergæ cives habitare. Æn. Sylv. apud Schmidt, Hist. des Allem. t. v. p. 510.

[j] T. iii. p. 127.

[k] Crescentius in Commodum Ruralium. (Lovaniæ, absque anno.) This old edition contains many course wooden cuts possibly taken from the illuminations which Paulmy found in his manuscript.

[l] Harrison's account of England, prefixed to Hollingshed's Chronicles. Chimneys were not used in the farmhouses of Cheshire till within forty years of the publication of King's Vale-royal (1656); the fire was in the midst of the house, against a hob of clay, and the oxen lived under the same roof. Whitaker's Craven, p. 334.

Considered in its higher departments, that art is the principal boast of the middle ages. The common buildings, especially those of a public kind, were constructed with skill and attention to durability. The castellated style displays these qualities in great perfection; the means are well adapted to their objects, and its imposing grandeur, though chiefly resulting no doubt from massiveness and historical association, sometimes indicates a degree of architectural genius in the conception. But the most remarkable works of this art are the religious edifices erected in the twelfth and three following centuries. These structures, uniting sublimity in general composition with the beauties of variety and form, intricacy of parts, skilful or at least fortunate effects of shadow and light, and in some intances with extraordinary mechanical science, are naturally apt to lead those antiquaries who are most conversant with them into too partial estimates of the times wherein they were founded. They certainly are accustomed to behold the fairest side of the picture. It was the favorite and most honorable employment of ecclesiastical wealth, to erect, to enlarge, to repair, to decorate cathedral and conventual churches. An immense capital must have been expended upon these buildings in England between the Conquest and the Reformation. And it is pleasing to observe how the seeds of genius, hidden as it were under the frost of that dreary winter, began to bud in the first sunshine of encouragement. In the darkest period of the middle ages, especially after the Scandinavian incursions into France and England, ecclesiastical architecture, though always far more advanced than any other art, bespoke the rudeness and poverty of the times. It began towards the latter part of the eleventh century, when tranquillity, at least as to former enemies, was restored, and some degree of learning reappeared, to assume a more noble appearance. The Anglo-Norman cathedrals were perhaps as much distinguished above other works of man in their own age, as the more splendid edifices of a later period. The science manifested in them is not, however, very great; and their style, though by no means destitute of lesser beauties, is upon the whole an awkward imitation of Roman architecture, or perhaps more immediately of the Saracenic buildings in Spain and those of the lower Greek empire.[m] But about

[m] The Saracenic architecture was once conceived to have been the parent of the Gothic. But the pointed arch does not occur, I believe, in any Moorish buildings; while the great mosque of Cordova, built in the eighth century, resem-

the middle of the twelfth century, this manner began to give place to what is improperly denominated the Gothic architecture;[n] of which the pointed arch, formed by the segments of two intersecting semicircles of equal radius and described about a common diameter, has generally been deemed the essential characteristic. We are not concerned at present to inquire whether this style originated in France or Germany, Italy or England, since it was certainly almost simultaneous in all these countries;[o] nor from what source it was derived

bles, except by its superior beauty and magnificence, one of our oldest cathedrals: the nave of Gloucester, for example, or Durham. Even the vaulting is similar, and seems to indicate some imitation, though perhaps of a common model. Compare Archæologia, vol. xvii. plate 1 and 2, with Murphy's Arabian Antiquities, plate 5. The pillars indeed at Cordova are of the Corinthian order, perfectly executed, if we may trust the engraving, and the work, I presume, of Christian architects; while those of our Anglo-Norman cathedrals are generally an imitation of the Tuscan shaft, the builders not venturing to trust their roofs to a more slender support, though Corinthian foliage is common in the capitals, especially those of smaller ornamental columns. In fact, the Roman architecture is universally acknowledged to have produced what we call the Saxon or Norman; but it is remarkable that it should have been adopted, with no variation but that of the singular horseshoe arch, by the Moors of Spain.

The Gothic, or pointed arch, though very uncommon in the genuine Saracenic of Spain and the Levant, may be found in some prints from Eastern buildings; and is particularly striking in the façade of the great mosque at Lucknow, in Salt's designs for Lord Valentia's Travels. The pointed arch buildings in the Holy Land have all been traced to the age of the Crusades. Some arches, if they deserve the name, that have been referred to this class, are not pointed by their construction, but rendered such by cutting off and hollowing the projections of horizontal stones.

[n] Gibbon has asserted, what might justify this appellation, that "the image of Theodoric's palace at Verona, still extant on a coin, represents the oldest and most authentic model of Gothic architecture," vol. vii. p. 33. For this he refers to Maffei, Verona Illustrata, p. 31, where we find an engraving, not indeed of a coin, but of a seal; the building represented on which is in a totally dissimilar style. The following passages in Cassiodorus, for which I am indebted to M. Ginguené, Hist. Littér. de l'Italie, t. i. p. 55, would be more to the purpose: Quid dicamus columnarum junceam proceritatem? moles illas sublimissimas fabricarum quasi quibusdam erectis hastilibus contineri. These columns of reedy slenderness, so well described by juncea proceritas, are said to be found in the cathedral of Montreal in Sicily, built in the eighth century. Knight's Principles of Taste, p. 162. They are not, however, sufficient to justify the deomination of Gothic, which is usually confined to the pointed arch style.

[o] The famous Abbot Suger, minister of Louis VI., rebuilt St. Denis about 1140. The cathedral of Laon is said to have been dedicated in 1114. Hist. Littéraire de la France, t. ix. p. 220. I do not know in what style the latter of these churches is built, but the former is, or rather was, Gothic. Notre Dame at Paris was begun soon after the middle of the twelfth century, and completed under St. Louis. Mélanges tirés d'une grande bibliothèque, t. xxxi. p. 108. In England, the earliest specimen I have seen of pointed arches is in a print of St. Botolph's Priory at Colchester, said by Strutt to have been built in 1110. View of Manners, vol. i. plate 30. These are apertures formed by excavating the space contained by the intersection of semicircular, or Saxon arches; which are perpetually disposed, by way of ornament, on the outer as well as inner surface of old churches, so as to cut each other, and consequently to produce the figure of a Gothic arch; and if there is no mistake in the date, they are probably among the most ancient of that style in Europe. Those of the church of St. Cross near Winchester are of the reign of Stephen; and generally speaking, the pointed style, especially in vaulting, the most important object in the construction of a building, is not considered as older than Henry II. The nave of Canterbury cathedral, of the erection of which by a French architect about 1176 we have a full account in Gervase (Twysden, Decem Scriptores, vol. 1289), and the Temple church, dedicated in 1183, are the most ancient English buildings together in the Gothic manner.

The subject of ecclesiastical architecture in the middle ages has been so fully discussed by intelligent and observant writers since these pages were first published, that they require some correction. The oriental theory for the origin of the pointed architecture, though not given up, has not generally

—a question of no small difficulty. I would only venture to remark, that, whatever may be thought of the origin of the pointed arch, for which there is more than one mode of accounting, we must perceive a very oriental character in the vast profusion of ornament, especially on the exterior surface, which is as distinguishing a mark of Gothic buildings as their arches, and contributes in an eminent degree both to their beauties and to their defects. This indeed is rather applicable to the later than the earlier stage of architecture, and rather to continental than English churches. Amiens is in a far more florid style than Salisbury, though a contemporary structure. The Gothic species of architecture is thought by most to have reached its perfection, considered as an object of taste, by the middle or perhaps the close of the fourteenth century, or at least to have lost something of its excellence by the corresponding part of the next age; an effect of its early and rapid cultivation, since arts appear to have, like individuals, their natural progress and decay. The mechanical execution, however, continued to improve, and is so far beyond the apparent intellectual powers of those times that some have ascribed the principal ecclesiastical structures to the fraternity of freemasons, depositaries of a concealed and traditionary science. There is probably some ground for this opinion; and the earlier archives of that mysterious association, if they existed, might illustrate the progress of Gothic architecture, and perhaps reveal its origin. The remarkable change into this new style, that was almost contemporaneous in every part of Europe, cannot be explained by any local circumstances, or the capricious taste of a single nation.[p]

stood its ground; there seems more reason to believe that it was first adopted in Germany, as Mr. Hope has shown; but at first in single arches, not in the construction of the entire building.

The circular and pointed forms, instead of one having at once supplanted the other, were concurrent in the same building, through Germany, Italy, and Switzerland, for some centuries. I will just add to the instances mentioned by Mr. Hope and others, and which every traveller may corroborate, one not very well known, perhaps as early as any,—the crypt of the cathedral at Basle, built under the reign of the Emperor Henry II., near the commencement of the eleventh century, where two pointed with three circular arches stand together, evidently from want of space enough to preserve the same breadth with the necessary height. The same circumstance will be found, I think, in the crypt of St. Denis, near Paris, which, however, is not so old. The writings of Hope, Rickman, Whewell, and Willis are prominent among many that have thrown light on this subject. The beauty and magnificence of the pointed style is acknowledged on all sides; perhaps the imitation of it has been too servile, and with too much forgetfulness of some very important changes in our religious aspect rendering that simply ornamental which was once directed to a great object. [1848.]

[p] The curious subject of freemasonry has unfortunately been treated only by panegyrists or calumniators, both equally mendacious. I do not wish to pry into the mysteries of the craft; but it would be interesting to know more of their history during the period when they were literally architects. They are

It would be a pleasing task to trace with satisfactory exactness the slow and almost perhaps insensible progress of agriculture and internal improvement during the latter period of the middle ages. But no diligence could recover the unrecorded history of a single village; though considerable attention has of late been paid to this interesting subject by those antiquaries who, though sometimes affecting to despise the lights of modern philosophy, are unconsciously guided by their effulgence. I have already adverted to the wretched condition of agriculture during the prevalence of feudal tenures, as well as before their general establishment.[q] Yet even in the least civilized ages, there were not wanting partial encouragements to cultivation, and the ameliorating principle of human industry struggled against destructive revolutions and barbarous disorder. The devastation of war from the fifth to the eleventh century rendered land the least costly of all gifts, though it must ever be the most truly valuable and permanent. Many of the grants to monasteries, which strike us as enormous, were of districts absolutely wasted, which would probably have been reclaimed by no other means. We owe the agricultural restoration of great part of Europe to the monks. They chose, for the sake of retirement, secluded regions, which they cultivated with the labor of their hands.[r] Several charters are extant,

charged by an act of parliament, 3 H. VI. c. i., with fixing the price of their labor in their annual chapters, contrary to the statute of laborers, and such chapters are consequently prohibited. This is their first persecution; they have since undergone others, and are perhaps reserved for still more. It is remarkable, that masons were never legally incorporated, like other traders; their bond of union being stronger than any charter. The article Masonry in the Encyclopædia Britannica is worth reading.

[q] I cannot resist the pleasure of transcribing a lively and eloquent passage from Dr. Whitaker. "Could a curious observer of the present day carry himself nine or ten centuries back, and ranging the summit of Pendle survey the forked vale of Calder on one side, and the bolder margins of Ribble and Hadder on the other, instead of populous towns and villages, the castle, the old tower-built house, the elegant modern mansion, the artificial plantation, the inclosed park and pleasure ground: instead of uninterrupted inclosures which have driven sterility almost to the summit of the fells, how great must then have been the contrast, when ranging either at a distance, or immediately beneath, his eye must have caught vast tracts of forest ground stagnating with bog or darkened by native woods, where the wild ox, the roe, the stag, and the wolf, had scarcely learned the supremacy of man, when, directing his view to the intermediate spaces, to the windings of the valleys, or the expanse of plains beneath, he could only have distinguished a few insulated patches of culture, each encircling a village of wretched cabins, among which would still be remarked one rude mansion of wood, scarcely equal in comfort to a modern cottage, yet then rising proudly eminent above the rest, where the Saxon lord, surrounded by his faithful cotarii, enjoyed a rude and solitary independence, owning no superior but his sovereign." Hist. of Whalley, p. 133. About a fourteenth part of this parish of Whalley was cultivated at the time of Domesday. This proportion, however, would by no means hold in the counties south of Trent.

[r] "Of the Anglo-Saxon husbandry we may remark," says Mr. Turner, "that Domesday Survey gives us some indication that the cultivation of the church lands was much superior to that of any other order of society. They have much less wood upon them, and less common of pasture: and what they had appears often in smaller and more irregular

granted to convents, and sometimes to laymen, of lands which they had recovered from a desert condition, after the ravages of the Saracens.[s] Some districts were allotted to a body of Spanish colonists, who emigrated, in the reign of Louis the Debonair, to live under a Christian sovereign.[t] Nor is this the only instance of agricultural colonies. Charlemagne transplanted part of his conquered Saxons into Flanders, a country at that time almost unpeopled; and at a much later period, there was a remarkable reflux from the same country, or rather from Holland to the coasts of the Baltic Sea. In the twelfth century, great numbers of Dutch colonists settled along the whole line between the Ems and the Vistula. They obtained grants of uncultivated land on condition of fixed rents, and were governed by their own laws under magistrates of their own election.[u]

pieces; while their meadow was more abundant, and in more numerous distributions." Hist. of Anglo-Saxons, vol. ii. p. 167.

It was the glory of St. Benedict's reform, to have substituted bodily labor for the supine indolence of oriental asceticism. In the East it was more difficult to succeed in such an endeavor, though it had been made. "The Benedictines have been," says Guizot, "the great clearers of land in Europe. A colony, a little swarm of monks, settled in places nearly uncultivated, often in the midst of a pagan population, in Germany, for example, or in Brittany; there at once missionaries and laborers, they accomplish their double service through peril and fatigue." Civilis. en France, Leçon 14. The northeastern parts of France, as far as the Lower Seine, were reduced into cultivation by the disciples of St. Columban, in the sixth and seventh centuries. The proofs of this are in Mabillon's Acta Santorum Ord. Bened. See Mém. de l'Acad. des Sciences Morales et Politiques, iii. 708.

Guizot has appreciated the rule of St. Benedict with that candid and favorable spirit which he always has brought to the history of the church: anxious, as it seems, not only to escape the imputation of Protestant prejudices by others, but to combat them in his own mind; and aware, also, that the partial misrepresentations of Voltaire had sunk into the minds of many who were listening to his lectures. Compared with the writers of the eighteenth century, who were too much alienated by the faults of the clergy to acknowledge any redeeming virtues, or even with Sismondi, who, coming in a moment of reaction, feared the returning influence of mediæval prejudices, Guizot stands forward as an equitable and indulgent arbitrator. In this spirit he says of the rule of St. Benedict—La pensée morale et la discipline générale en sont sévères; mais dans le détail de la vie elle est humaine et modérée; plus humaine, plus modérée que les lois barbares, que les mœurs générales du temps; et je ne doute pas que les frères, renfermés dans l'intérieur d'un monastère, n'y fussent gouvernés par une autorité, à tout prendre, et plus raisonnable, et d'une manière moins dure qu'ils ne l'eussent été dans la société civile.

[s] Thus, in Marca Hispanica, Appendix, p. 770, we have a grant from Lothaire I. in 834, to a person and his brother of lands which their father, ab eremo in Septimaniâ trahens, had possessed by a charter of Charlemagne. See, too, p. 773, and other places. Du Cange, v. Eremus, gives also a few instances.

[t] Du Cange, v. Aprisio. Baluze, Capitularia, t. i. p. 549. They were permitted to decide petty suits among themselves, but for more important matters were to repair to the county-court. A liberal policy runs through the whole charter. See more on the same subject, id. p. 569.

[u] I owe this fact to M. Heeren, Essai sur l'Influence des Croisades, p. 226. An inundation in their own country is supposed to have immediately produced this emigration; but it was probably successive, and connected with political as well as physical causes of greater permanence. The first instrument in which they are mentioned is a grant from the Bishop of Hamburgh in 1106. This colony has affected the local usages, as well as the denominations of things and places along the northern coast of Germany. It must be presumed that a large proportion of the emigrants were diverted from agriculture to people the commercial cities which grew up in the twelfth century upon that coast.

There cannot be a more striking proof of the low condition of English agriculture in the eleventh century than is exhibited by Domesday Book. Though almost all England had been partially cultivated, and we find nearly the same manors, except in the north, which exist at present, yet the value and extent of cultivated ground are inconceivably small. With every allowance for the inaccuracies and partialities of those by whom that famous survey was completed,[v] we are lost in amazement at the constant recurrence of two or three carucates in demesne, with other lands occupied by ten or a dozen villeins, valued altogether at forty shillings, as the return of a manor, which now would yield a competent income to a gentleman. If Domesday Book can be considered as even approaching to accuracy in respect of these estimates, agriculture must certainly have made a very material progress in the four succeeding centuries. This, however, is rendered probable by other documents. Ingulfus, Abbot of Croyland under the Conqueror, supplies an early and interesting evidence of improvement.[w] Richard de Rules, Lord of Deeping, he tells us, being fond of agriculture, obtained permisison from the abbey to inclose a large portion of marsh for the purpose of separate pasture, excluding the Welland by a strong dike, upon which he erected a town, and rendering those stagnant fens a garden of Eden.[x] In imitation of this spirited cultivator, the inhabitants of Spalding and some neighboring villages by a common resolution divided their marshes amongst them; when some converting them to tillage, some reserving them for meadow, others leaving them in pasture, they found a rich soil for every purpose. The abbey of Croyland and villages in that neighborhood followed this example.[y] This early instance of parochial inclosure is not to be overlooked in the history of social progress. By the statute of Merton, in the 20th of Henry III., the lord is permitted to approve, that is, to inclose the waste

[v] Ingulfus tells us that the commissioners were pious enough to favor Croyland, returning its possessions inaccurately, both as to measurement and value; non ad verum pretium, nec ad verum spatium nostrum monasterium librabant misericorditer, præcaventes in futurum regis exactionibus. P. 79. I may just observe by the way that Ingulfus gives the plain meaning of the word Domesday, which has been disputed. The book was so called, he says, pro suâ generalitate omnia tenementa totius terræ integrè continente; that is, it was as general and conclusive as the last judgment will be.

[w] This of course is subject to the doubt as to the authenticity of Ingulfus.

[x] 1 Gale, XV. Script. p. 77.

[y] Communi plebiscito viritim inter se diviserunt, et quidam suas portiones agricolantes, quidam ad fœnum conservantes, quidam ut prius ad pasturam suorum animalium, separaliter jacere permittentes, terram pinguem et uberem rapererunt. P. 94.

lands of his manor, provided he leave sufficient common of pasture for the freeholders. Higden, a writer who lived about the time of Richard II., says, in reference to the number of hydes and vills of England at the Conquest, that by clearing of woods, and ploughing up wastes, there were many more of each in his age than formerly.[a] And it might be easily presumed, independently of proof, that woods were cleared, marshes drained, and wastes brought into tillage, during the long period that the house of Plantagenet sat on the throne. From manorial surveys indeed and similar instruments, it appears that in some places there was nearly as much ground cultivated in the reign of Edward III. as at the present day. The condition of different counties, however, was very far from being alike, and in general the northern and western parts of England were the most backward.[a]

The culture of arable land was very imperfect. Fleta remarks, in the reign of Edward I. or II., that unless an acre yielded more than six bushels of corn, the farmer would be a loser, and the land yield no rent.[b] And Sir John Cullum, from very minute accounts, has calculated that nine or ten bushels were a full average crop on an acre of wheat. An amazing excess of tillage accompanied, and partly, I suppose, produced this imperfect cultivation. In Hawsted, for example, under Edward I., there were thirteen or fourteen hundred acres of arable, and only forty-five of meadow ground. A similar disproportion occurs almost invariably in every account we possess.[c] This seems inconsistent with the low price of cattle. But we must recollect that the common pasture, often the most extensive part of a manor, is not included, at least by any specific measurement, in these surveys. The rent of land differed of course materially; sixpence an acre seems to have been about the average for arable land in the thirteenth century,[d] though meadow was at double or treble that sum. But the landlords were naturally solicitous to augment a revenue that became more and more inadequate to their luxuries.

[a] 1 Gale, XV. Script. p. 201.

[a] A good deal of information upon the former state of agriculture will be found in Cullum's History of Hawsted. Blomefield's Norfolk is in this respect among the most valuable of our local histories. Sir Frederic Eden, in the first part of his excellent work on the poor, has collected several interesting facts.

[b] L. ii. c. 8.

[c] Cullum, pp. 100, 220. Eden's State of Poor, &c., p. 48. Whitaker's Craven, pp. 45, 336.

[d] I infer this from a number of passages in Blomefield. Cullum, and other writers. Hearne says, that an acre was often called Solidata terræ; because the yearly rent of one on the best land was a shilling. Lib. Nig. Scacc. p. 31.

They grew attentive to agricultural concerns, and perceived that a high rate of produce, against which their less enlightened ancestors had been used to clamor, would bring much more into their coffers than it took away. The exportation of corn had been absolutely prohibited. But the statute of the 15th Henry VI. c. 2, reciting that "on this account, farmers and others who use husbandry, cannot sell their corn but at a low price, to the great damage of the realm," permits it to be sent anywhere but to the king's enemies, so long as the quarter of wheat shall not exceed 6*s*. 8*d*. in value, or that of barley 3*s*.

The price of wool was fixed in the thirty-second year of the same reign at a minimum, below which no person was suffered to buy it, though he might give more;[e] a provision neither wise nor equitable, but obviously suggested by the same motive. Whether the rents of land were augmented in any degree through these measures, I have not perceived; their great risk took place in the reign of Henry VIII., or rather afterwards.[f] The usual price of land under Edward IV. seems to have been ten years' purchase.[g]

It may easily be presumed that an English writer can furnish very little information as to the state of agriculture in foreign countries. In such works relating to France as have fallen within my reach, I have found nothing satisfactory, and cannot pretend to determine, whether the natural tendency of mankind to ameliorate their condition had a greater influence in promoting agriculture, or the vices inherent in the actual order of society, and those public misfortunes to which that kingdom was exposed, in retarding it.[h] The state of Italy was far different; the rich Lombard plains, still more fertilized by irrigation, became a garden, and agriculture seems to have reached the excellence which it still retains. The constant warfare indeed of neighboring cities is not very favorable to industry; and upon this account we might incline to place the greatest territorial improvement of Lombardy at an era rather posterior to that of her republican government; but from this it primarily sprung; and without the subjugation

[e] Rot. Parl. vol. v. p. 275.

[f] A passage in Bishop Latimer's sermons, too often quoted to require repetition, shows that land was much underlet about the end of the fifteenth century. His father, he says, kept half a dozen husbandmen, and milked thirty cows, on a farm of three or four pounds a year. It is not surprising that he lived as plentifully as his son describes.

[g] Rymer, t. xii. p. 204.

[h] Velly and Villaret scarcely mention this subject; and Le Grand merely tells us that it was entirely neglected; but the details of such an art, even in its state of neglect, might be interesting.

of the feudal aristocracy, and that perpetual demand upon the fertility of the earth which an increasing population of citizens produced, the valley of the Po would not have yielded more to human labor than it had done for several preceding centuries.[i] Though Lombardy was extremely populous in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, she exported large quantities of corn.[j] The very curious treatise of Crescentius exhibits the full details of Italian husbandry about 1300, and might afford an interesting comparison to those who are acquainted with its present state. That state indeed in many parts of Italy displays no symptoms of decline. But whatever mysterious influence of soil or climate has scattered the seeds of death on the western regions of Tuscany had not manifested itself in the middle ages. Among uninhabitable plains, the traveller is struck by the ruins of innumerable castles and villages, monuments of a time when pestilence was either unfelt, or had at least not forbade the residence of mankind. Volterra, whose deserted walls look down upon that tainted solitude, was once a small but free republic; Siena, round whom, though less depopulated, the malignant influence hovers, was once almost the rival of Florence. So melancholy and apparently irresistible a decline of culture and population through physical causes, as seems to have gradually overspread that portion of Italy, has not perhaps been experienced in any other part of Europe unless we except Iceland.

The Italians of the fourteenth century seem to have paid some attention to an art, of which, both as related to cultivation and to architecture, our own forefathers were almost entirely ignorant. Crescentius dilates upon horticulture, and gives a pretty long list of herbs both esculent and medicinal.[k] His notions about the ornamental department are rather beyond what we should expect, and I do not know that his scheme of a flower-garden could be much amended. His general arrangements, which are minutely detailed with evident fondness for the subject, would of course appear too formal at present; yet less so than those of subsequent times; and though acquainted with what is called the topiary art, that of training or cutting trees into regular figures, he does not seem to run into its extravagance. Regular gardens, according to Paulmy, were not made in France till the sixteenth or even seventeenth

i Muratori, Dissert. 21. j Denina, l. xi. c. 7. k Ibid. l. vi.

century;[l] yet one is said to have existed at the Louvre, of much older construction.[m] England, I believe, had nothing of the ornamental kind, unless it were some trees regularly disposed in the orchard of a monastery. Even the common horticultural art for culinary purposes, though not entirely neglected, since the produce of gardens is sometimes mentioned in ancient deeds, had not been cultivated with much attention.[n] The esculent vegetables now most in use were introduced in the reign of Elizabeth, and some sorts a great deal later.

I should leave this slight survey of economical history still more imperfect, were I to make no observation on the relative values of money. Without something like precision in our notions upon this subject, every statistical inquiry becomes a source of confusion and error. But considerable difficulties attend the discussion. These arise principally from two causes; the inaccuracy or partial representations of historical writers, on whom we are accustomed too implicitly to rely, and the change of manners, which renders a certain command over articles of purchase less adequate to our wants than it was in former ages.

The first of these difficulties is capable of being removed by a circumspect use of authorities. When this part of statistical history began to excite attention, which was hardly perhaps before the publication of Bishop Fleetwood's Chronicon Preciosum, so few authentic documents had been published with respect to prices, that inquirers were glad to have recourse to historians, even when not contemporary, for such facts as they had thought fit to record. But these historians were sometimes too distant from the times concerning which they wrote, and too careless in their general character, to merit much regard; and even when contemporary, were often credulous, remote from the concerns of the world, and, at the best, more apt to register some extraordinary phenomenon of scarcity or cheapness, than the average rate of pecuniary dealings. The one ought, in my opinion, to be absolutely rejected as testimonies, the other to be sparingly and diffidently admitted.[o]

[l] T. iii. p. 145; t. xxxi. p. 258.

[m] De la Mare, Traité de la Police, t. iii. p. 380.

[n] Eden's State of Poor, vol. i. p. 51.

[o] Sir F. Eden, whose table of prices, though capable of some improvement, is perhaps the best that has appeared, would, I think, have acted better, by omitting all references to mere historians, and relying entirely on regular documents. I do not, however, include local histories, such as the Annals of Dunstaple, when they record the market-prices of their neighborhood, in re-

For it is no longer necessary to lean upon such uncertain witnesses. During the last century a very laudable industry has been shown by antiquaries in the publication of account-books belonging to private persons, registers of expenses in convents, returns of markets, valuations of goods, tavern-bills, and in short every document, however trifling in itself, by which this important subject can be illustrated. A sufficient number of such authorities, proving the ordinary tenor of prices rather than any remarkable deviations from it, are the true basis of a table, by which all changes in the value of money should be measured. I have little doubt but that such a table might be constructed from the data we possess with tolerable exactness, sufficient at least to supersede one often quoted by political economists, but which appears to be founded upon very superficial and erroneous inquiries.[p]

It is by no means required that I should here offer such a table of values, which, as to every country except England, I have no means of constructing, and which, even as to England, would be subject to many difficulties.[q] But a reader unaccustomed to these investigations ought to have some assistance in comparing the prices of ancient times with those of his own. I will therefore, without attempting to ascend very high, for we have really no sufficient data as to the period

spect of which the book last mentioned is almost in the nature of a register. Dr. Whitaker remarks the inexactness of Stowe, who says that wheat sold in London, A.D. 1514, at *20s.* a quarter: whereas it appears to have been at *9s.* in Lancashire, where it was always dearer than in the metropolis. Hist. of Whalley, p. 97. It is an odd mistake, into which Sir F. Eden has fallen, when he asserts and argues on the supposition, that the price of wheat fluctuated in the thirteenth century, from *1s.* to *6l. 8s.* a quarter, vol. i. p. 18. Certainly, if any chronicler had mentioned such a price as the latter, equivalent to *150l.* at present, we should either suppose that his text was corrupt, or reject it as an absurd exaggeration. But, in fact, the author has, through haste, mistaken *6s. 8d.* for *6l. 8s.*, as will appear by referring to his own table of prices, where it is set down rightly. It is observed by Mr. Macpherson, a very competent judge, that the arithmetical statements of the best historians of the middle ages are seldom correct, owing partly to their neglect of examination, and partly to blunders of transcribers. Annals of Commerce, vol. i. p. 423.

[p] The table of comparative values by Sir George Shuckburgh (Philosoph. Transact. for 1798, p. 196) is strangly incompatible with every result to which my own reading has led me. It is the hasty attempt of a man accustomed to different studies; and one can neither pardon the presumption of obtruding such a slovenly performance on a subject where the utmost diligence was required, nor the affectation with which he apologizes for "descending from the dignity of philosophy."

[q] M. Guérard, editor of "Paris sous Philippe le Bel," in the Documens Inédits (1841, p. 365), after a comparison of the prices of corn, concludes that the value of silver has declined, since that reign, in the ratio of five to one. This is much less than we allow in England. M. Leber (Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. Nouvelle Série, xiv. 230) calculates the power of silver under Charlemagne, compared with the present day, to have been as nearly eleven to one. It fell afterwards to eight, and continued to sink during the middle ages; the average of prices during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, taking corn as the standard, was six to one; the comparison is of course only for France. This is an interesting paper, and contains tables worthy of being consulted.

immediately subsequent to the Conquest, much less that which preceded, endeavor at a sort of approximation for the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. In the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I., previously to the first debasement of the coin by the latter in 1301, the ordinary price of a quarter of wheat appears to have been about four shillings, and that of barley and oats in proportion. A sheep was rather sold high at a shilling, an ox might be reckoned at ten or twelve.[r] The value of cattle is, of course, dependent upon their breed and condition, and we have unluckily no early account of butcher's meat; but we can hardly take a less multiple than about thirty for animal food and eighteen or twenty for corn, in order to bring the prices of the thirteenth century to a level with those of the present day.[s] Combining the two, and setting the comparative dearness of cloth against the cheapness of fuel and many other articles, we may perhaps consider any given sum under Henry III. and Edward I. as equivalent in general command over commodities to about twenty-four or twenty-five times their nominal value at present. Under Henry VI. the coin had lost one-third of its weight in silver, which caused a proportional increase of money prices;[t] but, so far as I can perceive, there had been no diminution in the value of that metal. We have not much information as to the fertility of the mines which

[r] Blomefield's History of Norfolk, and Sir J. Cullum's of Hawsted, furnish several pieces even at this early period. Most of them are collected by Sir F. Eden. Fleta reckons 4*s.* the average price of a quarter of wheat in his time. l. ii. c. 84. This writer has a digression on agriculture, whence, however, less is to be collected than we should expect.

[s] The fluctuations of price have unfortunately been so great of late years, that it is almost as difficult to determine one side of our equation as the other. Any reader, however, has it in his power to correct my proportions, and adopt a greater or less multiple, according to his own estimate of current prices, or the changes that may take place from the time when this is written. [1816.]

[t] I have sometimes been surprised at the facility with which prices adjusted themselves to the quantity of silver contained in the current coin, in ages which appear too ignorant and too little commercial for the application of this mercantile principle. But the extensive dealings of the Jewish and Lombard usurers, who had many debtors in almost all parts of the country, would of itself introduce a knowledge that silver, not its stamp, was the measure of value. I have mentioned in another place (vol. i. p. 211) the heavy discontents excited by this debasement of the coin in France; but the more gradual enhancement of nominal prices in England seems to have prevented any strong manifestations of a similar spirit at the successive reductions in value which the coin experienced from the year 1300. The connection, however, between commodities and silver was well understood. Wykes, an annalist of Edward I.'s age, tells us that the Jews clipped our coin, till it retained hardly half its due weight, the effect of which was a general enhancement of prices and decline of foreign trade: Mercatores transmarini cum mercimoniis suis regnum Angliæ minus solito frequentabant; necnon quod omnimoda venalium genera incomparabiliter solito fuerunt cariora. 2 Gale, XV. Script. p. 107. Another chronicler of the same age complains of bad foreign money, alloyed with copper; nec erat in quatuor aut quinque ex iis pondus unius denarii argentii. . . . . Eratque pessimum sæculum pro tali monetâ, et fiebant commutationes plurimæ in emptione et venditione rerum. Edward, as the historian informs us, bought in this bad money at a rate below its value, in order to make a profit: and fined some persons who interfered with his traffic. W. Hemingford, ad ann. 1299.

supplied Europe during the middle ages; but it is probable that the drain of silver towards the East, joined to the ostentatious splendor of courts, might fully absorb the usual produce. By the statute 15 H. VI., c. 2, the price up to which wheat might be exported is fixed at 6*s.* 8*d.*, a point no doubt above the average; and the private documents of that period, which are sufficiently numerous, lead to a similar result.[u] Sixteen will be a proper multiple when we would bring the general value of money in this reign to our present standard.[v] [1816.]

But after ascertaining the proportional values of money at different periods by a comparison of the prices in several of the chief articles of expenditure, which is the only fair process, we shall sometimes be surprised at incidental facts of this class which seem irreducible to any rule. These difficulties arise not so much from the relative scarcity of particular commodities, which it is for the most part easy to explain, as from the change in manners and in the usual mode of living. We have reached in this age so high a pitch of luxury that we can hardly believe or comprehend the frugality of ancient times; and have in general formed mistaken notions as to the habits of expenditure which then prevailed. Accustomed to judge of feudal and chivalrous ages by works of fiction, or by historians who embellished their writings with accounts of occasional festivals and tournaments, and sometimes inattentive enough to transfer the manners of the seventeenth to the fourteenth century, we are not at all aware of the usual simplicity with which the gentry lived under Edward I. or even Henry VI. They drank little wine; they had

[u] These will chiefly be found in Sir F. Eden's table of prices; the following may be added from the account-book of a convent between 1415 and 1425. Wheat varied from 4*s.* to 6*s.*—barley from 3*s.* 2*d.* to 4*s.* 10*d.*—oats from 1*s.* 8*d.* to 2*s.* 4*d.*—oxen from 12*s.* to 16*s.*—sheep from 1*s.* 2*d.* to 1*s.* 4*d.*—butter ⅝*d.* per lb.—eggs twenty-five for 1*d.*—cheese ⅓*d.* per lb. Lansdowne MSS., vol. i. No. 28 and 29. These prices do not always agree with those given in other documents of equal authority in the same period; but the value of provisions varied in different counties, and still more so in different seasons of the year.

[v] I insert the following comparative table of English money from Sir Frederick Eden. The unit, or present value refers of course to that of the shilling before the last coinage, which reduced it.

		Value of pound sterling, present money.			Proportion.
		£	*s.*	*d.*	
Conquest,	1066....	2	18	1½	2.906
28 E. I.,	1300....	2	17	5	2.871
18 E. III.,	1344....	2	12	5½	2.622
20 E. III.,	1346....	2	11	8	2.583
27 E. III.,	1353....	2	6	6	2.325
13 H. IV.,	1412....	1	18	9	1.937
4 E. IV.,	1464....	1	11	0	1.55
18 H. VIII.,	1527....	1	7	6½	1.378
34 H. VIII.,	1543....	1	3	3½	1.163
36 H. VIII.,	1545....	0	13	11½	0.698
37 H. VIII.,	1546....	0	9	3½	0.466
5 E. VI.,	1551....	0	4	7½	0.232
6 E. VI.,	1552....	1	0	6½	1.028
1 Mary,	1553....	1	0	5½	1.024
2 Elizabeth,	1560...	1	0	8	1.033
43 Elizabeth,	1601....	1	0	0	1.000

no foreign luxuries; they rarely or never kept male servants except for husbandry; their horses, as we may guess by the price, were indifferent; they seldom travelled beyond their county. And even their hospitality must have been greatly limited, if the value of manors were really no greater than we find it in many surveys. Twenty-four seems a sufficient multiple when we would raise a sum mentioned by a writer under Edward I. to the same real value expressed in our present money, but an income of 10*l.* or 20*l.* was reckoned a competent estate for a gentleman; at least the lord of a single manor would seldom have enjoyed more. A knight who possessed 150*l.* per annum passed for extremely rich.[w] Yet this was not equal in command over commodities to 4,000*l.* at present. But this income was comparatively free from taxation, and its expenditure lightened by the services of his villeins. Such a person, however, must have been among the most opulent of country gentlemen. Sir John Fortescue speaks of five pounds a year as "a fair living for a yeoman," a class of whom he is not at all inclined to diminish the importance.[x] So, when Sir William Drury, one of the richest men in Suffolk, bequeaths in 1493 fifty marks to each of his daughters, we must not imagine that this was of greater value than four or five hundred pounds at this day, but remark the family pride and want of ready money which induced country gentlemen to leave their younger children in poverty.[y] Or, if we read that the expense of a scholar at the university in 1514 was but five pounds annually, we should err in supposing that he had the liberal accommodation which the present age deems indispensable, but consider how much could be afforded for about sixty pounds, which will be not far from the proportion. And what would a modern lawyer say to the following entry in the churchwarden's accounts[z] of St. Margaret, Westminster, for 1476: "Also paid to Roger Fylpott, learned in the law, for his counsel giving, 3*s.* 8*d.*, with fourpence for his dinner"?

w Macpherson's Annals, p. 424, from Matt. Paris.

x Difference of Limited and Absolute Monarchy, p. 133.

y Hist. of Hawsted, p. 141.

z Nicholls's Illustrations, p. 2. One fact of this class did, I own, stagger me. The great Earl of Warwick writes to a private gentleman, Sir Thomas Tudenham, begging the loan of ten or twenty pounds to make up a sum he had to pay. Paston Letters, vol. i. p. 84. What way shall we make this commensurate to the present value of money? But an ingenious friend suggested, what I do not question is the case, that this was one or many letters addressed to the adherents of Warwick, in order to raise by their contributions a considerable sum. It is curious, in this light, as an illustration of manners.

Though fifteen times the fee might not seem altogether inadequate at present, five shillings would hardly furnish the table of a barrister, even if the fastidiousness of our manners would admit of his accepting such a dole. But this fastidiousness, which considers certain kinds of remuneration degrading to a man of liberal condition, did not prevail in those simple ages. It would seem rather strange that a young lady should learn needlework and good breeding in a family of superior rank, paying for her board; yet such was the laudable custom of the fifteenth and even sixteenth centuries, as we perceive by the Paston Letters, and even later authorities.[a]

There is one very unpleasing remark which everyone who attends to the subject of prices will be induced to make, that the laboring classes, especially those engaged in agriculture, were better provided with the means of subsistence in the reign of Edward III. or of Henry VI. than they are at present. In the fourteenth century Sir John Cullum observes a harvest man had fourpence a day, which enabled him in a week to buy a comb of wheat; but to buy a comb of wheat a man must now (1784) work ten or twelve days.[b] So, under Henry VI., if meat was at a farthing and a half the pound, which I suppose was about the truth, a laborer earning threepence a day, or eighteen-pence in the week, could buy a bushel of wheat at six shillings the quarter, and twenty-four pounds of meat for his family. A laborer at present, earning twelve shillings a week, can only buy half a bushel of wheat at eighty shillings the quarter, and twelve pounds of meat at seven-pence.[c] Sev-

a Paston Letters, vol. i. p. 224; Cullum's Hawsted, p. 182.

b Hist. of Hawsted, p. 228.

c Mr. Malthus observes on this, that I "have overlooked the distinction between the reigns of Edward III. and Henry VIII. (perhaps a misprint for VI.), with regard to the state of the laboring classes. The two periods appear to have been essentially different in this respect." Principles of Political Economy, p. 293, 1st edit. He conceives that the earnings of the laborer in corn were unusually low in the latter years of Edward III., which appears to have been effected by the statute of laborers (25 E. III.), immediately after the great pestilence of 1350, though that mortality ought, in the natural course of things, to have considerably raised the real wages of labor. The result of his researches is that, in the reign of Edward III., the laborer could not purchase half a peck of wheat with a day's labor; from that of Richard II. to the middle of that of Henry VI., he could purchase nearly a peck; and from thence to the end of the century, nearly two pecks. At the time when the passage in the text was written [1816], the laborer could rarely have purchased more than a peck with a day's labor, and frequently a good deal less. In some parts of England this is the case at present [1846]; but in many counties the real wages of agricultural laborers are considerably higher than at that time, though not by any means so high as, according to Malthus himself, they were in the latter half of the fifteenth century. The excessive fluctuations in the price of corn, even taking averages of a long term of years, which we find through the middle ages, and indeed much later, account more than any other assignable cause for those in real wages of labor, which do not regulate themselves very promptly by that standard, especially when coercive measures are adopted to restrain them.

eral acts of parliament regulate the wages that might be paid to laborers of different kinds. Thus the statute of laborers in 1350 fixed the wages of reapers during harvest at threepence a day without diet, equal to five shillings at present; that of 23 H. VI., c. 12, in 1444, fixed the reapers' wages at five-pence and those of common workmen in building at 3½*d.*, equal to 6*s.* 8*d.* and 4*s.* 8*d.*; that of 11 H. VII., c. 22, in 1496, leaves the wages of laborers in harvest as before, but rather increases those of ordinary workmen. The yearly wages of a chief hind or shepherd by the act of 1444 were 1*l.* 4*s.*, equivalent to about 20*l.*, those of a common servant in husbandry 18*s.* 4*d.*, with meat and drink; they were somewhat augmented by the statute of 1496.[d] Yet, although these wages are regulated as a maximum by acts of parliament, which may naturally be supposed to have had a view rather towards diminishing than enhancing the current rate, I am not fully convinced that they were not rather beyond it; private accounts at least do not always correspond with these statutable prices.[e] And it is necessary to remember that the uncertainty of employment, natural to so imperfect a state of husbandry, must have diminished the laborers' means of subsistence. Extreme dearth, not more owing to adverse seasons than to improvident consumption, was frequently endured.[f] But after every allowance of this kind I should find it difficult to resist the conclusion that, however the laborer has derived benefit from the cheapness of manufactured commodities and from many inventions of common utility, he is much inferior in ability to support a family to his ancestors three or four centuries ago. I know not why some have supposed that meat was a luxury seldom obtained by the laborer. Doubtless he could not have procured as much as he pleased. But, from the greater cheapness of cattle, as compared with corn, it seems to follow that a more considerable portion of his ordinary diet consisted of animal food than at present. It was remarked by Sir John Fortescue that the Eng-

d See these rates more at length in Eden's State of the Poor, vol. i. p. 32, &c.

e In the Archæologia, vol. xviii. p. 281, we have a bailiff's account of expenses in 1387, where it appears that a ploughman had sixpence a week, and five shillings a year, with an allowance of diet; which seems to have been only pottage. These wages are certainly not more than fifteen shillings a week in present value [1816]; which, though materially above the average rate of agricultural labor, is less so than some of the statutes would lead us to expect. Other facts may be found of a similar nature.

f See that singular book, Piers Ploughman's Vision, p. 145 (Whitaker's edition), for the different modes of living before and after harvest. The passage may be found in Ellis's Specimens, vol. i. p. 151.

lish lived far more upon animal diet than their rivals the French; and it was natural to ascribe their superior strength and courage to this cause.[g] I should feel much satisfaction in being convinced that no deterioration in the state of the laboring classes has really taken place; yet it cannot, I think, appear extraordinary to those who reflect, that the whole population of England in the year 1377 did not much exceed 2,300,000 souls, about one-fifth of the results upon the last enumeration, an increase with which that of the fruits of the earth cannot be supposed to have kept an even pace.[h]

The second head to which I referred, the improvements of European society in the latter period of the middle ages, comprehends several changes, not always connected with each other, which contributed to inspire a more elevated tone of moral sentiment, or at least to restrain the commission of crimes. But the general effect of these upon the human character is neither so distinctly to be traced, nor can it be arranged with so much attention to chronology, as the progress of commercial wealth or of the arts that depend upon it. We cannot from any past experience indulge the pleasing vision of a constant and parallel relation between the moral and intellectual energies, the virtues and the civilization of mankind. Nor is any problem connected with philosophical history more difficult than to compare the relative characters of different generations, especially if we include a large geographical surface in our estimate. Refinement has its evils as well as barbarism; the virtues that elevate a nation in one century pass in the next to a different region; vice changes its form without losing its essence; the marked features of individual character stand out in relief from the surface of history, and mislead our judgment as to the general course of manners; while political revolutions and a bad constitution of government may always undermine or subvert the improvements to which more favorable circumstances have contributed. In comparing, therefore, the fifteenth with the twelfth century, no one would deny the

[g] Fortescue's Difference between Abs. and Lim. Monarchy, p. 19. The passages in Fortescue, which bear on his favorite theme, the liberty and consequent happiness of the English, are very important, and triumphantly refute those superficial writers who would make us believe that they were a set of beggarly slaves.

[h] Besides the books to which I have occasionally referred, Mr. Ellis's Specimens of English poetry, vol. i. chap. 13, contain a short digression, but from well selected materials, on the private life of the English in the middling and lower ranks about the fifteenth century. [I leave the foregoing pages with little alteration, but they may probably contain expressions which I would not now adopt. 1850.]

vast increase of navigation and manufactures, the superior refinement of manners, the greater diffusion of literature. But should I assert that man had raised himself in the latter period above the moral degradation of a more barbarous age, I might be met by the question whether history bears witness to any greater excesses of rapine and inhumanity than in the wars of France and England under Charles VII., or whether the rough patriotism and fervid passions of the Lombards in the twelfth century were not better than the systematic treachery of their servile descendants three hundred years afterwards. The proposition must therefore be greatly limited; yet we can scarcely hesitate to admit, upon a comprehensive view, that there were several changes during the last four of the middle ages, which must naturally have tended to produce, and some of which did unequivocally produce, a meliorating effect, within the sphere of their operation, upon the moral character of society.

The first and perhaps the most important of these, was the gradual elevation of those whom unjust systems of polity had long depressed; of the people itself, as opposed to the small number of rich and noble, by the abolition or desuetude of domestic and predial servitude, and by the privileges extended to corporate towns. The condition of slavery is indeed perfectly consistent with the observance of moral obligations; yet reason and experience will justify the sentence of Homer, that he who loses his liberty loses half his virtue. Those who have acquired, or may hope to acquire, property of their own, are most likely to respect that of others; those whom law protects as a parent are most willing to yield her a filial obedience; those who have much to gain by the good-will of their fellow-citizens are most interested in the preservation of an honorable character. I have been led, in different parts of the present work, to consider these great revolutions in the order of society under other relations than that of their moral efficacy; and it will therefore be unnecessary to dwell upon them; especially as this efficacy is indeterminate, though I think unquestionable, and rather to be inferred from general reflections than capable of much illustration by specific facts.

We may reckon in the next place among the causes of moral improvement, a more regular administration of justice according to fixed laws, and a more effectual police. Whether the

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courts of judicature were guided by the feudal customs or the Roman law, it was necessary for them to resolve litigated questions with precision and uniformity. Hence a more distinct theory of justice and good faith was gradually apprehended; and the moral sentiments of mankind were corrected, as on such subjects they often require to be, by clearer and better grounded inferences of reasoning. Again, though it cannot be said that lawless rapine was perfectly restrained even at the end of the fifteenth century, a sensible amendment has been everywhere experienced. Private warfare, the licensed robbery of feudal manners, had been subjected to so many mortifications by the kings of France, and especially by St. Louis, that it can hardly be traced beyond the fourteenth century. In Germany and Spain it lasted longer; but the various associations for maintaining tranquillity in the former country had considerably diminished its violence before the great national measure of public peace adopted under Maximilian.[i] Acts of outrage committed by powerful men became less frequent as the executive government acquired more strength to chastise them. We read that St. Louis, the best of French kings, imposed a fine upon the Lord of Vernon for permitting a merchant to be robbed in his territory between sunrise and sunset. For by the customary law, though in general ill observed, the lord was bound to keep the roads free from depredators in the daytime, in consideration of the toll he received from passengers.[j] The same prince was with difficulty prevented from passing a capital sentence on Enguerrand de Coucy, a baron of France, for a murder.[k] Charles the Fair actually put to death a nobleman of Languedoc for a series of robberies, notwithstanding the intercession of the provincial nobility.[l] The

[i] Besides the German historians, see Du Cange, v. Ganerbium, for the confederacies in the empire, and Hermandatum for those in Castile. These appear to have been merely voluntary associations, and perhaps directed as much towards the prevention of robbery as of what is strictly called private war. But no man can easily distinguish offensive war from robbery except by its scale; and where this was so considerably reduced, the two modes of injury almost coincide. In Aragon, there was a distinct institution for the maintenance of peace, the kingdom being divided into unions or juntas, with a chief officer called Suprajunctarius, at their head. Du Cange, v. Juncta.

[j] Henault, Abrégé Chronol. à l'an. 1255. The institutions of Louis IX. and his successors relating to police form a part, though rather a smaller part than we should expect from the title, of an immense work, replete with miscellaneous information, by Delamare, Traité de la Police, 4 vols. in folio. A sketch of them may be found in Velly, t. v. p. 349, t. xviii. p. 437.

[k] Velly, t. v. p. 162, where this incident is told in an interesting manner from William de Nangis. Boulainvilliers has taken an extraordinary view of the king's behavior. Hist. de l'Ancien Gouvernement, t. ii. p. 26. In his eyes princes and plebeians were made to be the slaves of a feudal aristocracy.

[l] Velly, t. viii. p. 132.

towns established a police of their own for internal security, and rendered themselves formidable to neighboring plunderers. Finally, though not before the reign of Louis XI., an armed force was established for the preservation of police.[m] Various means were adopted in England to prevent robberies, which indeed were not so frequently perpetrated as they were on the continent by men of high condition. None of these perhaps had so much efficacy as the frequent sessions of judges under commissions of gaol delivery. But the spirit of this country has never brooked that coercive police which cannot exist without breaking in upon personal liberty by irksome regulations, and discretionary exercise of power; the sure instrument of tyranny, which renders civil privileges at once nugatory and insecure, and by which we should dearly purchase some real benefits connected with its slavish discipline.

I have some difficulty in adverting to another source of moral improvement during this period, the growth of religious opinions adverse to those of the established church, both on account of its great obscurity, and because many of these heresies were mixed up with an excessive fanaticism. But they fixed themselves so deeply in the hearts of the inferior and more numerous classes, they bore, generally speaking, so immediate a relation to the state of manners, and they illustrate so much that more visible and eminent revolution which ultimately rose out of them in the sixteenth century, that I must reckon these among the most interesting phenomena in the progress of European society.

Many ages elapsed, during which no remarkable instance occurs of a popular deviation from the prescribed line of belief; and pious Catholics consoled themselves by reflecting that their forefathers, in those times of ignorance, slept at least the sleep of orthodoxy, and that their darkness was interrupted by no false lights of human reasoning.[n] But from the twelfth century this can no longer be their boast. An inundation of heresy broke in that age upon the church, which no persecution was able thoroughly to repress, till it finally overspread half the surface of Europe. Of this religious innovation we must seek the commencement in a different part of the globe. The Manicheans afford an eminent example of that durable attachment to a traditional creed, which so many ancient sects, espe-

[m] Velly, xviii. p. 437. [n] Fleury 3me Discours sur l'Hist. Ecclés.

cially in the East, have cherished through the vicissitudes of ages, in spite of persecution and contempt. Their plausible and widely extended system had been in early times connected with the name of Christianity, however incompatible with its doctrines and its history. After a pretty long obscurity, the Manichean theory revived with some modification in the western parts of Armenia, and was propagated in the eighth and ninth centuries by a sect denominated Paulicians. Their tenets are not to be collected with absolute certainty from the mouths of their adversaries, and no apology of their own survives. There seems, however, to be sufficient evidence that the Paulicians, though professing to acknowledge and even to study the apostolical writings, ascribed the creation of the world to an evil deity, whom they supposed also to be the author of the Jewish law, and consequently rejected all the Old Testament. Believing, with the ancient Gnostics, that our Saviour was clothed on earth with an impassive celestial body, they denied the reality of his death and resurrection.[o] These errors exposed them to a long and cruel persecution, during which a colony of exiles was planted by one of the Greek emperors in Bulgaria.[p] From this settlement they silently promulgated their Manichean creed over the western regions of Christendom. A large part of the commerce of those countries with Constantinople was carried on for several centuries by the

o The most authentic account of the Paulicians is found in a little treatise of Petrus Siculus, who lived about 870, under Basil the Macedonian. He had been employed on an embassy to Tephrica, the principal town of these heretics, so that he might easily be well informed; and, though he is sufficiently bigoted, I do not see any reason to question the general truth of his testimony, especially as it tallies so well with what we learn of the predecessors and successors of the Paulicians. They had rejected several of the Manichean doctrines, those, I believe, which were borrowed from the Oriental, Gnostic, and Cabbalistic philosophy of emanation; and therefore readily condemned Manes, προθύμως αναθεματίζουσι Μάνητα. But they retained his capital errors, so far as regarded the principle of dualism, which he had taken from Zerdush's religion, and the consequences he had derived from it. Petrus Siculus enumerates six Paulician heresies. 1. They maintained the existence of two deities, the one evil, and the creator of this world; the other good, called πατὴρ ἐπουράνιος, the author of that which is to come. 2. They refused to worship the Virgin, and asserted that Christ brought his body from heaven. 3. They rejected the Lord's Supper. 4. And the adoration of the cross. 5. They denied the authority of the Old Testament, but admitted the New, except the epistles of St. Peter, and, perhaps, the Apocalypse. 6. They did not acknowledge the order of priests.

There seems every reason to suppose that the Paulicians, notwithstanding their mistakes, were endowed with sincere and zealous piety, and studious of the Scriptures. A Paulician woman asked a young man if he had read the Gospels: he replied that laymen were not permitted to do so, but only the clergy: οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν τοῖς κοσμίκοις οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἀναγινώσκειν, εἰ μὴ τοῖς ἱέρευσι μόνοις p. 57. A curious proof that the Scriptures were already forbidden in the Greek church, which I am inclined to believe, notwithstanding the leniency with which Protestant writers have treated it, was always more corrupt and more intolerant than the Latin.

p Gibbon, c. 54. This chapter of the historian of the Decline and Fall upon the Paulicians appears to be accurate, as well as luminous, and is at least far superior to any modern work on the subject.

channel of the Danube. This opened an immediate intercourse with the Paulicians, who may be traced up that river through Hungary and Bavaria, or sometimes taking the route of Lombardy and Switzerland and France.[q] In the last country, and especially in its southern and eastern provinces, they became conspicuous under a variety of names; such as Catharists, Picards, Paterins, but above all, Albigenses. It is beyond a doubt that many of these sectaries owed their origin to the Paulicians; the appellation of Bulgarians was distinctively bestowed upon them; and, according to some writers, they acknowledged a primate or patriarch resident in that country.[r] The tenets ascribed to them by all contemporary authorities coincide so remarkably with those held by the Paulicians, and in earlier times by the Manicheans, that I do not see how we can reasonably deny what is confirmed by separate and uncontradicted testimonies, and contains no intrinsic want of probability.[s]

q It is generally agreed, that the Manicheans from Bulgaria did not penetrate into the west of Europe before the year 1000; and they seem to have been in small numbers till about 1140. We find them, however, early in the eleventh century. Under the reign of Robert in 1007 several heretics were burned at Orleans for tenets which are represented as Manichean. Velly, t. ii. p. 307. These are said to have been imported from Italy; and the heresy began to strike root in that country about the same time. Muratori, Dissert. 60 (Antichità Italiane, t. iii. p. 304). The Italian Manicheans were generally called Paterini, the meaning of which word has never been explained. We find few traces of them in France at this time; but about the beginning of the twelfth century, Guibert, Bishop of Soissons, describes the heretics of that city, who denied the reality of the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, and rejected the sacraments. Hist. Littéraire de la France, t. x. p. 451, before the middle of that age, the Cathari, Henricians, Petrobussians, and others appear, and the new opinions attracted universal notice. Some of these sectaries, however, were not Manicheans. Mosheim, vol. iii. p. 116.

The acts of the inquisition of Toulouse, published by Limborch, from an ancient manuscript, contain many additional proofs that the Albigenses held the Manichean doctrine. Limborch himself will guide the reader to the principal passages, p. 30. In fact, the proof of Manicheism among the heretics of the twelfth century is so strong (for I have confined myself to those of Languedoc, and could easily have brought other testimony as to the Cathari) that I should never have thought of arguing the point but for the confidence of some modern ecclesiastical writers.—What can we think of one who says, "It was not unusual to stigmatize new sects with the odious name of Manichees, though I know no evidence that there were any real remains of that ancient sect in the twelfth century"? Milner's History of the Church, vol. iii. p. 380. Though this writer was by no means learned enough for the task he undertook, he could not be ignorant of facts related by Mosheim and other common historians.

I will only add, in order to obviate cavilling, that I use the word Albigenses for the Manichean sects, without pretending to assert that their doctrines prevailed more in the neighborhood of Albi than elsewhere. The main position is, that a large part of the Languedocian heretics against whom the crusade was directed had imbibed the Paulician opinions. If anyone chooses rather to call them Catharists, it will not be material.

r M. Paris, p. 267. (A.D. 1223.) Circa dies istos, hæretici Albigenses constituerunt sibi Antipapam in finibus Bulgarorum, Croatiæ et Dalmatiæ nomine Bartholomæum, &c. We are assured by good authorities that Bosnia was full of Manicheans and Arians as late as the middle of the fifteenth century. Æneas Sylvius, p. 407; Spondanus, ad an. 1460; Mosheim.

s There has been so prevalent a disposition among English divines to vindicate not only the morals and sincerity, but the orthodoxy of these Albigenses, that I deem it necessary to confirm what I have said in the text by some authorities, especially as few readers have it in their power to examine this very obscure subject. Pe-

But though the derivation of these heretics called Albigenses from Bulgaria is sufficiently proved, it is by no means to be concluded that all who incurred the same imputation either derived their faith from the same country, or had adopted the Manichean theory of the Paulicians. From the very invectives of their enemies, and the acts of the Inquisition, it is manifest that almost every shade of heterodoxy was found among these dissidents, till it vanished in a simple protestation against the wealth and tyranny of the clergy. Those who were absolutely free from any taint of Manicheism are properly called Wal-

trus Monachus, a Cistercian monk, who wrote a history of the crusades against the Albigenses, gives an account of the tenets maintained by the different heretical sects. Many of them asserted two principles or creative beings: a good one for things invisible, an evil one for things visible; the former author of the New Testament, the latter of the Old. Novum Testamentum benigno deo, vetus vero maligno attribuebant; et illud omninò repudiabant, præter quasdam auctoritates, quæ de Veteri Testamento Novo sunt insertæ, quas ob Novi reverentiam Testamenti recipere dignum æstimabant. A vast number of strange errors are imputed to them, most of which are not mentioned by Alanus, a more dispassionate writer. Du Chesne, Scriptores Francorum, t. v. p. 556. This Alanus de Insulis, whose treatise against heretics, written about 1200, was published by Masson at Lyons, in 1612, has left, I think, conclusive evidence of the Manicheism of the Albigenses. He states their argument upon every disputed point as fairly as possible, though his refutation is of course more at length. It appears that great discrepancies of opinion existed among these heretics, but the general tenor of their doctrines is evidently Manichean. Aiunt hæretici temporis nostri quod duo sunt principia rerum, principium lucis et principium tenebrarum, &c. This opinion, strange as we may think it, was supported by Scriptural texts; so insufficient is a mere acquaintance with the sacred writing to secure unlearned and prejudiced minds from the wildest perversions of their meaning. Some denied the reality of Christ's body; other his being the Son of God; many the resurrection of the body: some even of a future state. They asserted in general the Mosaic law to have proceeded from the devil, proving this by the crimes committed during its dispensation, and by the words of St. Paul, "the law entered that sin might abound." They rejected infant baptism, but were divided as to the reason; some saying that infants could not sin, and did not need baptism; others, that they could not be saved without faith, and consequently that it was useless. They held sin after baptism to be irremissible. It does not appear that they rejected either of the sacraments. They laid great stress upon the imposition of hands, which seems to have been their distinctive rite.

One circumstance, which both Alanus and Robertus Monachus mention, and which other authorities confirm, is their division into two classes; the Perfect and the Credentes, or Consolati, both of which appellations are used. The former abstained from animal food, and from marriage, and led in every respect an austere life. The latter were a kind of lay brethren, living in a secular manner. This distinction is thoroughly Manichean, and leaves no doubt as to the origin of the Albigenses. See Beausobre, Hist. du Manichéisme, t. ii. p. 762 and 777. This candid writer represents the early Manicheans as a harmless and austere set of enthusiasts, exactly what the Paulicians and Albigenses appear to have been in succeeding ages. As many calumnies were vented against one as the other.

The long battle as to the Manicheism of the Albigensian sectaries has been renewed since the publication of this work, by Dr. Maitland on one side, and Mr. Faber and Dr. Gilly on the other; and it is not likely to reach a termination; being conducted by one party with far less regard to the weight of evidence than to the bearing it may have on the theological hypotheses of the writers. I have seen no reason for altering what is said in the text.

The chief strength of the argument seems to me to lie in the independent testimonies as to the Manicheism of the Paulicians, in Petrus Siculus and Photius, on the other hand, and as to that of the Languedocian heretics in the Latin writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries on the other; the connection of the two sects through Bulgaria being established by history, but the latter class of writers being unacquainted with the former. It is certain that the probability of general truth in these concurrent testimonies is greatly enhanced by their independence. And it will be found that those who deny any tinge of Manicheism in the Albigenses, are equally confident as to the orthodoxy of the Paulicians. [1848.]

denses; a name perpetually confounded in later times with that of Albigenses, but distinguishing a sect probably of separate origin, and at least of different tenets. These, according to the majority of writers, took their appellation from Peter Waldo, a merchant of Lyons, the parent, about the year 1160, of a congregation of seceders from the church, who spread very rapidly over France and Germany.[t] According to others, the original Waldenses were a race of uncorrupted shepherds, who in the valleys of the Alps had shaken off, or perhaps never learned, the system of superstition on which the Catholic church depended for its ascendency. I am not certain whether their existence can be distinctly traced beyond the preaching of Waldo, but it is well known that the proper seat of the Waldenses or Vaudois has long continued to be in certain valleys of Piedmont. These pious and innocent sectaries, of whom the very monkish historians speak well, appear to have nearly

[t] The contemporary writers seem uniformly to represent Waldo as the founder of the Waldenses; and I am not aware that they refer the locality of that sect to the valleys of Piedmont, between Exiles and Pignerol (see Leger's map), which have so long been distinguished as the native country of the Vaudois. In the acts of the Inquisition, we find Waldenses, sive pauperes de Lugduno, used as equivalent terms; and it can hardly be doubted that the poor men of Lyons were the disciples of Waldo. Alanus, the second book of whose treatise against heretics is an attack upon the Waldenses, expressly derives them from Waldo. Petrus Monachus does the same. These seem strong authorities, as it is not easy to perceive what advantage they could derive from misrepresentation. It has been, however, a position zealously maintained by some modern writers of respectable name, that the people of the valleys had preserved a pure faith for several ages before the appearance of Waldo. I have read what is advanced on this head by Leger (Histoire des Eglises Vaudoises) and by Allix (Remarks on the Ecclesiastical History of the Churches of Piedmont), but without finding any sufficient proof for this supposition, which nevertheless is not to be rejected as absolutely improbable. Their best argument is deduced from an ancient poem called La Noble Loiçon, an original manuscript of which is in the public library of Cambridge, and another in that of Geneva. This poem is alleged to bear date in 1100, more than half a century before the appearance of Waldo. But the lines that contain the date are loosely expressed, and may very well suit with any epoch before the termination of the twelfth century.

Ben ha mil et cent ans compli entierament,
Che fu scritta loro que sen al derier temp.
Eleven hundred years are now gone and past,
Since thus it was written; These times are the last.

See Literature of Europe in 15th, 16th, and 17th Centuries, chap. 1, sec. 33.

I have found, however, a passage in a late work, which remarkably illustrates the antiquity of Alpine Protestantism, if we may depend on the date it assigns to the quotation. Mr. Planta's History of Switzerland, p. 93, 4to edit., contains the following note:—"A curious passage, singularly descriptive of the character of the Swiss, has lately been discovered in a MS. chronicle of the Abbey of Corvey, which appears to have been written about the beginning of the twelfth century. Religionem nostram, et omnium Latinæ ecclesiæ Christianorum fidem, laici ex Suaviâ, Suiciâ, et Bavariâ humiliare voluerunt; homines seducti ab antiquâ progenie simplicium hominum, qui Alpes et viciniam habitant, et semper amant antiqua. In Suaviam, Bavariam et Italiam borealem sæpe intrant illorum (ex Suiciâ) mercatores, qui biblia ediscunt memoriter, et ritus ecclesiæ aversantur, quos credunt esse novos. Nolunt imagines venerari, reliquias sanctorum aversantur, olera comedunt, rarò masticantes carnem, alii nunquam. Appellamus eos idcircò Manichæos. Horum quidam ab Hungariâ ad eos convenerunt, &c." It is a pity that the quotation has been broken off, as it might have illustrated the connection of the Bulgarians with these sectaries.

resembled the modern Moravians. They had ministers of their own appointment, and denied the lawfulness of oaths and of capital punishment. In other respects their opinions probably were not far removed from those usually called Protestant. A simplicity of dress, and especially the use of wooden sandals, was affected by this people.[u]

I have already had occasion to relate the severe persecution which nearly exterminated the Albigenses of Languedoc at the close of the twelfth century, and involved the counts of Toulouse in their ruin. The Catharists, a fraternity of the same Paulician origin, more dispersed than the Albigenses, had previously sustained a similar trial. Their belief was certainly a compound of strange errors with truth; but it was attended by qualities of a far superior lustre to orthodoxy, by a sincerity, a piety, and a self-devotion that almost purified the age in which they lived.[v] It is always important to perceive that

[u] The Waldenses were always considered as much less erroneous in their tents than the Albigenses, or Manicheans. Erant præterea alii hæretici, says Robert Monachus in the passage above quoted, qui Waldenses dicebantur, a quodam Waldio nomine Lugdunensi. Hi quidem mali erant, sed comparatione aliorum hæreticorum longè minus perversi; in multis enim nobiscum conveniebant, in quibusdam dissentiebant. The only faults he seems to impute to them are the denial of the lawfulness of oaths and capital punishment, and the wearing wooden shoes. By this peculiarity of wooden sandals (sabots) they got the name of Sabbatati or Insabbatati. (Du Cange.) William du Puy, another historian of the same time, makes a similar distinction. Erant quidam Ariani, quidam Manichæi, quidam etiam Waldenses sive Lugdunenses qui licet inter se dissidentes, omnes tamen in animarum perniciem contra fidem Catholicam conspirabant; et illi quidem Waldenses contra alios acutissimè disputant. Du Chesne, t. v. p. 666. Alanus, in his second book, where he treats of the Waldenses, charges them principally with disregarding the authority of the church and preaching without a regular mission. It is evident, however, from the acts of the Inquisition, that they denied the existence of purgatory; and I should suppose that, even at that time, they had thrown off most of the popish system of doctrine, which is so nearly connected with clerical wealth and power. The difference made in these records between the Waldenses and the Manichean sects shows that the imputations cast upon the latter were not indiscriminate calumnies. See Limborch, p. 201 and 228.

The History of Languedoc, by Vaissette and Vich., contains a very good account of the sectaries in that country; but I have not immediate access to the book. I believe that proof will be found of the distinction between the Waldenses and Albigenses in t. iii. p. 446. But I am satisfied that no one who has looked at the original authorities will dispute the proposition. These Benedictine historians represent the Henricians, an early set of reformers, condemned by the council of Lombez, in 1165, as Manichees. Mosheim considers them as of the Vaudois school. They appeared some time before Waldo.

[v] The general testimony of their enemies to the purity of morals among the Languedocian and Lyonese sectaries is abundantly sufficient. One Regnier, who had lived among them, and became afterwards an inquisitor, does them justice in this respect. See Turner's History of England for several other proofs of this. It must be confessed that the Catharists are not free from the imputation of promiscuous licentiousness. But whether this was a mere calumny, or partly founded upon truth, I cannot determine. Their prototypes, the ancient Gnostics, are said to have been divided into two parties, the austere and the relaxed; both condemning marriage for opposite reasons. Alanus, in the book above quoted, seems to have taken up several vulgar prejudices against the Cathari. He gives an etymology of their name à catto; quia osculantur posteriora catti; in cujus specie, ut aiunt, appareret iis Lucifer, p. 146. This notable charge was brought afterwards against the Templars.

As to the Waldenses, their innocence is out of all doubt. No book can be written in a more edifying manner than La Noble Loiçon, of which large extracts are given by Leger, in his His-

these high moral excellences have no necessary connection with speculative truths; and upon this account I have been more disposed to state explicitly the real Manicheism of the Albigenses; especially as Protestant writers, considering all the enemies of Rome as their friends, have been apt to place the opinions of these sectaries in a very false light. In the course of time, undoubtedly, the system of their Paulician teachers would have yielded, if the inquisitors had admitted the experiment, to a more accurate study of the Scriptures, and to the knowledge which they would have imbibed from the church itself. And, in fact, we find that the peculiar tenets of Manicheism died away after the middle of the thirteenth century, although a spirit of dissent from the established creed broke out in abundant instances during the two subsequent ages.

We are in general deprived of explicit testimonies in tracing the revolutions of popular opinion. Much must therefore be left to conjecture; but I am inclined to attribute a very extensive effect to the preaching of these heretics. They appear in various countries nearly during the same period, in Spain, Lombardy, Germany, Flanders, and England, as well as France. Thirty unhappy persons, convicted of denying the sacraments, are said to have perished at Oxford by cold and famine in the reign of Henry II. In every country the new sects appear to have spread chiefly among the lower people, which, while it accounts for the imperfect notice of historians, indicates a more substantial influence upon the moral condition of society than the conversion of a few nobles or ecclesiastics.*w*

toire des Eglises Vaudoises. Four lines are quoted by Voltaire (Hist. Universelle, c. 69), as a specimen of the Provençal language, though they belong rather to the patois of the valleys. But as he has not copied them rightly, and as they illustrate the subject of this note, I shall repeat them here from Leger, p. 28.

Que sel se troba alcun bon que vollia
amar Dio e temer Jeshu Xrist,
Que non vollia maudire, ni jura, ni
mentir,
Ni avoutrar, ni aucire, ni penre de
l'autruy,
Ni venjar se de li sio ennemie,
Illi dison quel es Vaudes e degne de
murir.

w It would be difficult to specify all the dispersed authorities which attest the existence of the sects derived from the Waldenses and Paulicians in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. Besides Mosheim, who has paid considerable attention to the subject, I would mention some articles in Du Cange which supply gleanings; namely, Beghardi, Bulgari, Lollardi, Paterini, Picardi, Pifli, Populicani.

Upon the subject of the Waldenses and Albigenses generally, I have borrowed some light from Mr. Turner's History of England, vol. ii. pp. 377, 393. This learned writer has seen some books that have not fallen into my way; and I am indebted to him for a knowledge of Alanus's treatise, which I have since read. At the same time I must observe, that Mr. Turner has not perceived the essential distinction between the two leading sects.

The name of Albigenses does not frequently occur after the middle of the thirteenth century; but the Waldenses, or sects bearing that denomination, were dispersed over Europe. As a term

But even where men did not absolutely enlist under the banners of any new sect, they were stimulated by the temper of their age to a more zealous and independent discussion of their religious system. A curious illustration of this is furnished by one of the letters of Innocent III. He had been informed by the Bishop of Metz, as he states to the clergy of the diocese, that no small multitude of laymen and women, having procured a translation of the gospels, epistles of St. Paul, the psalter, Job, and other books of Scripture, to be made for them into French, meet in secret conventicles to hear them read, and preach to each other, avoiding the company of those who do not join in their devotion, and having been reprimanded for this by some of their parish priests, have withstood them, alleging reasons from the Scriptures, why they should not be so forbidden. Some of them too deride the ignorance of their ministers, and maintain that their own books teach them more than they can learn from the pulpit, and that they can express it better. Although the desire of reading the Scriptures, Innocent proceeds, is rather praiseworthy than reprehensible, yet they are to be blamed for frequenting secret assemblies, for usurping the office of preaching, deriding their own ministers, and scorning the company of such as do not concur in their novelties. He presses the bishop and chapter to discover the author of this translation, which could not have been made without a knowledge of letters, and what were his intentions, and what degree of ortho-

of different reproach was derived from the word Bulgarian, so *vauderie*, or the profession of the Vaudois, was sometimes applied to witchcraft. Thus in the proceedings of the Chambre Brulante at Arras, in 1459, against persons accused of sorcery, their crime is denominated *vauderie*. The fullest account of this remarkable story is found in the Memoirs of Du Clercq, first published in the general collection of Historical Memoirs, t. ix. pp. 530, 471. It exhibits a complete parallel to the events that happened in 1682 at Salem in New England. A few obscure persons were accused of *vauderie*, or witchcraft. After their condemnation, which was founded on confessions obtained by torture, and afterwards retracted, an epidemical contagion of superstitious dread was diffused all around. Numbers were arrested, burned alive by order of a tribunal instituted for the detection of this offence, or detained in prison; so that no person in Arras thought himself safe. It was believed that many were accused for the sake of their possessions, which were confiscated to the use of the church. At length the Duke of Burgundy interfered, and put a stop to the persecutions. The whole narrative in Du Clercq is interesting, as a curious document of the tyranny of bigots, and of the facility with which it is turned to private ends.

To return to the Waldenses: the principal course of their emigration is said to have been into Bohemia, where, in the fifteenth century, the name was borne by one of the seceding sects. By their profession of faith, presented to Ladislaus Posthumus, it appears that they acknowledged the corporal presence in the eucharist, but rejected purgatory and other Roman doctrines. See it in the Fasciculus Rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum, a collection of treatises illustrating the origin of the Reformation, originally published at Cologne in 1535, and reprinted at London in 1690.

doxy and respect for the Holy See those who used it possessed. This letter of Innocent III., however, considering the nature of the man, is sufficiently temperate and conciliatory. It seems not to have answered its end; for in another letter he complains that some members of this little association continued refractory and refused to obey either the bishop or the pope.[x]

In the eighth and ninth centuries, when the Vulgate had ceased to be generally intelligible, there is no reason to suspect any intention in the church to deprive the laity of the Scriptures. Translations were freely made into the vernacular languages, and perhaps read in churches, although the acts of saints were generally deemed more instructive. Louis the Debonair is said to have caused a German version of the New Testament to be made. Otfrid, in the same century, rendered the gospels, or rather abridged them, into German verse. This work is still extant, and is in several respects an object of curiosity.[y] In the eleventh or twelfth century we find translations of the Psalms, Job, Kings, and the Maccabees into French.[z] But after the diffusion of heretical opinions, or, what was much the same thing, of free inquiry, it became expedient to secure the orthodox faith from lawless interpretation. Accordingly, the council of Toulouse in 1229 prohibited the laity from possessing the Scriptures; and this precaution was frequently repeated upon subsequent occasions.[a]

The ecclesiastical history of the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries teems with new sectaries and schismatics, various in their

[x] Opera Innocent. III. pp. 468, 537. A translation of the Bible had been made by direction of Peter Waldo; but whether this used in Lorraine was the same, does not appear. Metz was full of the Vaudois, as we find by other authorities.

[y] Schilteri Thesaurus Antiq. Teutonicorum.

[z] Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. t. xvii. p. 720.

[a] The Anglo-Saxon versions are deserving of particular remark. It has been said that our church maintained the privilege of having part of the daily service in the mother tongue. "Even the mass itself," says Lappenberg, "was not read entirely in Latin." Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 202. This, however, is denied by Lingard, whose authority is probably superior. Hist. of Ang.-Sax. Church, i. 307. But he allows that the Epistle and Gospel were read in English, which implies an authorized translation. And we may adopt in a great measure Lappenberg's proposition, which follows the above passage: "The numerous versions and paraphrases of the Old and New Testament made those books known to the laity and more familiar to the clergy."

We have seen a little above, that the laity were not permitted by the Greek Church of the ninth century, and probably before, to read the Scriptures, even in the original. This shows how much more honest and pious the Western Church was before she became corrupted by ambition and by the captivating hope of keeping the laity in servitude by means of ignorance. The translation of the four Books of Kings into French has been published in the Collection de Documens Inédits, 1841. It is in a northern dialect, but the age seems not satisfactorily ascertained; the close of the eleventh century is the earliest date that can be assigned. Translations into the Provençal by the Waldensian or other heretics were made in the twelfth; several manuscripts of them are in existence, and one has been published by Dr. Gilly. [1848.]

aberrations of opinion, but all concurring in detestation of the established church.[b] They endured severe persecutions with a sincerity and firmness which in any cause ought to command respect. But in general we find an extravagant fanaticism among them; and I do not know how to look for any amelioration of society from the Franciscan seceders, who quibbled about the property of things consumed by use, or from the mystical visionaries of different appellations, whose moral practice was sometimes more than equivocal. Those who feel any curiosity about such subjects, which are by no means unimportant, as they illustrate the history of the human mind, will find them treated very fully by Mosheim. But the original sources of information are not always accessible in this country, and the research would perhaps be more fatiguing than profitable.

I shall, for an opposite reason, pass lightly over the great revolution in religious opinion wrought in England by Wicliffe, which will generally be familiar to the reader from our common historians. Nor am I concerned to treat of theological inquiries, or to write a history of the church. Considered in its effects upon manners, the sole point which these pages have in view, the preaching of this new sect certainly produced an extensive reformation. But their virtues were by no means free from some unsocial qualities, in which, as well as in their superior attributes, the Lollards bear a very close resemblance to the Puritans of Elizabeth's reign; a moroseness that proscribed all cheerful amusements, an uncharitable malignity that made no distinction in condemning the established clergy, and a narrow prejudice that applied the rules of the Jewish law to modern institutions.[c] Some of their principles

b The application of the visions of the Apocalypse to the corruptions of Rome, has commonly been said to have been first made by the Franciscan seceders. But it may be traced higher, and is remarkably pointed out by Dante.

Di voi pastor s' accorse 'l Vangelista,
Quando colei, chi siede sovra l' acque,
Puttaneggiar co 'egi a lui fù vista.
Inferno, cant. xix.

c Walsingham, p. 238; Lewis's Life of Pecock, p. 65. Bishop Pecock's answer to the Lollards of his time contains passages well worthy of Hooker, both for weight of matter and dignity of style, setting forth the necessity and importance of "the moral law of kinde, or moral philosophie," in opposition to those who derive all morality from revelation.

This great man fell afterwards under the displeasure of the church for propositions, not indeed heretical, but repugnant to her scheme of spiritual power. He asserted, indirectly, the right of private judgment, and wrote on theological subjects in English, which gave much offence. In fact, Pecock seems to have hoped that his acute reasoning would convince the people, without requiring an implicit faith. But he greatly misunderstood the principle of an infallible church. Lewis's Life of Pecock does justice to his character, which, I need not say, is unfairly represented by such historians as Collier, and such antiquaries as Thomas Hearne.

were far more dangerous to the good order of society, and cannot justly be ascribed to the Puritans, though they grew afterwards out of the same soil. Such was the notion, which is imputed also to the Albigenses, that civil magistrates lose their right to govern by committing sin, or, as it was quaintly expressed in the seventeenth century, that dominion is founded in grace. These extravagances, however, do not belong to the learned and politic Wicliffe, however they might be adopted by some of his enthusiastic disciples.[d] Fostered by the general ill-will towards the church, his principles made vast progress in England, and, unlike those of earlier sectaries, were embraced by men of rank and civil influence. Notwithstanding the check they sustained by the sanguinary law of Henry IV., it is highly probable that multitudes secretly cherished them down to the era of the Reformation.

From England the spirit of religious innovation was propagated into Bohemia; for though John Huss was very far from embracing all the doctrinal system of Wicliffe, it is manifest that his zeal had been quickened by the writings of that reformer.[e] Inferior to the Englishman in ability, but exciting greater attention by his constancy and sufferings, as well as by the memorable war which his ashes kindled, the Bohemian martyr was even more eminently the precursor of the Reformation. But still regarding these dissensions merely in a temporal light, I cannot assign any beneficial effect to the schism of the Hussites, at least in its immediate results, and in the country where it appeared. Though some degree of sympathy with their cause is inspired by resentment at the ill faith of their adversaries, and by the associations of civil and religious liberty, we cannot estimate the Taborites and other sectaries of that description but as ferocious and desperate fanatics.[f] Perhaps beyond the confines of Bohemia more substantial good may have been produced by the influence of its reformation, and a better tone of morals inspired into Germany. But I

d Lewis's Life of Wicliffe, p. 115; Lenfant, Hist. du Concile de Constance, t. i. p. 213.

e Huss does not appear to have rejected any of the peculiar tenets of popery, Lenfant, p. 414. He embraced, like Wicliffe, the predestinarian system of Augustin, without pausing at any of those inferences, apparently deducible from it, which, in the heads of enthusiasts, may produce such extensive mischief. These were maintained by Huss (id. p. 328), though not perhaps so crudely as by Luther. Everything relative to the history and doctrines of Huss and his followers will be found in Lenfant's three works on the councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basle.

f Lenfant, Hist. de la Guerre des Hussites et du Concile de Basle; Schmidt Hist. des Allemands, t. v.

must again repeat that upon this obscure and ambiguous subject I assert nothing definitely, and little with confidence. The tendencies of religious dissent in the four ages before the Reformation appear to have generally conducted towards the moral improvement of mankind; and facts of this nature occupy a far greater space in a philosophical view of society during that period, than we might at first imagine; but everyone who is disposed to prosecute this inquiry will assign their character according to the result of his own investigations.

But the best school of moral discipline which the middle ages afforded was the institution of chivalry. There is something perhaps to allow for the partiality of modern writers upon this interesting subject; yet our most sceptical criticism must assign a decisive influence to this great source of human improvement. The more deeply it is considered, the more we shall become sensible of its importance.

There are, if I may so say, three powerful spirits which have from time to time moved over the face of the waters, and given a predominant impulse to the moral sentiments and energies of mankind. These are the spirits of liberty, of religion, and of honor. It was the principal business of chivalry to animate and cherish the last of these three. And whatever high magnanimous energy the love of liberty or religious zeal has ever imparted was equalled by the exquisite sense of honor which this institution preserved.

It appears probable that the custom of receiving arms at the age of manhood with some solemnity was of immemorial antiquity among the nations that overthrew the Roman empire. For it is mentioned by Tacitus to have prevailed among their German ancestors; and his expressions might have been used with no great variation to describe the actual ceremonies of knighthood.[g] There was even in that remote age a sort of public trial as to the fitness of the candidate, which, though perhaps confined to his bodily strength and activity, might be the germ of that refined investigation which was thought necessary in the perfect stage of chivalry. Proofs, though rare and incidental, might be adduced to show that in the time of Charlemagne, and even earlier, the sons of monarchs at least did not

[g] Nihil neque publicæ neque privatæ rei nisi armati agunt. Sed arma sumere non ante cuiquam moris, quàm civitas suffecturum probaverit. Tum in ipso concilio, vel principum aliquis, vel pater, vel propinquus, scuto frameâque juvenem ornant; hæc apud eos toga, hic primus juventæ honos; ante hoc domûs pars videntur, mox reipublicæ. De Moribus German, c. 13.

assume manly arms without a regular investiture. And in the eleventh century it is evident that this was a general practice.[h]

This ceremony, however, would perhaps of itself have done little towards forming that intrinsic principle which characterized the genuine chivalry. But in the reign of Charlemagne we find a military distinction that appears, in fact as well as in name, to have given birth to that institution. Certain feudal tenants, and I suppose also allodial proprietors, were bound to serve on horseback, equipped with the coat of mail. These were called Caballarii, from which the word chevaliers is an obvious corruption.[i] But he who fought on horseback, and had been invested with peculiar arms in a solemn manner, wanted nothing more to render him a knight. Chivalry therefore may, in a general sense, be referred to the age of Charlemagne. We may, however, go further, and observe that these distinctive advantages above ordinary combatants were probably the sources of that remarkable valor and that keen thirst for glory, which became the essential attributes of a knightly character. For confidence in our skill and strength is the usual foundation of courage; it is by feeling ourselves able to surmount common dangers, that we become adventurous enough to encounter those of a more extraordinary nature, and to which more glory is attached. The reputation of superior personal prowess, so difficult to be attained in the course of modern warfare, and so liable to erroneous representations, was always within the reach of the stoutest knight, and was founded on claims which could be measured with much accuracy. Such is the subordination and mutual dependence in a modern army, that every man must be content to divide his glory with his comrades, his general, or his soldiers. But the soul of chivalry was individual honor, coveted in so entire and absolute a perfection that it must not be shared with an army or a nation. Most of the virtues it inspired were what we may call independent, as opposed to those which are founded upon social relations. The knights-errant of romance perform their best exploits from the love of renown, or from a sort of abstract sense of justice, rather than from any solicitude to

[h] William of Malmesbury says that Alfred conferred knighthood on Athelstan, donatum chlamyde coccineâ, gemmato balteo, ense Saxonico cum vaginâ aureâ. l. ii. c. 6. St. Palaye (Mémoires sur la Chevalerie, p. 2) mentions other instances; which may also be found in Du Cange's Glossary, v. Arma, and in his 22d dissertation on Joinville.

[i] Comites et vassalli nostri qui beneficia habere noscuntur, et caballarii omnes ad placitum nostrum veniant bene preparati. Capitularia, A.D. 807, in Baluze, t. i. p. 460.

promote the happiness of mankind. If these springs of action are less generally beneficial, they are, however, more connected with elevation of character than the systematical prudence of men accustomed to social life. This solitary and independent spirit of chivalry, dwelling, as it were, upon a rock, and disdaining injustice or falsehood from a consciousness of internal dignity, without any calculation of their consequences, is not unlike what we sometimes read of Arabian chiefs or the North American Indians.*j* These nations, so widely remote from each other, seem to partake of that moral energy, which, among European nations far remote from both of them, was excited by the spirit of chivalry. But the most beautiful picture that was ever portrayed of this character is the Achilles of Homer, the representative of chivalry in its most general form, with all its sincerity and unyielding rectitude, all its courtesies and munificence. Calmly indifferent to the cause in which he is engaged, and contemplating with a serious and unshaken look the premature death that awaits him, his heart only beats for glory and friendship. To this sublime character, bating that imaginary completion by which the creations of the poet, like those of the sculptor, transcend all single works of nature, there were probably many parallels in the ages of chivalry; especially before a set education and the refinements of society had altered a little the natural unadulterated warrior of a ruder period. One illustrious example from this earlier age is the Cid Ruy Diaz, whose history has fortunately been preserved much at length in several chronicles of ancient date and in one valuable poem; and though I will not say that the Spanish hero is altogether a counterpart of Achilles in gracefulness and urbanity, yet was he inferior to none that ever lived in frankness, honor, and magnanimity.*k*

j We must take for this the more favorable representations of the Indian nations. A deteriorating intercourse with Europeans, or a race of European extraction has tended to efface those virtues which possibly were rather exaggerated by earlier writers.

k Since this passage was written, I have found a parallel drawn by Mr. Sharon Turner, in his valuable History of England, between Achilles and Richard Cœur de Lion; the superior justness of which I readily acknowledge. The real hero does not indeed excite so much interest in me as the poetical; but the marks of resemblance are very striking, whether we consider their passions, their talents, their virtues, their vices, or the waste of their heroism.

The two principal persons in the Iliad, if I may digress into the observation, appear to me representatives of the heroic character in its two leading varieties; of the energy which has its sole principle of action within itself, and of that which borrows its impulse from external relations; of the spirit of honor, in short, and of patriotism. As every sentiment of Achilles is independent and self-supported, so those of Hector all bear reference to his kindred and his country. The ardor of the one might have been extinguished for want of nourishment in Thessaly; but that

In the first state of chivalry, it was closely connected with the military service of fiefs. The Caballarii in the Capitularies, the Milites of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, were landholders who followed their lord or sovereign into the field. A certain value of land was termed in England a knight's fee, or in Normandy feudum loricæ, fief de haubert, from the coat of mail which it entitled and required the tenant to wear; a military tenure was said to be by service in chivalry. To serve as knights, mounted and equipped, was the common duty of vassals; it implied no personal merit, it gave of itself a claim to no civil privileges. But this knight-service founded upon a feudal obligation is to be carefully distinguished from that superior chivalry, in which all was independent and voluntary. The latter, in fact, could hardly flourish in its full perfection till the military service of feudal tenure began to decline; namely, in the thirteenth century. The origin of this personal chivalry I should incline to refer to the ancient usage of voluntary commendation, which I have mentioned in a former chapter. Men commended themselves, that is, did homage and professed attachment to a prince or lord; generally indeed for protection or the hope of reward, but sometimes probably for the sake of distinguishing themselves in his quarrels. When they received pay, which must have been the usual case, they were literally his soldiers, or stipendiary troops. Those who could afford to exert their valor without recompense were like the knights of whom we read in romance, who served a foreign master through love, or thirst of glory, or gratitude. The extreme poverty of the lower nobility, arising from the subdivision of fiefs, and the politic generosity of rich lords, made this connection as strong as that of territorial independence. A younger brother, leaving the paternal estate, in which he took a slender share, might look to wealth and dignity in the service of a powerful count. Knighthood, which he could not claim as his legal right, became the object of his chief ambition. It raised him in the scale of society, equalling him in dress, in arms, and in title, to the rich landholders. As it was due to his

of the other might, we fancy, have never been kindled but for the dangers of Troy. Peace could have brought no delight to the one but from the memory of war; war had no alleviation to the other but from the images of peace. Compare, for example, the two speeches, beginning Il. Z. 441, and Il. II. 49; or rather compare the two characters throughout the Iliad. So wonderfully were those two great springs of human sympathy variously interesting according to the diversity of our tempers, first touched by that ancient patriarch,

à quo, ceu fonte perenni,
Vatum Pieriis ora rigantur aquis

merit, it did much more than equal him to those who had no pretensions but from wealth; and the territorial knights became by degrees ashamed of assuming the title till they could challenge it by real desert.

This class of noble and gallant cavaliers serving commonly for pay, but on the most honorable footing, became far more numerous through the crusades; a great epoch in the history of European society. In these wars, as all feudal service was out of the question, it was necessary for the richer barons to take into their pay as many knights as they could afford to maintain; speculating, so far as such motives operated, on an influence with the leaders of the expedition, and on a share of plunder, proportioned to the number of their followers. During the period of the crusades, we find the institution of chivalry acquire its full vigor as an order of personal nobility; and its original connection with feudal tenure, if not altogether effaced, became in a great measure forgotten in the splendor and dignity of the new form which it wore.

The crusaders, however, changed in more than one respect the character of chivalry. Before that epoch it appears to have had no particular reference to religion. Ingulfus indeed tells us that the Anglo-Saxons preceded the ceremony of investiture by a confession of their sins, and other pious rites, and they received the order at the hands of a priest, instead of a knight. But this was derided by the Normans as effeminacy, and seems to have proceeded from the extreme devotion of the English before the Conquest.[l] We can hardly perceive indeed why the assumption of arms to be used in butchering mankind should be treated as a religious ceremony. The clergy, to do them justice, constantly opposed the private wars in which the courage of those ages wasted itself; and all bloodshed was subject in strictness to a canonical penance. But the purposes for which men bore arms in a crusade so sanctified their use, that chivalry acquired the character as much of a religious as a military institution. For many centuries, the recovery of the Holy Land was constantly at the heart of a brave and superstitious nobility; and every knight was supposed at his creation to pledge himself, as occasion should arise, to that cause. Meanwhile, the defence of God's law

l Ingulfus, in Gale, XV. Scriptores, t. i. p. 70. William Rufus, however, was knighted by Archbishop Lanfranc, which looks as if the ceremony was not absolutely repugnant to the Norman practice.

against infidels was his primary and standing duty. A knight, whenever present at mass, held the point of his sword before him while the gospel was read, to signify his readiness to support it. Writers of the middle ages compare the knightly to the priestly character in an elaborate parallel, and the investiture of the one was supposed analogous to the ordination of the other. The ceremonies upon this occasion were almost wholly religious. The candidate passed nights in prayer among priests in a church; he received the sacraments; he entered into a bath, and was clad with a white robe, in allusion to the presumed purification of his life; his sword was solemnly blessed; everything, in short, was contrived to identify his new condition with the defence of religion, or at least of the church.*

To this strong tincture of religion which entered into the composition of chivalry from the twelfth century, was added another ingredient equally distinguishing. A great respect for the female sex had always been a remarkable characteristic of the Northern nations. The German women were high-spirited and virtuous; qualities which might be causes or consequences of the veneration with which they were regarded. I am not sure that we could trace very minutely the condition of women for the period between the subversion of the Roman empire and the first crusade; but apparently man did not grossly abuse his superiority; and in point of civil rights, and even as to the inheritance of property, the two sexes were placed perhaps as nearly on a level as the nature of such warlike societies would admit. There seems, however, to have been more roughness in the social intercourse between the sexes than we find in later periods. The spirit of gallantry which became so animating a principle of chivalry, must be ascribed to the progressive refinement of society during the twelfth and two succeeding centuries. In a rude state of manners, as among the lower people in all ages, woman has not full scope to display those fascinating graces, by which nature has designed to counterbalance the strength and energy of mankind. Even where those jealous customs that degrade alike the two sexes have not prevailed, her lot is domestic seclusion; nor is she fit to share in the boisterous pastimes of drunken merriment to which

* Du Cange v. Miles, and 22d Dissertation on Joinville, St. Palaye, Mém. sur la Chevalerie, part ii. A curious original illustration of this, as well as of other chivalrous principles, will be found in l'Ordene de Chevalerie, a long metrical romance published in Barbazan' Fabliaux, t. i. p. 59 (edit. 1808).

the intercourse of an unpolished people is confined. But as a taste for the more elegant enjoyments of wealth arises, a taste which it is always her policy and her delight to nourish, she obtains an ascendency at first in the lighter hour, and from thence in the serious occupations of life. She chases, or brings into subjection, the god of wine, a victory which might seem more ignoble were it less difficult, and calls in the aid of divinities more propitious to her ambition. The love of becoming ornament is not perhaps to be regarded in the light of vanity; it is rather an instinct which woman has received from nature to give effect to those charms that are her defence; and when commerce began to minister more effectually to the wants of luxury, the rich furs of the North, the gay silks of Asia, the wrought gold of domestic manufacture, illumined the halls of chivalry, and cast, as if by the spell of enchantment, that ineffable grace over beauty which the choice and arrangement of dress is calculated to bestow. Courtesy had always been the proper attribute of knighthood; protection of the weak is legitimate duty; but these were heightened to a pitch of enthusiasm when woman became their object. There was little jealousy shown in the treatment of that sex, at least in France, the fountain of chivalry; they were present at festivals, at tournaments, and sat promiscuously in the halls of their castle. The romance of Perceforest (and romances have always been deemed good witnesses as to manners) tells of a feast where eight hundred knights had each of them a lady eating off his plate.[m] For to eat off the same plate was a usual mark of gallantry or friendship.

Next therefore, or even equal to devotion, stood gallantry among the principles of knighthood. But all comparison between the two was saved by blending them together. The love of God and the ladies was enjoined as a single duty. He who was faithful and true to his mistress was held sure of salvation in the theology of castles though not of cloisters.[n] Froissart announces that he had undertaken a collection of amorous poetry with the help of God and of love; and Boccaccio returns thanks to each for their assistance in the Decameron. The

[m] Y eut huit cens chevaliers séant à table; et si n'y eust celui qui n'eust une dame ou une pucelle à son ecuelle. In Launcelot du Lac, a lady, who was troubled with a jealous husband, complains that it was a long time since a knight had eaten off her plate. Le Grand, t. i. p. 24.

[n] Le Grand Fabliaux, t. iii. p. 438; St. Palaye, t. i. p. 41. I quote St. Palaye's Mémoires from the first edition in 1759, which is not the best.

laws sometimes united in this general homage to the fair. "We will," says James II. of Aragon, "that every man, whether knight or no, who shall be in company with a lady, pass safe and unmolested, unless he be guilty of murder." *o* Louis II., Duke of Bourbon, instituting the order of the Golden Shield, enjoins his knights to honor above all the ladies, and not to permit anyone to slander them, "because from them after God comes all the honor that men can acquire." *p*

The gallantry of those ages, which was very often adulterous, had certainly no right to profane the name of religion; but its union with valor was at least more natural, and became so intimate, that the same word has served to express both qualities. In the French and English wars especially, the knights of each country brought to that serious conflict the spirit of romantic attachment which had been cherished in the hours of peace. They fought at Poitiers or Verneuil as they had fought at tournaments, bearing over their armor scarfs and devices as the livery of their mistresses, and asserting the paramount beauty of her they served in vaunting challenges towards the enemy. Thus in the middle of a skirmish at Cherbourg, the squadrons remained motionless, while one knight challenged to a single combat the most amorous of the adversaries. Such a defiance was soon accepted, and the battle only recommenced when one of the champions had lost his life for his love. *q* In the first campaign of Edward's war some young English knights wore a covering over one eye, vowing, for the sake of their ladies, never to see with both till they should have signalized their prowess in the field. *r* These extravagances of chivalry are so common that they form part of its general character, and prove how far a course of action which depends upon the impulses of sentiment may come to deviate from common-sense.

It cannot be presumed that this enthusiastic veneration, this devotedness in life and death, were wasted upon ungrateful natures. The goddesses of that idolatry knew too well the value of their worshippers. There has seldom been such adamant about the female heart, as can resist the highest renown for valor and courtesy, united with the steadiest fidelity. "He

o Statuimus, quod omnis homo, sive miles sive alius qui iverit cum dominâ generosâ, salvus sit atque securus, nisi fuerit homicida. De Marca, Marca Hispanica, p. 1428.

p Le Grand, t. i. p. 120; St. Palaye, t. i. pp. 13, 134, 221; Fabliaux, Romances, etc., passim.

q St. Palaye, p. 222.

r Froissart, p. 33.

loved," says Froissart of Eustace d'Auberthicourt, "and afterwards married Lady Isabel, daughter of the Count of Juliers. This lady too loved Lord Eustace for the great exploits in arms which she heard told of him, and she sent him horses and loving letters, which made the said Lord Eustace more bold than before, and he wrought such feats of chivalry, that all in his company were gainers." [s] It were to be wished that the sympathy of love and valor had always been as honorable. But the morals of chivalry, we cannot deny, were not pure. In the amusing fictions which seem to have been the only popular reading of the middle ages, there reigns a licentious spirit, not of that slighter kind which is usual in such compositions, but indicating a general dissoluteness in the intercourse of the sexes. This has often been noticed of Boccaccio and the early Italian novelists; but it equally characterized the tales and romances of France, whether metrical or in prose, and all the poetry of the Troubadours.[t] The violation of marriage vows passes in them for an incontestable privilege of the brave and the fair; and an accomplished knight seems to have enjoyed as undoubted prerogatives, by general consent of opinion, as were claimed by the brilliant courtiers of Louis XV.

But neither that emulous valor which chivalry excited, nor the religion and gallantry which were its animating principles, alloyed as the latter were by the corruption of those ages, could have rendered its institution materially conducive to the moral improvement of society. There were, however, excellences of a very high class which it equally encouraged. In the books professedly written to lay down the duties of knighthood, they appear to spread over the whole compass of human obligations. But these, like other books of morality, strain their schemes of perfection far beyond the actual practice of mankind. A juster estimate of chivalrous manners is to be deduced from romances. Yet in these, as in all similar fictions, there must be a few ideal touches beyond the simple truth of character; and the picture can only be interesting when it ceases to present images of mediocrity or striking imperfection. But they referred their models of fictitious heroism to the existing standard of moral approbation; a rule, which, if it

[s] St. Palaye, p. 268.

[t] The romances will speak for themselves; and the character of the Provençal morality may be collected from Millot, Hist. des Troubadours, passim; and from Sismondi, Littérature du Midi, t. i. p. 179, &c. See too St. Palaye, t. ii. pp. 62 and 68.

generally falls short of what reason and religion prescribe, is always beyond the average tenor of human conduct. From these and from history itself we may infer the tendency of chivalry to elevate and purify the moral feelings. Three virtues may particularly be noticed as essential in the estimation of mankind to the character of a knight; loyalty, courtesy, and munificence.

The first of these in its original sense may be defined, fidelity to engagements; whether actual promises, or such tacit obligations as bound a vassal to his lord and a subject to his prince. It was applied also, and in the utmost strictness, to the fidelity of a lover towards the lady he served. Breach of faith, and especially of an express promise, was held a disgrace that no valor could redeem. False, perjured, disloyal, recreant, were the epithets which he must be compelled to endure who had swerved from a plighted engagement even towards an enemy. This is one of the most striking changes produced by chivalry. Treachery, the usual vice of savage as well as corrupt nations, became infamous during the vigor of that discipline. As personal rather than national feelings actuated its heroes, they never felt that hatred, much less that fear of their enemies, which blind men to the heinousness of ill faith. In the wars of Edward III., originating in no real animosity, the spirit of honorable as well as courteous behavior towards the foe seems to have arrived at its highest point. Though avarice may have been the primary motive of ransoming prisoners instead of putting them to death, their permission to return home on the word of honor in order to procure the stipulated sum—an indulgence never refused—could only be founded on experienced confidence in the principles of chivalry.[u]

A knight was unfit to remain a member of the order if he violated his faith; he was ill acquainted with its duties if he proved wanting in courtesy. This word expressed the most highly refined good breeding, founded less upon a knowledge of ceremonious politeness, though this was not to be omitted, than on the spontaneous modesty, self-denial, and respect for others, which ought to spring from his heart. Besides the grace which this beautiful virtue threw over the habits of social life, it softened down the natural roughness of war, and gradually introduced that indulgent treatment of prisoners which

[u] St. Palaye, part ii.

was almost unknown to antiquity. Instances of this kind are continual in the later period of the middle ages. An Italian writer blames the soldier who wounded Eccelin, the famous tyrant of Padua, after he was taken. "He deserved," says he, "no praise, but rather the greatest infamy for his baseness; since it is as vile an act to wound a prisoner, whether noble or otherwise, as to strike a dead body." *v* Considering the crimes of Eccelin, this sentiment is a remarkable proof of generosity. The behavior of Edward III. to Eustace de Ribaumont, after the capture of Calais, and that, still more exquisitely beautiful, of the Black Prince to his royal prisoner at Poitiers, are such eminent instances of chivalrous virtue, that I omit to repeat them only because they are so well known. Those great princes too might be imagined to have soared far above the ordinary track of mankind. But in truth, the knights who surrounded them and imitated their excellences, were only inferior in opportunities of displaying the same virtue. After the battle of Poitiers, "the English and Gascon knights," says Froissart, "having entertained their prisoners, went home each of them with the knights or squires he had taken, whom he then questioned upon their honor what ransom they could pay without inconvenience, and easily gave them credit; and it was common for men to say, that they would not straiten any knight or squire so that he should not live well and keep up his honor. *w* Liberality, indeed, and disdain of money, might be reckoned, as I have said, among the essential virtues of chivalry. All the romances inculcate the duty of scattering their wealth with profusion, especially towards minstrels, pilgrims, and the poorer members of their own order. The last, who were pretty numerous, had a constant right to succor from the opulent; the castle of every lord, who respected the ties of knighthood, was open with more than usual hospitality to the traveller whose armor announced his dignity, though it might also conceal his poverty. *x*

v Non laudem meruit, sed summæ potius opprobrium vilitatis; nam idem facinus est putandum captum nobilem vel ignobilem offendere, vel ferire, quàm gladio cædere cadaver. Rolandinus, in Script. Rer. Ital. t. viii. p. 351.

w Froissart, l. i. c. 161. He remarks in another place that all English and French gentlemen treat their prisoners well; not so the Germans, who put them in fetters, in order to extort more money, c. 136.

x St. Palaye, part iv. pp. 312, 367, &c. Le Grand, Fabliaux, t. i. pp. 115, 167. It was the custom in Great Britain (says the romance of Perceforest, speaking of course in an imaginary history) that noblemen and ladies placed a helmet on the highest point of their castles, as a sign that all persons of such rank travelling that road might boldly enter their houses like their own. St. Palaye, p. 367.

Valor, loyalty, courtesy, munificence, formed collectively the character of an accomplished knight, so far as was displayed in the ordinary tenor of his life, reflecting these virtues as an unsullied mirror. Yet something more was required for the perfect idea of chivalry, and enjoined by its principles; an active sense of justice, an ardent indignation against wrong, a determination of courage at its best end, the prevention or redress of injury. It grew up as a salutary antidote in the midst of poisons, while scarce any law but that of the strongest obtained regard, and the rights of territorial property, which are only rights as they conduce to general good, became the means of general oppression. The real condition of society, it has sometimes been thought, might suggest stories of knight-errantry, which were wrought up into the popular romances of the middle ages. A baron, abusing the advantage of an inaccessible castle in the fastnesses of the Black Forest or the Alps, to pillage the neighborhood and confine travellers in his dungeon, though neither a giant nor a Saracen, was a monster not less formidable, and could perhaps as little be destroyed without the aid of disinterested bravery. Knight-errantry, indeed, as a profession, cannot rationally be conceived to have had any existence beyond the precincts of romance. Yet there seems no improbability in supposing that a knight, journeying through uncivilized regions in his way to the Holy Land, or to the court of a foreign sovereign, might find himself engaged in adventures not very dissimilar to those which are the theme of romance. We cannot indeed expect to find any historical evidence of such incidents.

The characteristic virtues of chivalry bear so much resemblance to those which eastern writers of the same period extol, that I am little disposed to suspect Europe of having derived some improvement from imitation of Asia. Though the crusades began in abhorrence of infidels, this sentiment wore off in some degree before their cessation; and the regular intercourse of commerce, sometimes of alliance, between the Christians of Palestine and the Saracens, must have removed part of the prejudice, while experience of their enemy's courage and generosity in war would with those gallant knights serve to lighten the remainder. The romancers expatiate with pleasure on the merits of Saladin, who actually received the honor of knighthood from Hugh of Tabaria, his prisoner. An ancient

poem, entitled the Order of Chivalry, is founded upon this story, and contains a circumstantial account of the ceremonies, as well as duties, which the institution required.y One or two other instances of a similar kind bear witness to the veneration in which the name of knight was held among the eastern nations. And certainly the Mohammedan chieftains were for the most part abundantly qualified to fulfil the duties of European chivalry. Their manners had been polished and courteous, while the western kingdoms were comparatively barbarous.

The principles of chivalry were not, I think, naturally productive of many evils. For it is unjust to class those acts of oppression or disorder among the abuses of knighthood, which were committed in spite of its regulations, and were only prevented by them from becoming more extensive. The license of times so imperfectly civilized could not be expected to yield to institutions, which, like those of religion, fell prodigiously short in their practical result of the reformation which they were designed to work. Man's guilt and frailty have never admitted more than a partial corrective. But some bad consequences may be more fairly ascribed to the very nature of chivalry. I have already mentioned the dissoluteness which almost unavoidably resulted from the prevailing tone of gallantry. And yet we sometimes find in the writings of those times a spirit of pure but exaggerated sentiment; and the most fanciful refinements of passion are mingled by the same poets with the coarsest immorality. An undue thirst for military renown was another fault that chivalry must have nourished; and the love of war, sufficiently pernicious in any shape, was more founded, as I have observed, on personal feelings of honor, and less on public spirit, than in the citizens of free states. A third reproach may be made to the character of knighthood, that it widened the separation between the different classes of society, and confirmed that aristocratical spirit of high birth, by which the large mass of mankind were kept in unjust degradation. Compare the generosity of Edward III. towards Eustace de Ribaumont at the siege of Calais with the harshness of his conduct towards the citizens. This may be illustrated by a story from Joinville, who was himself imbued with the full spirit of chivalry, and felt like the best and bravest of his age. He is speaking of Henry Count of Champagne,

y Fabliaux de Barbasan, t. i.

who acquired, says he, very deservedly, the surname of Liberal, and adduces the following proof of it. A poor knight implored of him on his knees one day as much money as would serve to marry his two daughters. One Arthault de Nogent, a rich burgess, willing to rid the count of this importunity, but rather awkward, we must own, in the turn of his argument, said to the petitioner: My lord has already given away so much that he has nothing left. Sir Villain, replied Henry, turning round to him, you do not speak truth in saying that I have nothing left to give, when I have got yourself. Here, Sir Knight, I give you this man and warrant your possession of him. Then, says Joinville, the poor knight was not at all confounded, but seized hold of the burgess fast by the collar, and told him he should not go till he had ransomed himself. And in the end he was forced to pay a ransom of five hundred pounds. The simple-minded writer who brings this evidence of the Count of Champagne's liberality is not at all struck with the facility of a virtue that is exercised at the cost of others.[s]

There is perhaps enough in the nature of this institution and its congeniality to the habits of a warlike generation to account for the respect in which it was held throughout Europe. But several collateral circumstances served to invigorate its spirit. Besides the powerful efficacy with which the poetry and romance of the middle ages stimulated those susceptible minds which were alive to no other literature, we may enumerate four distinct causes tending to the promotion of chivalry.

The first of these was the regular scheme of education, according to which the sons of gentlemen from the age of seven years were brought up in the castles of superior lords, where they at once learned the whole discipline of their future profession, and imbibed its emulous and enthusiastic spirit. This was an inestimable advantage to the poorer nobility, who could hardly otherwise have given their children the accomplishments of their station. From seven to fourteen these boys were called pages or varlets; at fourteen they bore the name of esquire. They were instructed in the management of arms, in the art of horsemanship, in exercises of strength and activity. They became accustomed to obedience and courteous demeanor, serving their lord or lady in offices which had not yet become derogatory to honorable birth, and striving to please

[s] Joinville in Collection des Mémoires, t. i. p. 43.

visitors, and especially ladies, at the ball or banquet. Thus placed in the centre of all that could awaken their imaginations, the creed of chivalrous gallantry, superstition, or honor must have made indelible impressions. Panting for the glory which neither their strength nor the established rules permitted them to anticipate, the young scions of chivalry attended their masters to the tournament, and even to the battle, and riveted with a sigh the armor they were forbidden to wear.[a]

It was the constant policy of sovereigns to encourage this institution, which furnished them with faithful supports, and counteracted the independent spirit of feudal tenure. Hence they displayed a lavish magnificence in festivals and tournaments, which may be reckoned a second means of keeping up the tone of chivalrous feeling. The kings of France and England held solemn or plenary courts at the great festivals, or at other times, where the name of knight was always a title to admittance; and the mask of chivalry, if I may use the expression, was acted in pageants and ceremonies fantastical enough in our apprehension, but well calculated for those heated understandings. Here the peacock and the pheasant, birds of high fame and romance, received the homage of all true knights.[b] The most singular festival of this kind was that celebrated by Philip Duke of Burgundy, in 1453. In the midst of the banquet a pageant was introduced, representing the calamitous state of religion in consequence of the recent capture of Constantinople. This was followed by the appearance of a pheasant, which was laid before the duke, and to which the knights present addressed their vows to undertake a crusade, in the following very characteristic preamble: I swear before God my Creator in the first place, and the glorious Virgin his mother, and next before the ladies and the pheasant.[c] Tournaments were a still more powerful incentive to emulation. These may be considered to have arisen about the middle of the eleventh century; for though every martial people have found diversion in representing the image of war, yet the name of tournaments, and the laws that regulated them, cannot be traced any higher.[d] Every scenic performance of modern

a St. Palaye, part i.

b Du Cange, 5me Dissertation sur Joinville. St. Palaye, t. i. pp. 87, 118. Le Grand, t. i. p. 14.

c St. Palaye, t. i. p. 191.

d Godfrey de Preuilly, a French knight, is said by several contemporary writers to have invented tournaments; which must of course be understood in a limited sense. The Germans ascribe them to Henry the Fowler; but this, according to Du Cange, is on no authority. 6me Dissertation sur Joinville.

times must be tame in comparison of these animating combats. At a tournament, the space enclosed within the lists was surrounded by sovereign princes and their noblest barons, by knights of established renown, and all that rank and beauty had most distinguished among the fair. Covered with steel, and known only by their emblazoned shield or by the favors of their mistresses, a still prouder bearing, the combatants rushed forward to a strife without enmity, but not without danger. Though their weapons were pointless, and sometimes only of wood, though they were bound by the laws of tournaments to strike only upon the strong armor of the trunk, or, as it was called, between the four limbs, those impetuous conflicts often terminated in wounds and death. The church uttered her excommunications in vain against so wanton an exposure to peril; but it was more easy for her to excite than to restrain that martial enthusiasm. Victory in a tournament was little less glorious, and perhaps at the moment more exquisitely felt, than in the field; since no battle could assemble such witnesses of valor. "Honor to the sons of the brave," resounded amidst the din of martial music from the lips of the minstrels, as the conqueror advanced to receive the prize from his queen or his mistress; while the surrounding multitude acknowledged in his prowess of that day an augury of triumphs that might in more serious contests be blended with those of his country.[e]

Both honorary and substantial privileges belonged to the condition of knighthood, and had of course a material tendency to preserve its credit. A knight was distinguished abroad by his crested helmet, his weighty armor, whether of mail or plate, bearing his heraldic coat, by his gilded spurs, his horse barded with iron, or clothed in housing of gold; at home, by richer silks and more costly furs than were permitted to squires, and by the appropriated color of scarlet. He was addressed by titles of more respect.[f] Many civil offices, by rule or usage, were confined to his order. But perhaps its chief privilege was to form one distinct class of nobility extending itself throughout great part of Europe, and almost independent, as to its rights and dignities, of any particular sovereign. Who-

[e] St. Palaye, part ii. and part iii. au commencement. Du Cange, Dissert. 6 and 7: and Glossary, v. Torneamentum. Le Grand, Fabliaux, t. i. p. 184.

[f] St. Palaye, part iv. Selden's Titles of Honor, p. 806. There was not, however, so much distinction in England as in France.

ever had been legitimately dubbed a knight in one country became, as it were, a citizen of universal chivalry, and might assume most of its privileges in any other. Nor did he require the act of a sovereign to be thus distinguished. It was a fundamental principle that any knight might confer the order; responsible only in his own reputation if he used lightly so high a prerogative. But as all the distinctions of rank might have been confounded, if this right had been without limit, it was an equally fundamental rule, that it could only be exercised in favor of gentlemen.[g]

The privileges annexed to chivalry were of peculiar advantage to the vavassors, or inferior gentry, as they tended to counterbalance the influence which territorial wealth threw into the scale of their feudal suzerains. Knighthood brought these two classes nearly to a level; and it is owing perhaps in no small degree to this institution that the lower nobility saved themselves, notwithstanding their poverty, from being confounded with the common people.

g St. Palaye, vol. i. p. 70, has forgotten to make this distinction. It is, however, capable of abundant proof. Gunther, in his poem called Ligurinus, observes of the Milanese republic:

Quoslibet ex humili vulgo, quod Gallia fœdum
Judicat, accingi gladio concedit equestri.

Otho of Frisingen expresses the same in prose. It is said, in the Establishments of St. Louis, that if any one not being a gentleman on the father's side was knighted, the king or baron in whose territory he resides, may hack off his spurs on a dunghill, c. 130. The Count de Nevers, having knighted a person who was not noble ex parte paternâ, was fined in the king's court. The king, however (Philip III.), confirmed the knighthood. Daniel, Hist. de la Milice Françoise, p. 98. Fuit propositum (says a passage quoted by Daniel) contra comitem Flandriensem, quod non poterat, nec debebat facere de villano militem, sine auctoritate regis. ibid. Statuimus, says James I. of Aragon, in 1234, ut nullus faciat militem nisi filium militis. Marca Hispanica, p. 1428. Selden, Titles of Honor, p. 592, produces other evidence to the same effect. And the Emperor Sigismund having conferred knighthood, during his stay in Paris in 1415, on a person incompetent to receive it for want of nobility, the French were indignant at his conduct, as an assumption of sovereignty. Villaret, t. xiii. p. 397. We are told, however, by Giannone, l. xx. c. 3, that nobility was not in fact required for receiving chivalry at Naples, though it was in France.

The privilege of every knight to associate qualified persons to the order at his pleasure, lasted very long in France, certainly down to the English wars of Charles VII. (Monstrelet, part ii. folio 50), and, if I am not mistaken, down to the time of Francis I. But in England, where the spirit of independence did not prevail so much among the nobility, it soon ceased. Selden mentions one remarkable instance in a writ of the 29th year of Henry III. summoning tenants in capite to come and receive knighthood from the king, ad recipiendum a nobis arma militaria; and tenants of mesne lords to be knighted by whomsoever they pleased, ad recipiendum arma de quibuscunque voluerint. Titles of Honor, p. 792. But soon after this time, it became an established principle of our law that no subject can confer knighthood except by the king's authority. Thus Edward III. grants to a burgess of Lyndia in Guienne (I know not what place this is) the privilege of receiving that rank at the hands of any knight, his want of noble birth notwithstanding. Rymer, t. v. p. 623. It seems, however, that a different law obtained in some places. Twenty-three of the chief inhabitants of Beaucaire, partly knights, partly burgesses, certified in 1298, that the immemorial usage of Beaucaire and of Provence had been, for burgesses to receive knighthood at the hands of noblemen, without the prince's permission. Vaissette, Hist. de Languedoc, t. iii. p. 530. Burgesses in the great commercial towns, were considered as of a superior class to the roturiers, and possessed a kind of demi-nobility. Charles V. appears to have conceded a similar indulgence to the citizens of Paris. Villaret, t. x. p. 248.

Lastly, the customs of chivalry were maintained by their connection with military service. After armies, which we may call comparatively regular, had superseded in a great degree the feudal militia, princes were anxious to bid high for the service of knights, the best-equipped and bravest warriors of the time, on whose prowess the fate of battles was for a long period justly supposed to depend. War brought into relief the generous virtues of chivalry, and gave lustre to its distinctive privileges. The rank was sought with enthusiastic emulation through heroic achievements, to which, rather than to a mere wealth and station, it was considered to belong. In the wars of France and England, by far the most splendid period of this institution, a promotion of knights followed every success, besides the innumerable cases where the same honor rewarded individual bravery.*h* It may here be mentioned that an honorary distinction was made between knights-bannerets and bachelors.*i* The former were the richest and best accompanied. No man could properly be a banneret unless he possessed a certain estate, and could bring a certain number of lances into the field.*j* His distinguishing mark was the square banner, carried by a squire at the point of his lance; while the knight-bachelor had only the coronet or pointed pendant. When a banneret was created, the general cut off this pendant to render the banner square.*k* But this distinction, however it elevated the banneret, gave him no claim to military command, except over his own dependents or men-at-arms. Chandos was still a knight-bachelor when he led part of the Prince of Wales's army into Spain. He first raised his banner at the battle of Navarette; and the narration that Froissart gives of the ceremony

h St. Palaye, part iii. passim.

i The word bachelor has been sometimes derived from bas chevalier; in opposition to banneret. But this cannot be right. We do not find any authority for the expression bas chevalier, nor any equivalent in Latin, baccalaureus certainly not suggesting that sense; and it is strange that the corruption should obliterate every trace of the original term. Bachelor is a very old word, and is used in early French poetry for a young man, as bachelette is for a girl. So also in Chaucer:

"A yonge Squire,
A lover, and a lusty *bachelor*."

j Du Cange, Dissertation 9me sur Joinville. The number of men-at-arms, whom a banneret ought to command, was properly fifty. But Olivier de la Marche speaks of twenty-five as sufficient; and it appears that, in fact, knights-banneret often did not bring so many.

k Ibid. Olivier de la Marche (Collection des Mémoires, t. viii. p. 337) gives a particular example of this; and makes a distinction between the bachelor, created a banneret on account of his estate, and the hereditary banneret, who took a public opportunity of requesting the sovereign to unfold his family banner which he had before borne wound round his lance. The first was said relever banniere; the second, entrer en banniere. This difference is more fully explained by Daniel, Hist. de la Milice Françoise, p. 116. Chandos's banner was unfolded, not cut, at Navarette. We read sometimes of esquire-bannerets, that is, of bannerets by descent, not yet knighted.

will illustrate the manners of chivalry and the character of that admirable hero, the conqueror of Du Guesclin and pride of English chivalry, whose fame with posterity has been a little overshadowed by his master's laurel's.[l] What seems more extraordinary is, that mere squires had frequently the command over knights. Proofs of this are almost continual in Froissart. But the vast estimation in which men held the dignity of knighthood led them sometimes to defer it for great part of their lives, in hope of signalizing their investiture by some eminent exploit.

These appear to have the chief means of nourishing the principles of chivalry among the nobility of Europe. But notwithstanding all encouragement, it underwent the usual destiny of human institutions. St. Palaye, to whom we are indebted for so vivid a picture of ancient manners, ascribes the decline of chivalry in France to the profusion with which the order was lavished under Charles VI., to the establishment of the companies of ordonnance by Charles VII., and to the extension of knightly honors to lawyers, and other men of civil occupation, by Francis I.[m] But the real principle of decay was something different from these three subordinate circumstances, unless so far as it may bear some relation to the second. It was the invention of gunpowder that eventually overthrew chivalry. From the time when the use of fire-arms became tolerably perfect the weapons of former warfare lost their efficacy, and physical force was reduced to a very subordinate place in the accomplishments of a soldier. The advantages of a disciplined infantry became more sensible; and the lancers, who continued till almost the end of the sixteenth century to charge in a long line, felt the punishment of their presumption and indiscipline. Even in the wars of Edward III., the disadvantageous tactics of chivalry must have been perceptible; but the military art had not been sufficiently studied to overcome the prejudices of men eager for individual distinction. Tournaments became less frequent; and, after the fatal accident of Henry II., were entirely discontinued in France. Notwithstanding the convulsions of the religious wars, the sixteenth century was more tranquil than any that had preceded; and thus a large part of the nobility passed their lives in pacific habits, and if they assumed the honors of chivalry, forgot their

l Froissart, part i. c. 241.

m Mém. sur la Chevalerie, part v.

natural connection with military prowess. This is far more applicable to England, where, except from the reign of Edward III. to that of Henry VI., chivalry, as a military institution, seems not to have found a very congenial soil.[n] To these circumstances, immediately affecting the military condition of nations, we must add the progress of reason and literature, which made ignorance discreditable even in a soldier, and exposed the follies of romance to a ridicule which they were very ill calculated to endure.

The spirit of chivalry left behind it a more valuable successor. The character of knight gradually subsided in that of gentleman; and the one distinguishes European society in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as much as the other did in the preceding ages. A jealous sense of honor, less romantic, but equally elevated, a ceremonious gallantry and politeness, a strictness in devotional observances, a high pride of birth and feeling of independence upon any sovereign for the dignity it gave, a sympathy for martial honor, though more subdued by civil habits, are the lineaments which prove an indisputable descent. The cavaliers of Charles I. were genuine successors of Edward's knights; and the resemblance is much more striking, if we ascend to the civil wars of the League. Time has effaced much also of this gentlemanly, as it did before of the chivalrous character. From the latter part of the seventeenth century its vigor and purity have undergone a tacit decay, and yielded, perhaps, in every country, to increasing commercial wealth, more diffused instruction, the spirit of general liberty in some, and of servile obsequiousness in others, the modes of life in great cities, and the levelling of customs of social intercourse.[o]

[n] The prerogative exercised by the kings of England of compelling men sufficiently qualified in point of estate to take on them the honor of knighthood was inconsistent with the true spirit of chivalry. This began, according to Lord Lyttelton, under Henry III. Hist. of Henry II. vol. ii. p. 238. Independently of this, several causes tended to render England less under the influence of chivalrous principles than France or Germany; such as, her comparatively peaceful state, the smaller share she took in the crusades, her inferiority in romances of knight-errantry, but above all, the democratical character of her laws and government. Still this is only to be understood relatively to the two other countries above named; for chivalry was always in high repute among us, nor did any nation produce more admirable specimens of its excellences.

I am not minutely acquainted with the state of chivalry in Spain, where it seems to have flourished considerably. Italy, except in Naples, and perhaps Piedmont, displayed little of its spirit; which neither suited the free republics of the twelfth and thirteenth, nor the jealous tyrannies of the following centuries. Yet even here we find enough to furnish Muratori with materials for his 53d Dissertation.

[o] The well-known Memoirs of St. Palaye are the best repository of interesting and illustrative facts respecting chivalry. Possibly he may have relied a little too much on romances, whose pictures will naturally be overcharged.

It is now time to pass to a very different subject. The third head under which I classed the improvements of society during the four last centuries of the middle ages was that of literature. But I must apprise the reader not to expect any general view of literary history, even in the most abbreviated manner. Such an epitome would not only be necessarily superficial, but foreign in many of its details to the purposes of this chapter, which, attempting to develop the circumstances that gave a new complexion to society, considers literature only so far as it exercised a general and powerful influence. The private researches, therefore, of a single scholar, unproductive of any material effect in his generation, ought not to arrest us, nor indeed would a series of biographical notices, into which literary history is apt to fall, be very instructive to a philosophical inquirer. But I have still a more decisive reason against taking

Froissart himself has somewhat of this partial tendency, and the manners of chivalrous times do not make so fair an appearance in Monstrelet. In the Memoirs of La Tremouille (Collect. des Mém. t. xiv. p. 169), we have perhaps the earliest delineation from the life of those severe and stately virtues in high-born ladies, of which our own country furnishes so many examples in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and which were derived from the influence of chivalrous principles. And those of Bayard in the same collection (t. xiv. and xv.) are a beautiful exhibition of the best effects of that discipline.

It appears to me that M. Guizot, to whose judgment I owe all deference, has dwelt rather too much on the feudal character of chivalry. Hist. de la Civilisation en France, Leçon 36. Hence he treats the institution as in its decline during the fourteenth century, when, if we can trust either Froissart or the romancers, it was at its height. Certainly, if mere knighthood was of right both in England and the north of France, a territorial dignity, which bore with it no actual presumption of merit, it was sometimes also conferred on a more honorable principle. It was not every knight who possessed a fief, nor in practice did every possessor of a fief receive knighthood.

Guizot justly remarks, as Sismondi has done, the disparity between the lives of most knights and the theory of chivalrous rectitude. But the same has been seen in religion, and can be no reproach to either principle. Partout la pensée morale des hommes s'élève et aspire fort au dessus de leur vie. Et gardez vous de croire que parce qu'elle ne gouvernait pas immédiatement les actions, parce que la pratique démontait sans cesse et étrangement la théorie, l'influence de la théorie fut nulle et sans valeur. C'est beaucoup que le jugement des hommes sur les actions humaines; tot ou tard il devient efficace.

It may be thought by many severe judges, that I have overvalued the efficacy of chivalrous sentiments in elevating the moral character of the middle ages. But I do not see ground for withdrawing or modifying any sentence. The comparison is never to be made with an ideal standard, or even with one which a purer religion and a more liberal organization of society may have rendered effectual, but with the condition of a country where neither the sentiments of honor nor those of right prevail. And it seems to me that I have not veiled the deficiencies and the vices of chivalry any more than its beneficial tendencies.

A very fascinating picture of chivalrous manners has been drawn by a writer of considerable reading, and still more considerable ability, Mr. Kenelm Digby, in his Broad Stone of Honor. The bravery, the courteousness, the munificence, above all, the deeply religious character of knighthood and its reverence for the church, naturally took hold of a heart so susceptible of these emotions, and a fancy so quick to embody them. St. Palaye himself is a less enthusiastic eulogist of chivalry, because he has seen it more on the side of mere romance, and been less penetrated with the conviction of its moral excellence. But the progress of still deeper impression seems to have moderated the ardor of Mr. Digby's admiration for the historical character of knighthood; he has discovered enough of human alloy to render unqualified praise hardly fitting, in his judgment, for a Christian writer; and in the Mores Catholici, the second work of this amiable and gifted man, the colors in which chivalry appears are by no means so brilliant. [1848.]

a large range of literary history into the compass of this work, founded on the many contributions which have been made within the last forty years in that department, some of them even since the commencement of my own labor.[p] These have diffused so general an acquaintance with the literature of the middle ages, that I must, in treating the subject, either compile secondary information from well-known books, or enter upon a vast field of reading, with little hope of improving upon what has been already said, or even acquiring credit for original research. I shall, therefore, confine myself to four points: the study of civil law; the institution of universities; the application of modern languages to literature, and especially to poetry; and the revival of ancient learning.

The Roman law had been nominally preserved ever since the destruction of the empire; and a great portion of the inhabitants of France and Spain, as well as Italy, were governed by its provisions. But this was a mere compilation from the Theodosian code; which itself contained only the more recent laws promulgated after the establishment of Christianity, with some fragments from earlier collections. It was made by order of Alaric King of the Visigoths about the year 500, and it is frequently confounded with the Theodosian code by writers of the dark ages.[q] The code of Justinian, reduced into system after the separation of the two former countries from the Greek empire, never obtained any authority in them; nor was it received in the part of Italy subject to the Lombards. But that this body of laws was absolutely unknown in the West during any period seems to have been too hastily supposed. Some of the more eminent ecclesiastics, as Hincmar and Ivon of Chartres, occasionally refer to it, and bear witness to the regard which the Roman church had uniformly paid to its decisions.[r]

The revival of the study of jurisprudence, as derived from the laws of Justinian, has generally been ascribed to the dis-

[p] Four very recent publications (not to mention that of Buhle on modern philosophy) enter much at large into the middle literature; those of M. Ginguené and M. Sismondi, the history of England by Mr. Sharon Turner, and the Literary History of the Middle Ages by Mr. Berington. All of these contain more or less useful information and judicious remarks; but that of Ginguené is among the most learned and important works of this century. I have no hesitation to prefer it, as far as its subjects extend, to Tiraboschi.

[A subsequent work of my own, Introduction to the History of Literature in the 15th, 16th, and 17th Centuries, contains, in the first and second chapters, some additional illustrations of the antecedent period, to which the reader may be referred, as complementary to these pages. 1848.]

[q] Heineccius, Hist. Juris German, c. s. 15.

[r] Giannone, l. iv. c. 6. Selden, ad Fletam, p. 1071.

covery made of a copy of the Pandects at Amalfi, in 1135, when that city was taken by the Pisans. This fact, though not improbable, seems not to rest upon sufficient evidence.[s] But its truth is the less material, as it appears to be unequivocally proved that the study of Justinian's system had recommenced before that era. Early in the twelfth century a professor named Irnerius[t] opened a school of civil law at Bologna, where he commented, if not on the Pandects, yet on the other books, the Institutes and Code, which were sufficient to teach the principles and inspire the love of that comprehensive jurisprudence. The study of law, having thus revived, made a surprising progress; within fifty years Lombardy was full of lawyers, on whom Frederic Barbarossa and Alexander III., so hostile in every other respect, conspired to shower honors and privileges. The schools of Bologna were pre-eminent throughout this century for legal learning. There seem also to have been seminaries at Modena and Mantua; nor was any considerable city without distinguished civilians. In the next age they became still more numerous, and their professors more conspicuous, and universities arose at Naples, Padua, and other places, where the Roman law was the object of peculiar regard.[u]

There is apparently great justice in the opinion of Tiraboschi, that by acquiring internal freedom and the right of determining controversies by magistrates of their own election, the Italian cities were led to require a more extensive and accurate code of written laws than they had hitherto possessed. These municipal judges were chosen from among the citizens, and the succession to offices was usually so rapid, that almost every freeman might expect in his turn to partake in the public government, and consequently in the administration of justice. The latter had always indeed been exercised in the sight of the people by the count and his assessors under the Lombard and Carlovingian sovereigns; but the laws were rude, the proceedings tumultuary, and the decisions perverted by violence. The spirit of liberty begot a stronger sense of right; and right, it was soon perceived, could only be secured by a common standard. Magistrates holding temporary offices, and little elevated in those simple times above

[s] Tiraboschi, t. iii. p. 359. Ginguené, Hist. Litt. de l'Italie, t. i. p. 155.

[t] Irnerius is sometimes called Guarnerius, sometimes Warnerius: the German W is changed into Gu by the Italians, and occasionally omitted, especially in Latinizing, for the sake of euphony of purity.

[u] Tiraboschi, t. iv. p. 38; t. v. p. 55.

the citizens among whom they were to return, could only satisfy the suitors, and those who surrounded their tribunal, by proving the conformity of their sentences to acknowledged authorities. And the practice of alleging reasons in giving judgment would of itself introduce some uniformity of decision and some adherence to great rules of justice in the most arbitrary tribunals; while, on the other hand, those of a free country lose part of their title to respect, and of their tendency to maintain right, whenever, either in civil or criminal questions, the mere sentence of a judge is pronounced without explanation of its motives.

The fame of this renovated jurisprudence spread very rapidly from Italy over other parts of Europe. Students flocked from all parts of Bologna; and some eminent masters of that school repeated its lessons in distant countries. One of these, Placentinus, explained the Digest at Montpelier before the end of the twelfth century; and the collection of Justinian soon came to supersede the Theodosian code in the dominions of Toulouse.[v] Its study continued to flourish in the universities of both these cities; and hence the Roman law, as it is exhibited in the system of Justinian, became the rule of all tribunals in the southern provinces of France. Its authority in Spain is equally great, or at least is only disputed by that of the canonists;[w] and it forms the acknowledged basis of decision in all the Germanic tribunals, sparingly modified by the ancient feudal customaries, which the jurists of the empire reduce within narrow bounds.[x] In the northern parts of France, where the legal standard was sought in local customs, the civil law met naturally with less regard. But the code of St. Louis borrows from that treasury many of its provisions, and it was constantly cited in leadings before the parliament of Paris, either as obligatory by way of authority, or at least as written wisdom, to which great deference was shown.[y] Yet its study was long prohibited in the university of Paris, from

[v] Tiraboschi, t. v. Vaissette, Hist. de Languedoc, t. ii. p. 517; t. iii. p. 527; t. v. p. 504.

[w] Duck, de Usu Juris Civilis, l. ii. c. 6.

[x] Idem, l. ii. 2.

[y] Duck, l. ii. c. 5, s. 30, 31. Fleury, Hist. du Droit François, p. 74 (prefixed to Argou, Institutions au Droit François, edit. 1787), says that it was a great question among lawyers, and still undecided (i. e. in 1674), whether the Roman law was the common law in the pays coutumiers, as to those points wherein their local customs were silent. And, if I understand Denisart (Dictionnaire des Décisions art. Droit-écrit), the affirmative prevailed. It is plain at least by the Causes Célèbres, that appeal was continually made to the principles of the civil law in the argument of Parisian advocates.

a disposition of the popes to establish exclusively their decretals, though the prohibition was silently disregarded.[a]

As early as the reign of Stephen, Vacarius, a lawyer of Bologna, taught at Oxford with great success; but the students of scholastic theology opposed themselves, from some unexplained reason, to this new jurisprudence, and his lectures were interdicted.[a] About the time of Henry III. and Edward I. the civil law acquired some credit in England; but a system entirely incompatible with it had established itself in our courts of justice; and the Roman jurisprudence was not only soon rejected, but became obnoxious.[b] Everywhere, however, the clergy combined its study with that of their own canons; it was a maxim that every canonist must be a civilian, and that no one could be a good civilian unless he were also a canonist. In all universities, degrees are granted in both laws conjointly; and in all courts of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the authority of Justinian is cited, when that of Gregory or Clement is wanting.[c]

I should earn little gratitude for my obscure diligence, were I to dwell on the forgotten teachers of a science that attracts so few. These elder professors of Roman jurisprudence are infected, as we are told, with the faults and ignorance of their time; failing in the exposition of ancient law through incorrectness of manuscripts and want of subsidiary learning, or perverting their sense through the verbal subtleties of scholastic philosophy. It appears that, even a hundred years since, neither Azzo and Accursius, the principal civilians of the thirteenth century, nor Bartolus and Baldus, the more conspicuous luminaries of the next age, nor the later writings of Accolti, Fulgosius, and Panormitanus, were greatly regarded as authorities; unless it were in Spain, where improvement is always odious, and the name of Bartolus inspired absolute deference.[d] In the sixteenth century, Alciatus and the greater Cujacius became, as it were, the founders of a new and more

[a] Crevier, Hist. de l'Université de Paris, t. i. p. 316; t. ii. p. 275.

[a] Johan. Salisburiensis, apud Selden ad Fletam, p. 1082.

[b] Selden, ubi supra; pp. 1095-1104. This passage is worthy of attention. Yet, notwithstanding Selden's authority, I am not satisfied that he has not extenuated the effect of Bracton's predilection for the maxims of Roman jurisprudence. No early lawyer has contributed so much to form our own system as Bracton; and if his definitions and rules are sometimes borrowed from the civilians, as all admit, our common law may have indirectly received greater modification from that influence, than its professors were ready to acknowledge, or even than they knew. A full view of this subject is still, I think, a desideratum in the history of English law, which it would illustrate in a very interesting manner.

[c] Duck, De Usu Juris Civilis, l. i. c. 87.

[d] Gravina, Origines Juris Civilis, p. 196.

enlightened academy of civil law, from which the latter jurists derived their lessons. The laws of Justinian, stripped of their impurer alloy, and of the tedious glosses of their commentators, will form the basis of other systems, and mingling, as we may hope, with the new institutions of philosophical legislators, continue to influence the social relations of mankind, long after their direct authority shall have been abrogated. The ruins of ancient Rome supplied the materials of a new city; and the fragments of her law, which have already been wrought into the recent codes of France and Prussia, will probably, under other names, guide far distant generations by the sagacity of Modestinus and Ulpian.[e]

The establishment of public schools in France is owing to Charlemagne. At his accession, we are assured that no means of obtaining a learned education existed in his dominions;[f] and in order to restore in some degree the spirit of letters, he was compelled to invite strangers from countries where learning was not so thoroughly extinguished. Alcuin of England, Clement of Ireland, Theodulf of Germany, were the true Paladins who repaired to his court. With the help of these he revived a few sparks of diligence, and established schools in different cities of his empire; nor was he ashamed to be the disciple of that in his own palace under the care of Alcuin.[g]

[e] Those who feel some curiosity about the civilians of the middle ages will find a concise and elegant account in Gravina, De Origine Juris Civilis, pp. 166-206. (Lips. 1708.) Tiraboschi contains perhaps more information; but his prolixity is very wearisome. Besides this fault, it is evident that Tiraboschi knew very little of law, and had not read the civilians of whom he treats; whereas Gravina discusses their merits not only with legal knowledge, but with an acuteness of criticism which, to say the truth, Tiraboschi never shows except on a date or a name.

[The civil lawyers of the mediæval period are not at all forgotten on the continent, as the great work of Savigny, History of Roman Law in the Middle Ages, sufficiently proves. It is certain that the civil law must always be studied in Europe, nor ought the new codes to supersede it, seeing they are in great measure derived from its fountain; though I have heard that it is less regarded in France than formerly. In my earlier editions I depreciated the study of the civil law too much, and with too exclusive an attention to English notions.]

[f] Ante ipsum dominum Carolum regem in Galliâ nullum fuit studium liberalium artium. Monachus Engolismensis, apud Launoy, De Scholis per occidentem instauratis, p. 5. See too Histoire Littéraire de la France, t. iv. p. 1. "Studia liberalium artium" in this passage, must be understood to exclude literature, commonly so called, but not a certain measure of very ordinary instruction. For there were episcopal and conventual schools in the seventh and eighth centuries, even in France, especially Aquitaine; we need hardly repeat that in England, the former of these ages produced Bede and Theodore, and the men trained under them; the Lives of the Saints also lead us to take with some limitation the absolute denial of liberal studies before Charlemagne. See Guizot, Hist. de la Civilis. en France, Leçon 16; and Ampère, Hist. Litt. de la France, iii. p. 4. But, perhaps, philology, logic, philosophy, and even theology were not taught, as sciences, in any of the French schools of these two centuries; and consequently those established by Charlemagne justly make an epoch.

[g] Id. Ibid. There was a sort of literary club among them, where the members assumed ancient names. Charlemagne was called David; Alcuin, Horace; another, Dametas, &c.

His two next successors, Louis the Debonair and Charles the Bald, were also encouragers of letters; and the schools of Lyons, Fulda, Corvey, Rheims, and some other cities, might be said to flourish in the ninth century.[h] In these were taught the trivium and quadrivium, a long-established division of sciences: the first comprehending grammar, or what we now call philology, logic, and rhetoric; the second, music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy.[i] But in those ages scarcely anybody mastered the latter four; and to be perfect in the three former was exceedingly rare. All those studies, however, were referred to theology, and that in the narrowest manner; music, for example, being reduced to church chanting, and astronomy to the calculation of Easter.[j] Alcuin was, in his old age, against reading the poets;[k] and this discouragement of secular learning was very general; though some, as for instance Raban, permitted a slight tincture of it, as subsidiary to religious instruction.[l]

About the latter part of the eleventh century a greater ardor for intellectual pursuits began to show itself in Europe, which in the twelfth broke out into a flame. This was manifested in the numbers who repaired to the public academies or schools of philosophy. None of these grew so early into reputation as that of Paris. This cannot indeed, as has been vainly pretended, trace its pedigree to Charlemagne. The first who is said to have read lectures at Paris was Remigius of Auxerre, about the year 900.[m] For the two next centuries the history of this school is very obscure; and it would be hard to prove an unbroken continuity, or at least a dependence and connection of its professors. In the year 1100 we find William of Champeaux teaching logic, and apparently some higher parts of philosophy, with much credit. But this preceptor was eclipsed by his disciple, afterwards his rival and adversary, Peter Abelard, to whose brilliant and hardy genius the university of Paris appears to be indebted for its rapid advancement. Abelard was almost the first who awakened mankind in the ages of darkness to a sympathy with intellectual excellence. His bold theories, not the less attractive perhaps for

h Hist. Littéraire, p. 217, &c.

i This division of the sciences is ascribed to St. Augustin; and we certainly find it established early in the sixth century. Brucker, Historia Critica Philosophiæ, t. iii. p. 597.

j Schmidt, Hist. des Allemands, t. ii. p. 126.

k Crevier, Hist. de l'Université de Paris, t. i. p. 28.

l Brucker, t. iii. p. 612. Raban Maurus was chief of the cathedral school at Fulda, in the ninth century.

m Crevier, p. 66.

treading upon the bounds of heresy, his imprudent vanity, that scorned the regularly acquired reputation of older men, allured a multitude of disciples, who would never have listened to an ordinary teacher. It is said that twenty cardinals and fifty bishops had been among his hearers.[n] Even in the wilderness, where he had erected the monastery of Paraclete, he was surrounded by enthusiastic admirers, relinquishing the luxuries, if so they might be called, of Paris, for the coarse living and imperfect accommodation which that retirement could afford.[o] But the whole of Abelard's life was the shipwreck of genius; and of genius, both the source of his own calamities and unserviceable to posterity. There are few lives of literary men more interesting or more diversified by success and adversity, by glory and humiliation, by the admiration of mankind and the persecution of enemies; nor from which, I may add, more impressive lessons of moral prudence may be derived.[p] One of Abelard's pupils was Peter Lombard, afterwards archbishop of Paris, and author of a work called the Book of Sentences, which obtained the highest authority among the scholastic disputants. The resort of students to Paris became continually greater; they appear, before the year 1169, to have been divided into nations;[q] and probably they had an elected rector and voluntary rules of discipline about the same time. This, however, is not decisively proved; but in the last year of the twelfth century they obtained their earliest charter from Philip Augustus.[r]

The opinion which ascribes the foundation of the university of Oxford to Alfred, if it cannot be maintained as a truth, contains no intrinsic marks of error. Ingulfus, Abbot of Croyland, in the earliest authentic passage that can be adduced to this point,[s] declares that he was sent from Westminster to the

[n] Crevier, p. 171; Brucker, p. 677; Tiraboschi, t. iii. p. 275.

[o] Brucker, p. 750.

[p] A great interest has been revived in France for the philosophy, as well as the personal history of Abelard, by the publication of his philosophical writings, in 1836, under so eminent an editor as M. Cousin, and by the excellent work of M. de Rémusat, in 1845, with the title Abélard, containing a copious account both of the life and writings of that most remarkable man, the father, perhaps, of the theory as to the nature of universal ideas, now so generally known by the name of conceptualism.

[q] The faculty of arts in the university of Paris was divided into four nations; those of France, Picardy, Normandy, and England. These had distinct suffrages in the affairs of the university, and consequently, when united, outnumbered the three higher faculties of theology, law, and medicine. In 1169, Henry II. of England offers to refer his dispute with Becket to the provinces of the school of Paris.

[r] Crevier, t. i. p. 279. The first statute regulating the discipline of the university was given by Robert de Courçon, legate of Honorius III., in 1215, id. p. 296.

[s] No one probably would choose to rely on a passage found in one manuscript of Asserius, which has all appearance of an interpolation. It is evident

school at Oxford where he learned Aristotle, with the first and second books of Tully's Rhetoric.[t] Since a school for dialectics and rhetoric subsisted at Oxford, a town of but middling size and not the seat of a bishop, we are naturally led to refer its foundation to one of our kings, and none who had reigned after Alfred appears likely to have manifested such zeal for learning. However, it is evident that the school of Oxford was frequented under Edward the Confessor. There follows an interval of above a century, during which we have, I believe, no contemporary evidence of its continuance. But in the reign of Stephen, Vacarius read lectures there upon civil law; and it is reasonable to suppose that a foreigner would not have chosen that city, if he had not found a seminary of learning already established. It was probably inconsiderable, and might have been interrupted during some part of the preceding century.[u] In the reign of Henry II., or at least of Richard I., Oxford became a very flourishing university, and in 1201, according to Wood, contained 3,000 scholars.[v] The earliest charters were granted by John.

If it were necessary to construe the word university in the strict sense of a legal incorporation, Bologna might lay claim to a higher antiquity than either Paris or Oxford. There are a few vestiges of studies pursued in that city even in the eleventh century;[w] but early in the next the revival of the Roman jurisprudence, as has been already noticed, brought a throng

from an anecdote in Wood's History of Oxford, vol. i. p. 23 (Gutch's edition), that Camden did not believe in the authenticity of this passage, though he thought proper to insert it in the Britannia.

[t] 1 Gale, p. 75. The mention of Aristotle at so early a period might seem to throw some suspicion on this passage. But it is impossible to detach it from the context; and the works of Aristotle intended by Ingulfus were translations of parts of his Logic by Boethius and Victorin. Brucker, p. 678. A passage indeed in Peter of Blois's continuation of Ingulfus, where the study of Averroes is said to have taken place at Cambridge some years before he was born, is of a different complexion, and must of course be rejected as spurious. In the Gesta Comitum Andegavensium Fulk, Count of Anjou, who lived about 920, is said to have been skilled Aristotelicis et Ciceronianis ratiocinationibus.

[The authenticity of Ingulfus has been called in question, not only by Sir Francis Palgrave, but by Mr. Wright. Biogr. Liter., Anglo-Norman Period, p. 29. And this implies, apparently, the spuriousness of the continuation ascribed to Peter of Blois, in which the passage about Averroes throws doubt upon the whole. I have, in the Introduction to the History of Literature, retracted the degree of credence here given to the foundation of the university of Oxford by Alfred. If Ingulfus is not genuine, we have no proof of its existence as a school of learning before the middle of the twelfth century.]

[u] It may be remarked, that John of Salisbury, who wrote in the first years of Henry I.'s reign, since his Polycraticon is dedicated to Becket, before he became archbishop, makes no mention of Oxford, which he would probably have done if it had been an eminent seat of learning at that time.

[v] Wood's Hist. and Antiquities of Oxford, p. 177. The Benedictines of St. Maur say, that there was an eminent school of canon law at Oxford about the end of the twelfth century, to which many students repaired from Paris. Hist. Litt. de la France, t. ix. p. 216.

[w] Tiraboschi, t. iii. p. 259, et alibi. Muratori, Dissert. 43.

of scholars round the chairs of its professors. Frederic Barbarossa in 1158, by his authentic, or rescript, entitled Habita, took these under his protection, and permitted them to be tried in civil suits by their own judges. This exemption from the ordinary tribunals, and even from those of the church, was naturally coveted by other academies; it was granted to the university of Paris by its earliest charter from Philip Augustus, and to Oxford by John. From this time the golden age of universities commenced; and it is hard to say whether they were favored more by their sovereigns or by the see of Rome. Their history indeed is full of struggles with the municipal authorities, and with the bishops of their several cities, wherein they were sometimes the aggressors, and generally the conquerors. From all parts of Europe students resorted to these renowned seats of learning with an eagerness for instruction which may astonish those who reflect how little of what we now deem useful could be imparted. At Oxford, under Henry III., it is said that there were 30,000 scholars; an exaggeration which seems to imply that the real number was very great.[x] A respectable contemporary writer asserts that there were full 10,000 at Bologna about the same time.[y] I have not observed any numerical statement as to Paris during this age; but there can be no doubt that it was more frequented than any other. At the death of Charles VII., in 1453, it is said to have contained 25,000 students.[z] In the thirteenth century other universities sprang up in different countries; Padua and Naples under the patronage of Frederic II., a zealous and useful friend to letters,[a] Toulouse and Montpelier, Cambridge and Salamanca.[b] Orleans, which had long been distinguished as a

[x] "But among these," says Anthony Wood, "a company of varlets, who pretended to be scholars, shuffle themselves in, and did act much villany in the university by thieving, whoring, quarrelling, &c. They lived under no discipline, neither had they tutors; but only for fashion's sake would sometimes thrust themselves into the schools at ordinary lectures, and when they went to perform any mischief, then would they be accounted scholars, that so they might free themselves from the jurisdiction of the burghers." P. 206. If we allow three varlets to one scholar, the university will still have been very fully frequented by the latter.

[y] Tiraboschi, t. iv. p. 47. Azarius, about the middle of the fourteenth century, says the number was about 13,000 in his time. Muratori, Script. Rer. Ital. t. xvi. p. 325.

[z] Villaret, Hist. de France, t. xvi. p. 341. This may perhaps require to be taken with allowance. But Paris owes a great part of its buildings on the southern bank of the Seine to the university. The students are said to have been about 12,000 before 1480. Crevier, t. iv. p. 410.

[a] Tiraboschi, t. iv. pp. 43 and 46.

[b] The earliest authentic mention of Cambridge as a place of learning, if I mistake not, is in Matthew Paris, who informs us that in 1209, John having caused three clerks of Oxford to be hanged on suspicion of murder, the whole body of scholars left that city, and emigrated, some to Cambridge, some to Reading, in order to carry on their studies (p. 191, edit. 1684). But it may be conjectured with some probability, that they were led to a town so distant as Cambridge by the previous establish-

school of civil law, received the privileges of incorporation early in the fourteenth century, and Angers before the expiration of the same age.[c] Prague, the earliest and most eminent of German universities, was founded in 1350; a secession from thence of Saxon students, in consequence of the nationality of the Bohemians and the Hussite schism, gave rise to that of Leipsic.[d] The fifteenth century produced several new academical foundations in France and Spain.

A large proportion of scholars in most of those institutions were drawn by the love of science from foreign countries. The chief universities had their own particular departments of excellence. Paris was unrivalled for scholastic theology; Bologna and Orleans, and afterwards Bourges, for jurisprudence; Montpelier for medicine. Though national prejudices, as in the case of Prague, sometimes interfered with this free resort of foreigners to places of education, it was in general a wise policy of government, as well as of the universities themselves, to encourage it. The thirty-fifth article of the peace of Bretigni provides for the restoration of former privileges to students respectively in the French and English universities.[e] Various letters patent will be found in Rymer's collection, securing to Scottish as well as French natives a safe passage to their place of education. The English nation, including however the Flemings and Germans,[f] had a separate vote in the faculty of arts at Paris. But foreign students were not, I believe, so numerous in the English academies.

If endowments and privileges are the means of quickening a zeal for letters, they were liberally bestowed in the last three of the middle ages. Crevier enumerates fifteen colleges founded in the university of Paris during the thirteenth century, besides one or two of a still earlier date. Two only, or at most three, existed in that age at Oxford, and but one at Cambridge. In the next two centuries these universities could boast, as everyone knows, of many splendid foundations, though much exceeded in number by those of Paris. Considered as ecclesiastical institutions it is not surprising that the universities obtained, according to the spirit of their age, an exclusive cog-

ment of academical instruction in that place. The incorporation of Cambridge is in 1231 (15 Hen. III.), so that there is no great difference in the legal antiquity of our two universities.

c Crevier, Hist. de l'Université de Paris, t. ii. p. 216; t. iii. p. 140.
d Pfeffel, Abrégé Chronologique de l'Hist. de l'Allemagne, pp. 550, 607.
e Rymer, t. vi. p. 292.
f Crevier, t. ii. p. 398.

nizance of civil or criminal suits affecting their members. This jurisdiction was, however, local as well as personal, and in reality encroached on the regular police of their cities. At Paris the privilege turned to a flagrant abuse, and gave rise to many scandalous contentions.[g] Still more valuable advantages were those relating to ecclesiastical preferments, of which a large proportion was reserved in France to academical graduates. Something of the same sort, though less extensive, may still be traced in the rules respecting plurality of benefices in our English church.

This remarkable and almost sudden transition from a total indifference to all intellectual pursuits cannot be ascribed perhaps to any general causes. The restoration of the civil, and the formation of the canon law, were indeed eminently conducive to it, and a large proportion of scholars in most universities confined themselves to jurisprudence. But the chief attraction to the studious was the new scholastic philosophy. The love of contention, especially with such arms as the art of dialectics supplies to an acute understanding, is natural enough to mankind. That of speculating upon the mysterious questions of metaphysics and theology is not less so. These disputes and speculations, however, appear to have excited little interest till, after the middle of the eleventh century, Roscelin, a professor of logic, revived the old question of the Grecian schools respecting universal ideas, the reality of which he denied. This kindled a spirit of metaphysical discussion, which Lanfranc and Anselm, successively archbishops of Canterbury, kept alive; and in the next century Abelard and Peter Lombard, especially the latter, completed the scholastic system of philosophizing. The logic of Aristotle seems to have been partly known in the eleventh century, although that of Augustin was perhaps in higher estimation;[h] in the twelfth it obtained more decisive influence. His metaphysics, to which the logic might be considered as preparatory, were introduced through translations from the Arabic, and perhaps also from the Greek, early in the ensuing century.[i] This work, condemned at first by the decrees of popes and councils on account

[g] Crevier and Villaret, passim.

[h] Brucker, Hist. Crit. Philosophiæ, t. iii. p. 678.

[i] Id. Ibid. Tiraboschi conceives that the translations of Aristotle made by command of Frederic II. were directly from the Greek, t. iv. p. 145; and censures Brucker for the contrary opinion. Buhle, however (Hist. de la Philosophie Moderne, t. i. p. 696), appears to agree with Brucker. It is almost certain that versions were made from the Arabic Aristotle; which itself was not immediately taken from the Greek, but from a

of its supposed tendency to atheism, acquired by degrees an influence, to which even popes and councils were obliged to yield. The Mendicant Friars, established throughout Europe in the thirteenth century, greatly contributed to promote the Aristotelian philosophy; and its final reception into the orthodox system of the church may chiefly be ascribed to Thomas Aquinas, the boast of the Dominican order, and certainly the most distinguished metaphysician of the middle ages. His authority silenced all scruples as to that of Aristotle, and the two philosophers were treated with equally implicit deference by the later schoolmen.*j*

This scholastic philosophy, so famous for several ages, has since passed away and been forgotten. The history of literature, like that of empire, is full of revolutions. Our public libraries are cemeteries of departed reputation, and the dust accumulating upon their untouched volumes speaks as forcibly as the grass that waves over the ruins of Babylon. Few, very few, for a hundred years past, have broken the repose of the immense works of the schoolmen. None perhaps in our own country have acquainted themselves particularly with their contents. Leibnitz, however, expressed a wish that some one conversant with modern philosophy would undertake to extract the scattered particles of gold which may be hidden in their abandoned mines. This wish had been at length partially fulfilled by three or four of those industrious students and keen metaphysicians who do honor to modern Germany. But most of their works are unknown to me except by repute, and as they all appear to be formed on a very extensive plan, I doubt

Syriac medium. Ginguené, Hist. Litt. de l'Italie, t. i. p. 212 (on the authority of M. Langlés).

It was not only a knowledge of Aristotle that the scholastics of Europe derived from the Arabic language. His writings had produced in the flourishing Mohammedan kingdoms a vast number of commentators, and of metaphysicians trained in the same school. Of these Averroes, a native of Cordova, who died early in the thirteenth century, was the most eminent. It would be curious to examine more minutely than has hitherto been done the original writings of these famous men, which no doubt have suffered in translation. A passage from Al Gazel, which Mr. Turner has rendered from the Latin, with all the disadvantage of a double remove from the author's words, appears to state the argument in favor of that class of Nominalists, called Conceptualists, with more clearness and precision than anything I have seen from the schoolmen. Al Gazel died in 1126, and consequently might have suggested this theory to Abelard, which, however, is not probable. Turner's Hist. of Engl. vol. i. p. 513.

j Brucker, Hist. Crit. Philosophiæ, t. iii. I have found no better guide than Brucker. But he confesses himself not to have read the original writings of the scholastics; an admission which every reader will perceive to be quite necessary. Consequently, he gives us rather a verbose declamation against their philosophy than any clear view of its character. Of the valuable works lately published in Germany on the history of philosophy, I have only seen that of Buhle, which did not fall into my hands till I had nearly written these pages. Tiedemann and Tennemann are, I believe, still untranslated.

whether even those laborious men could afford adequate time for this ungrateful research. Yet we cannot pretend to deny that Roscelin, Anselm, Abelard, Peter Lombard, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, and Ockham, were men of acute and even profound understandings, the giants of their own generation. Even with the slight knowledge we possess of their tenets, there appear through the cloud of repulsive technical barbarisms rays of metaphysical genius which this age ought not to despise. Thus in the works of Anselm is found the celebrated argument of Descartes for the existence of a Deity, deduced from the idea of an infinitely perfect being. One great object that most of the schoolmen had in view was, to establish the principles of natural theology by abstract reasoning. This reasoning was doubtless liable to great difficulties. But a modern writer, who seems tolerably acquainted with the subject, assures us that it would be difficult to mention any theoretical argument to prove the divine attributes, or any objection capable of being raised against the proof, which we do not find in some of the scholastic philosophers.[k] The most celebrated subjects of discussion, and those on which this class of reasoners were most divided, were the reality of universal ideas, considered as extrinsic to the human mind and the freedom of will. These have not ceased to occupy the thoughts of metaphysicians.[l]

But all discovery of truth by means of these controversies was rendered hopeless by two insurmountable obstacles, the

[k] Buhle, Hist. de la Philos. Moderne, t. i. p. 723. This author raises upon the whole a favorable notion of Anselm and Aquinas; but he hardly notices any other.

[l] Mr. Turner has with his characteristic spirit of enterprise examined some of the writings of our chief English schoolmen, Duns Scotus and Ockham (Hist. of Eng. vol. i.), and even given us some extracts from them. They seem to me very frivolous, so far as I can collect their meaning. Ockham in particular falls very short of what I had expected; and his nominalism is strangely different from that of Berkeley. We can hardly reckon a man in the right, who is so by accident, and through sophistical reasoning. However, a well-known article in the Edinburgh Review, No. liii. p. 204, gives, from Tennemann, a more favorable account of Ockham.

Perhaps I may have imagined the scholastics to be more forgotten than they really are. Within a short time I have met with four living English writers who have read parts of Thomas Aquinas: Mr. Turner, Mr. Berington, Mr. Coleridge, and the Edinburgh Reviewer. Still I cannot bring myself to think that there are four more in this country who can say the same. Certain portions, however, of his writings are still read in the course of instruction of some Catholic universities.

[I leave this passage as it was written about 1814. But it must be owned with regard to the schoolmen, as well as the jurists, that I at that time underrated, or at least did not anticipate, the attention which their works have attracted in modern Europe, and that the passage in the texts is more applicable to the philosophy of the eighteenth century than of the present. For several years past the metaphysicians of Germany and France have brushed the dust from the scholastic volumes; Tennemann and Buhle, Degerando, but more than all Cousin and Rémusat, in their excellent labors on Abelard, have restored the mediæval philosophy to a place in transcendental metaphysics, which, during the prevalence of the Cartesian school, and those derived from it, had been refused. 1848.]

authority of Aristotle and that of the church. Wherever obsequious reverence is substituted for bold inquiry, truth, if she is not already at hand, will never be attained. The scholastics did not understand Aristotle, whose original writings they could not read;[m] but his name was received with implicit faith. They learned his peculiar nomenclature, and fancied that he had given them realities. The authority of the church did them still more harm. It has been said, and probably with much truth, that their metaphysics were injurious to their theology. But I must observe in return that their theology was equally injurious to their metaphysics. Their disputes continually turned upon questions either involving absurdity and contradiction, or at best inscrutable by human comprehension. Those who assert the greatest antiquity of the Roman Catholic doctrine as to the real presence, allow that both the word and the definition of transubstantiation are owing to the scholastic writers. Their subtleties were not always so well received. They reasoned at imminent peril of being charged with heresy, which Roscelin, Abelard, Lombard, and Ockham did not escape. In the virulent factions that arose out of their metaphysical quarrels, either party was eager to expose its adversary to detraction and persecution. The Nominalists were accused, one hardly sees why, with reducing, like Sabellius, the persons of the Trinity to modal distinctions. The Realists, with more pretence, incurred the imputation of holding a language that savored of atheism.[n] In the controversy which the Dominicans and Franciscans, disciples respectively of Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus, maintained about grace and free-will, it was of course still more easy to deal in mutual reproaches of heterodoxy. But the schoolmen were in general prudent enough not to defy the censures of the church; and the popes, in return for the support they gave to all exorbitant pretensions of the Holy See, connived at this factious wrangling, which threatened no serious mischief, as it did not proceed from any

[m] Roger Bacon, by far the truest philosopher of the middle ages, complains of the ignorance of Aristotle's translators. Every translator, he observes, ought to understand his author's subject, and the two languages from which and into which he is to render the work. But none hitherto, except Boethius, have sufficiently known the languages; nor has one, except Robert Grosstete (the famous bishop of Lincoln), had a competent acquaintance with science. The rest make egregious errors in both respects. And there is so much misapprehension and obscurity in the Aristotelian writings as thus translated, that no one understands them. Opus Majus, p. 45.

[n] Brucker, pp. 733, 912. Mr. Turner has fallen into some confusion as to this point, and supposes the nominalist system to have had a pantheistical tendency, not clearly apprehending its characteristics, p. 512.

independent spirit of research. Yet with all their apparent conformity to the received creed, there was, as might be expected from the circumstances, a great deal of real deviation from orthodoxy, and even of infidelity. The scholastic mode of dispute, admitting of no termination and producing no conviction, was the sure cause of scepticism; and the system of Aristotle, especially with the commentaries of Averroes, bore an aspect very unfavorable to natural religion.*o* The Aristotelian philosophy, even in the hands of the Master, was like a barren tree that conceals its want of fruit by profusion of leaves. But the scholastic ontology was much worse. What could be more trifling than disquisitions about the nature of angels, their modes of operation, their means of conversing, or (for these were distinguished) the morning and evening state of their understandings? *p* Into such follies the schoolmen appear to have launched, partly because there was less danger of running against a heresy in a matter where the church had defined so little—partly from their presumption, which disdained all inquiries into the human mind, as merely a part of physics—and in no small degree through a spirit of mystical fanaticism, derived from the oriental philosophy and the later Platonists, which blended itself with the cold-blooded technicalities of the Aristotelian school.*q* But this unproduc-

o Petrarch gives a curious account of the irreligion that prevailed among the learned at Venice and Padua, in consequence of their unbounded admiration for Aristotle and Averroes. One of this school, conversing with him, after expressing much contempt for the Apostles and Fathers, exclaimed: Utinam tu Averroim pati posses, ut videres quanto ille tuis his nugatoribus major sit! Mém. de Pétrarque, t. iii. p. 759. Tiraboschi, t. v. p. 162.

p Brucker, p. 898.

q This mystical philosophy appears to have been introduced into Europe by John Scotus, whom Buhle treats as the founder of the scholastic philosophy; though, as it made no sensible progress for two centuries after his time, it seems more natural to give that credit to Roscelin and Anselm. Scotus or Erigena, as he is perhaps more frequently called, took up, through the medium of a spurious work, ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite, that remarkable system which has from time immemorial prevailed in some schools of the East, wherein all external phenomena, as well as all subordinate intellects, are considered as emanating from the Supreme Being, into whose essence they are hereafter to be absorbed. This system, reproduced under various modifications, and combined with various theories of philosophy and religion, is perhaps the most congenial to the spirit of solitary speculation, and consequently the most extensively diffused of any which those high themes have engendered. It originated no doubt in sublime conceptions of divine omnipotence and ubiquity. But clearness of expression, or indeed of ideas, being not easily connected with mysticism, the language of philosophers adopting the theory of emanation is often hardly distinguishable from that of the pantheists. Brucker, very unjustly, as I imagine from the passages he quotes, accuses John Erigena of pantheism. Hist. Crit. Philos. p. 620. The charge would, however, be better grounded against some whose style might deceive an unaccustomed reader. In fact, the philosophy of emanation leads very nearly to the doctrine of an universal substance, which begot the atheistic system of Spinoza, and which appears to have revived with similar consequences among the metaphysicians of Germany. How very closely the language of this oriental philosophy, or even that which regards the Deity as the soul of the world, may verge upon pantheism, will be perceived (without the trouble of reading the first book of Cudworth) from two famous passages of Virgil and Lucan. Georg. l. iv. v. 219; and Pharsalia, l. viii. v. 578.

tive waste of the faculties could not last forever. Men discovered that they had given their time for the promise of wisdom, and been cheated in the bargain. What John of Salisbury observes of the Parisian dialecticians in his own time, that, after several years' absence, he found them not a step advanced and still employed in urging and parrying the same arguments, was equally applicable to the period of centuries. After three or four hundred years, the scholastics had not untied a single knot, nor added one unequivocal truth to the domain of philosophy. As this became more evident, the enthusiasm for that kind of learning declined; after the middle of the fourteenth century few distinguished teachers arose among the schoolmen, and at the revival of letters their pretended science had no advocates left, but among the prejudiced or ignorant adherents of established systems. How different is the state of genuine philosophy, the zeal for which will never wear out by length of time or change of fashion, because the inquirer, unrestrained by authority, is perpetually cheered by the discovery of truth in researches, which the boundless riches of nature seem to render indefinitely progressive![r]

Yet, upon a general consideration, the attention paid in the universities to scholastic philosophy may be deemed a source of improvement in the intellectual character, when we compare it with the perfect ignorance of some preceding ages. Whether the same industry would not have been more profitably directed if the love of metaphysics had not intervened, is another question. Philology, or the principles of good taste, degenerated through the prevalence of school logic. The Latin compositions of the twelfth century are better than those of the three that followed—at least on the northern side of the Alps. I do not, however, conceive that any real correctness of taste or general elegance of style was likely to subsist in so imperfect a condition of society. These qualities seem to require a certain harmonious correspondence in the tone of manners before they can establish a prevalent influence over literature. A more real evil was the diverting of studious men from mathematical science. Early in the twelfth century several persons, chiefly English, had brought into Europe some of the Arabian writings on geometry and physics. In the thir-

[r] This subject, as well as some others in this part of the present chapter, has been touched in my Introduction to the Literature of the 15th, 16th, and 17th Centuries.

teenth the works of Euclid were commented upon by Campano,[s] and Roger Bacon was fully acquainted with them.[t] Algebra, as far as the Arabians knew it, extending to quadratic equations, was actually in the hands of some Italians at the commencement of the same age, and preserved for almost three hundred years as a secret, though without any conception of its importance. As abstract mathematics require no collateral aid, they may reach the highest perfection in ages of general barbarism; and there seems to be no reason why, if the course of study had been directed that way, there should not have arisen a Newton or a La Place, instead of an Aquinas or an Ockham. The knowledge displayed by Roger Bacon and by Albertus Magnus, even in the mixed mathematics, under every disadvantage from the imperfection of instruments and the want of recorded experience, is sufficient to inspire us with regret that their contemporaries were more inclined to astonishment than to emulation. These inquiries indeed were subject to the ordeal of fire, the great purifier of books and men; for if the metaphysician stood a chance of being burned as a heretic, the natural philosopher was in not less jeopardy as a magician.[u]

A far more substantial cause of intellectual improvement was the development of those new languages that sprang out of the corruption of Latin. For three or four centuries after what was called the Romance tongue was spoken in France, there remain but few vestiges of its employment in writing; though we cannot draw an absolute inference from our want of proof,

[s] Tiraboschi, t. iv. p. 150.

[t] There is a very copious and sensible account of Roger Bacon in Wood's History of Oxford, vol. i. p. 332 (Gutch's edition). I am a little surprised that Anthony should have found out Bacon's merit.

The resemblance between Roger Bacon and his greater namesake is very remarkable. Whether Lord Bacon ever read the Opus Majus, I know not; but it is singular, that his favorite quaint expression, prærogativæ scientiarum, should be found in that work, though not used with the same allusion to the Roman comitia. And whoever reads the sixth part of the Opus Majus, upon experimental science, must be struck by it as the prototype, in spirit, of the Novum Organum. The same sanguine and sometimes rash confidence in the effect of physical discoveries, the same fondness for experiment, the same preference of inductive to abstract reasoning, pervade both works. Roger Bacon's philosophical spirit may be illustrated by the following passage: Duo sunt modi cognoscendi; scilicet per argumentum et experimentum. Argumentum concludit et facit nas concludere quæstionem; sed non certificat neque removet dubitationem, ut quiescat animus in intuitu veritatis, nisi eam inveniat viâ experientiæ; quia multi habent argumenta ad scibilia, sed quia non habent experientiam, negligunt ea, neque vitant nociva nec persequuntur bona. Si enim aliquis homo, qui nunquam vidit ignem, probavit per argumenta sufficientia quod ignis comburit et lædit res et destruit, nunquam propter hoc quiesceret animus audientis, nec ignem vitaret antequam poneret manum vel rem combustibilem ad ignem, ut per experientiam probaret quod argumentum edocebat; sed assumptâ experientiâ combustionis certificatur animus et quiescit in fulgore veritatis, quo argumentum non sufficit, sed experientia. P. 446.

[u] See the fate of Cecco d'Ascoli in Tiraboschi, t. v. p. 174.

and a critic of much authority supposes translations to have been made into it for religious purposes from the time of Charlemagne.[v] During this period the language was split into two very separate dialects, the regions of which may be considered, though by no means strictly, as divided by the Loire. These were called the Langue d'Oil and the Langue d'Oc; or in more modern times, the French and Provençal dialects. In the latter of these I know of nothing which can even by name be traced beyond the year 1100. About that time Gregory de Bechada, a gentleman of Limousin, recorded the memorable events of the first crusade, then recent, in a metrical history of great length.[w] This poem has altogether perished; which, considering the popularity of its subject, as M. Sismondi justly remarks, would probably not have been the case if it had possessed any merit. But very soon afterwards a multitude of poets, like a swarm of summer insects, appeared in the southern provinces of France. These were the celebrated Troubadours, whose fame depends far less on their positive excellence than on the darkness of preceding ages, on the temporary sensation they excited, and their permanent influence on the state of European poetry. From William Count of Poitou, the earliest troubadour on record, who died in 1126, to their extinction, about the end of the next century, there were probably several hundred of these versifiers in the language of Provence, though not always natives of France. Millot has published the lives of one hundred and forty-two, besides the names of many more whose history is unknown; and a still greater number, it cannot be doubted, are unknown by name. Among those poets are reckoned a king of England (Richard I.), two of Aragon, one of Sicily, a dauphin of Auvergne, a count of Foix, a prince of Orange, many noblemen and several ladies. One can hardly pretend to account for this sudden and transitory love of verse; but it is manifestly one symptom of the rapid impulse which the human mind received in the twelfth century, and contemporaneous with the severer studies that began to

[v] Le Bœuf, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. t. xvii. p. 711.

[w] Gregorius, cognomento Bechada de Castro de Turribus, professione miles, subtilissimi ingenii vir, aliquantulum imbutus literis, horum gesta præliorum maternâ linguâ rhythmo vulgari, ut populus pleniter intelligeret, ingens volumen decenter composuit, et ut vera et faceta verba proferret, duodecim annorum spatium super hoc opus operam dedit. Ne verò vilesceret propter verbum vulgare, non sine præcepto episcopi Eustorgii, et consilio Gauberti Normanni, hoc opus aggressus est. I transcribe this from Heeren's Essai sur les Croisades, p. 447; whose reference is to Labbé, Bibliotheca nova MSS. t. ii. p. 296.

flourish in the universities. It was encouraged by the prosperity of Languedoc and Provence, undisturbed, comparatively with other countries, by internal warfare, and disposed by the temper of their inhabitants to feel with voluptuous sensibility the charm of music and amorous poetry. But the tremendous storm that fell upon Languedoc in the crusade against the Albigeois shook off the flowers of Provençal verse; and the final extinction of the fief of Toulouse, with the removal of the counts of Provence to Naples, deprived the troubadours of their most eminent patrons. An attempt was made in the next century to revive them, by distributing prizes for the best composition in the Floral Games of Toulouse, which have sometimes been erroneously referred to a higher antiquity.[x] This institution perhaps still remains; but even in its earliest period it did not establish the name of any Provençal poet. Nor can we deem these fantastical solemnities, styled Courts of Love, where ridiculous questions of metaphysical gallantry were debated by poetical advocates, under the presidency and arbitration of certain ladies, much calculated to bring forward any genuine excellence. They illustrate, however, what is more immediately my own object, the general ardor for poetry and the manners of those chivalrous ages.[y]

The great reputation acquired by the troubadours, and panegyrics lavished on some of them by Dante and Petrarch, excited a curiosity among literary men, which has been a good deal disappointed by further acquaintance. An excellent French antiquary of the last age, La Curne de St. Palaye, spent great part of his life in accumulating manuscripts of Provençal poetry, very little of which had ever been printed. Translations from part of this collection, with memorials of the writers, were published by Millot; and we certainly do not often meet with passages in his three volumes which give us any poetical pleasure.[z] Some of the original poems have since been published, and the extracts made from them by the recent historians of southern literature are rather superior. The troubadours chiefly confined themselves to subjects of love, or rather gallantry, and to satires (sirventes), which are sometimes keen

[x] De Sade, Vie de Pétrarque, t. i. p. 155. Sismondi, Litt. du Midi, t. i. p. 228.

[y] For the Courts of Love, see De Sade, Vie de Pétrarque, t. ii. note 19. Le Grand, Fabliaux, t. i. p. 270. Roquefort, Etat de la Poésie Françoise, p. 94. I have never had patience to look at the older writers who have treated this tiresome subject.

[z] Histoire Littéraire des Troubadours. Paris, 1774.

and spirited. No romances of chivalry, and hardly any tales, are found among their works. There seems a general deficiency of imagination, and especially of that vivid description which distinguishes works of genius in the rudest period of society. In the poetry of sentiment, their favorite province, they seldom attain any natural expression, and consequently produce no interest. I speak, of course, on the presumption that the best specimens have been exhibited by those who have undertaken the task. It must be allowed, however, that we cannot judge of the troubadours at a greater disadvantage than through the prose translations of Millot. Their poetry was entirely of that class which is allied to music, and excites the fancy or feelings rather by the power of sound than any stimulancy of imagery and passion. Possessing a flexible and harmonious language, they invented a variety of metrical arrangements, perfectly new to the nations of Europe. The Latin hymns were striking, but monotonous, the metre of the northern French unvaried; but in Provençal poetry, almost every length of verse, from two syllables to twelve, and the most intricate disposition of rhymes, were at the choice of the troubadour. The canzoni, the sestine, all the lyric metres of Italy and Spain were borrowed from his treasury. With such a command of poetical sounds, it was natural that he should inspire delight into ears not yet rendered familiar to the artifices of verse; and even now the fragments of these ancient lays, quoted by M. Sismondi and M. Ginguené, seem to possess a sort of charm that has evaporated in translation. Upon this harmony, and upon the facility with which mankind are apt to be deluded into an admiration of exaggerated sentiment in poetry, they depended for their influence. And however vapid the songs of Provence may seem to our apprehensions, they were undoubtedly the source from which poetry for many centuries derived a great portion of its habitual language.[a]

It has been maintained by some antiquaries, that the north-

[a] Two very modern French writers, M. Ginguené (Histoire Littéraire d'Italie, Paris, 1811) and M. Sismondi (Littérature du Midi de l'Europe, Paris, 1813), have revived the poetical history of the troubadours. To them, still more than to Millot and Tiraboschi, I would acknowledge my obligations for the little I have learned in respect of this forgotten school of poetry. Notwithstanding, however, the heaviness of Millot's work, a fault not imputable to himself, though Ritson, as I remember, calls him, in his own polite style, "a blockhead," it will always be useful to the inquirer into the manners and opinions of the middle ages, from the numerous illustrations it contains of two general facts; the extreme dissoluteness of morals among the higher ranks, and the prevailing animosity of all classes against the clergy.

ern Romance, or what we properly call French, was not formed until the tenth century, the common dialect of all France having previously resembled that of Languedoc. This hypothesis may not be indisputable; but the question is not likely to be settled, as scarcely any written specimens of Romance, even of that age, have survived.[b] In the eleventh century, among other more obscure productions, both in prose and metre, there appears what, if unquestioned as to authenticity, would be a valuable monument of this language; the laws of William the Conqueror. These are preserved in a manuscript of Ingulfus's History of Croyland, a blank being left in other copies where they should be inserted.[c] They are written in an idiom so far removed from the Provençal, that one would be disposed to think the separation between these two species of Romance of older standing than is commonly allowed. But it has been thought probable that these laws, which in fact were nearly a repetition of those of Edward the Confessor, were originally published in Anglo-Saxon, the only language intelligible to the people, and translated, at a subsequent period, by some Norman monk into French.[d]

The use of a popular language became more common after the year 1100. Translations of some books of Scripture and acts of saints were made about that time, or even earlier, and there are French sermons of St. Bernard, from which extracts have been published, in the royal library at Paris.[e] In 1126, a charter was granted by Louis VI. to the city of Beauvais in French.[f] Metrical compositions are in general the first litera-

b Hist. Litt. de la France, t. vii. p. 58. Le Bœuf, according to these Benedictines, has published some poetical fragments of the tenth century; and they quote part of a charter as old as 940 in Romance. P. 59. But that antiquary, in a memoir printed in the seventeenth volume of the Academy of Inscriptions, which throws more light on the infancy of the French language than anything within my knowledge, says only that the earliest specimens of verse in the royal library are of the eleventh century au plus tard. P. 717. M. de la Rue is said to have found some poems of the eleventh century in the British Museum, Roquefort, État de la Poésie Françoise, p. 206. Le Bœuf's fragment may be found in this work, p. 379; it seems nearer to the Provençal than the French dialect.

c Gale, XV. Script. t. i. p. 88.

d Ritson's Dissertation on Romance, p. 66. [The laws of William the Conqueror, published in Ingulfus, are translated from a Latin original; the French is of the thirteenth century. It is now doubted whether any French, except a fragment of a translation of Boethius, in verse, is extant of an earlier age than the twelfth. Introduction to Hist. of Literat. 3d edit. p. 28.]

e Hist. Litt. t. ix. p. 149; Fabliaux par Barbasan, vol. i. p. 9, edit. 1808; Mém. de l'Académie des Inscr. t. xv. and xvii. p. 714, &c.

f Mabillon speaks of this as the oldest French instrument he had seen. But the Benedictines quote some of the eleventh century. Hist. Litt. t. vii. p. 59. This charter is supposed by the authors of Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique to be translated from the Latin, t. iv. p. 519. French charters, they say, are not common before the age of Louis IX.; and this is confirmed by those published in Martenne's Thesaurus Anecdotorum, which are very commonly in French from his reign, but hardly ever before.

ture of a nation, and even if no distinct proof could be adduced, we might assume their existence before the twelfth century. There is however evidence, not to mention the fragments printed by Le Bœuf, of certain lives of saints translated into French verse by Thibault de Vernon, a canon of Rouen, before the middle of the preceding age. And we are told that Taillefer, a Norman minstrel, recited a song or romance on the deeds of Roland, before the army of his countrymen, at the battle of Hastings in 1066. Philip de Than, a Norman subject of Henry I., seems to be the earliest poet whose works as well as name have reached us, unless we admit a French translation of the work of one Marbode upon precious stones to be more ancient.[g] This De Than wrote a set of rules for computation of time and an account of different calendars. A happy theme for inspiration without doubt! Another performance of the same author is a treatise on birds and beasts, dedicated to Adelaide, queen of Henry I.[h] But a more famous votary of the muses was Wace, a native of Jersey, who about the beginning of Henry II.'s reign turned Geoffrey of Monmouth's history into French metre. Besides this poem, called le Brut d'Angleterre, he composed a series of metrical histories, containing the transactions of the dukes of Normandy, from Rollo, their great progenitor, who gave name to the Roman de Rou, down to his own age. Other productions are ascribed to Wace, who was at least a prolific versifier, and, if he seem to deserve no higher title at present, has a claim to indulgence, and even to esteem, as having far excelled his contemporaries, without any superior advantages of knowledge. In emulation, however, of his fame, several Norman writers addicted themselves to composing chronicles, or devotional treatises in metre. The court of our Norman kings was to the early poets in the Langue d'Oil, what those of Arles and Toulouse were to the troubadours. Henry I. was fond enough of literature to obtain the surname of Beauclerc; Henry II. was more indisputably an encourager of poetry; and Richard I. has left compositions of his own in one or other (for the point is doubtful) of the two dialects spoken in France.[i]

[g] Ravalière, Révol. de la Langue Françoise, p. 116, doubts the age of this translation.

[h] Archæologia, vols. xii. and xiii.

[i] Millot says that Richard's sirventes (satirical songs) have appeared in French as well as Provençal, but that the former is probably a translation. Hist. des Troubadours, vol. i. p. 54. Yet I have met with no writer who quotes them in the latter language, and M. Ginguené, as well as Le Grand d'Aussy, considers Richard as a trouveur.

[Raynouard has since published, in

If the poets of Normandy had never gone beyond historical and religious subjects, they would probably have had less claim to our attention than their brethren of Provence. But a different and far more interesting species of composition began to be cultivated in the latter part of the twelfth century. Without entering upon the controverted question as to the origin of romantic fictions, referred by one party to the Scandinavians, by a second to the Arabs, by others to the natives of Brittany, it is manifest that the actual stories upon which one early and numerous class of romances was founded are related to the traditions of the last people. These are such as turn upon the fable of Arthur; for though we are not entitled to deny the existence of such a personage, his story seems chiefly the creation of Celtic vanity. Traditions current in Brittany, though probably derived from this island, became the basis of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Latin prose, which, as has been seen, was transfused into French metre by Wace.*j* The vicinity of Normandy enabled its poets to enrich their narratives with other Armorican fictions, all relating to the heroes who had surrounded the table of the son of Uther.*k* An equally imaginary history of Charlemagne gave rise to a new family of romances. The authors of these fictions were called Trouveurs, a name obviously identical with that of Troubadours. But except in name there was no resemblance between the minstrels of the northern and southern dialects. The invention of one class was turned to description, that of the other to sentiment; the first were epic in their form and style, the latter almost always lyric. We cannot perhaps give a better notion of their dissimilitude, than by saying that one school produced Chaucer, and the other Petrarch. Besides these romances of chivalry, the trouveurs displayed their powers of lively narration in comic tales or

Provençal, the song of Richard on his captivity, which had several times appeared in French. It is not improbable that he wrote it in both dialects. Leroux de Lincy, Chants Historiques Français, vol. i. p. 55. Richard also composed verses in the Poitevin dialect, spoken at that time in Maine and Anjou, which resembles the Langue d'Oc more than that of northern France, though, especially in the latter countries, it gave way not long afterwards. Id. p. 77.]

j This derivation of the romantic stories of Arthur, which Le Grand d'Aussy ridiculously attributes to the jealousy entertained by the English of the renown of Charlemagne, is stated in a very perspicuous and satisfactory manner by Mr. Ellis, in his Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances.

k [Though the stories of Arthur were not invented by the English out of jealousy of Charlemagne, it has been ingeniously conjectured and rendered highly probable by Mr. Sharon Turner, that the history by Geoffrey of Monmouth was composed with a political view to display the independence and dignity of the British crown, and was intended, consequently, as a counterpoise to that of Turpin, which never became popular in England. It is doubtful, in my judgment, whether Geoffrey borrowed so much from Armorican traditions as he pretended.]

fabliaux (a name sometimes extended to the higher romance), which have aided the imagination of Boccaccio and La Fontaine. These compositions are certainly more entertaining than those of the troubadours; but, contrary to what I have said of the latter, they often gain by appearing in a modern dress. Their versification, which doubtless had its charm when listened to around the hearth of an ancient castle, is very languid and prosaic, and suitable enough to the tedious prolixity into which the narrative is apt to fall; and though we find many sallies of that arch and sprightly simplicity which characterizes the old language of France as well as England, it requires, upon the whole, a factitious taste to relish these Norman tales, considered as poetry in the higher sense of the word, distinguished from metrical fiction.

A manner very different from that of the fabliaux was adopted in the Roman de la Rose, begun by William de Loris about 1250, and completed by John de Meun half a century later. This poem, which contains about 16,000 lines in the usual octosyllable verse, from which the early French writers seldom deviated, is an allegorical vision, wherein love and the other passions or qualities connected with it pass over the stage, without the intervention, I believe, of any less abstract personages. Though similar allegories were not unknown to the ancients, and, which is more to the purpose, may be found in other productions of the thirteenth century, none had been constructed so elaborately as that of the Roman de la Rose. Cold and tedious as we now consider this species of poetry, it originated in the creative power of imagination, and appealed to more refined feeling than the common metrical narratives could excite. This poem was highly popular in the middle ages, and became the source of those numerous allegories which had not ceased in the seventeenth century.

The French language was employed in prose as well as in metre. Indeed it seems to have had almost an exclusive privilege in this respect. "The language of Oil," says Dante, in his treatise on vulgar speech, "prefers its claim to be ranked above those of Oc and Si (Provençal and Italian), on the ground that all translations or compositions in prose have been written therein, from its greater facility and grace, such as the books compiled from the Trojan and Roman stories, the delightful fables about Arthur, and many other works of history

and science."[l] I have mentioned already the sermons of St. Bernard and translations from Scripture. The laws of the kingdom of Jerusalem purport to have been drawn up immediately after the first crusade, and though their language has been materially altered, there seems no doubt that they were originally compiled in French.[m] Besides some charters, there are said to have been prose romances before the year 1200.[n] Early in the next age Ville Hardouin, seneschal of Campagne, recorded the capture of Constantinople in the fourth crusade, an expedition, the glory and reward of which he had personally shared, and, as every original work of prior date has either perished or is of small importance, may be deemed the father of French prose. The Establishments of St. Louis, and the law treatise of Beaumanoir, fill up the interval of the thirteenth century, and before its conclusion we must suppose the excellent memoirs of Joinville to have been composed, since they are dedicated to Louis X. in 1315, when the author could hardly be less than ninety years of age. Without prosecuting any further the history of French literature, I will only mention the translations of Livy and Sallust, made in the reign and by the order of John, with those of Cæsar, Suetonius, Ovid, and parts of Cicero, which are due to his successor Charles V.[o]

I confess myself wholly uninformed as to the original formation of the Spanish language, and as to the epoch of its separation into the two principal dialects of Castile and Portugal, or Gallicia;[p] nor should I perhaps have alluded to the literature

l Prose e Rime di Dante, Venez. 1758, t. iv. p. 261. Dante's words, biblia cum Trojanorum Romanorumque gestibus compilata, seem to bear no other meaning than what I have given. But there may be a doubt whether *biblia* is ever used except for the Scriptures; and the Itallan translator renders it, cioè la bibbia, i fatti de i Trojani, e de i Romani. In this case something is wrong in the original Latin, and Dante will have alluded to the translations of parts of Scripture made into French, as mentioned in the text.

m The Assises de Jérusalem have undergone two revisions; one, in 1250, by order of John d'Ibelin, Count of Jaffa, and a second in 1369, by sixteen commissioners chosen by the states of the kingdom of Cyprus. Their language seems to be such as might be expected from the time of the former revision.

n Several prose romances were written or translated from the Latin, about 1170, and afterwards. Mr. Ellis seems inclined to dispute their antiquity. But, besides the authorities of La Ravalière and Tressan, the latter of which is not worth much, a late very extensively informed writer seems to have put this matter out of doubt. Roquefort Flamericourt, Etat de là Poésie Française dans les 12me et 13me siècles, Paris, 1815, p. 147.

o Villaret, Hist. de France, t. xi. p. 121; De Sade, Vie de Pétrarque, t. iii. p. 548. Charles V. had more learning than most princes of his time. Christine de Pisan, a lady who has written memoirs, or rather an eulogy of him, says that his father le fist introdire en lettres moult suffisamment, et tant que competemment entendoit son Latin, et souffisamment scavoit les regles de grammaire; la quelle chose pleust a dieu qu'ainsi fust accoutumée entre les princes. Collect. de Mém. t. v. pp. 103, 190, &c.

p The earliest Spanish that I remember to have seen is an instrument in Martenne, Thesaurus Anecdotorum, t. i. p. 263; the date of which is 1095. Persons more conversant with the antiquities of that country may possibly

of that peninsula, were it not for a remarkable poem which shines out among the minor lights of those times. This is a metrical life of the Cid Ruy Diaz, written in a barbarous style and with the rudest inequality of measure, but with a truly Homeric warmth and vivacity of delineation. It is much to be regretted that the author's name has perished; but its date has been referred by some to the middle of the twelfth century, while the hero's actions were yet recent, and before the taste of Spain had been corrupted by the Provençal troubadours, whose extremely different manner would, if it did not pervert the poet's genius, at least have impeded his popularity. A very competent judge has pronounced the poem of the Cid to be "decidedly and beyond comparison the finest in the Spanish language." It is at least superior to any that was written in Europe before the appearance of Dante.[q]

A strange obscurity envelops the infancy of the Italian language. Though it is certain that grammatical Latin had ceased to be employed in ordinary discourse, at least from the time of Charlemagne, we have not a single passage of undisputed authenticity, in the current idiom, for nearly four centuries afterwards. Though Italian phrases are mixed up in the barbarous jargon of some charters, not an instrument is extant in that language before the year 1200, unless we may reckon one in the Sardinian dialect (which I believe was rather Provençal than Italian), noticed by Muratori.[r] Nor is there is a vestige of Italian poetry older than a few fragments of Ciullo d'Alcamo, a Sicilian, who must have written before 1193, since he mentions Saladin as then living.[s] This may strike us as the more remarkable, when we consider the political circumstances of Italy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. From the struggles of her spirited republics against the emperors and their

go further back. Another of 1101 is published in Marina's Teoria de las Cortes, t. iii. p. 1. It is in a Vidimus by Peter the Cruel, and cannot, I presume, have been a translation from the Latin. Yet the editors of Nouveau Tr. de Diplom. mention a charter of 1243, as the earliest they are acquainted with in the Spanish language, t. iv. p. 525.

Charters in the German language, according to the same work, first appear in the time of the Emperor Rodolph, after 1272, and became usual in the next century. P. 523. But Struvius mentions an instrument of 1235, as the earliest in German. Corp. Hist. Germ. p. 457.

q An extract from this poem was published in 1808 by Mr. Southey, at the end of his "Chronicle of the Cid," the materials of which it partly supplied, accompanied by an excellent version by a gentleman who is distinguished, among many other talents, for an unrivalled felicity in expressing the peculiar manner of authors whom he translates or imitates. M. Sismondi has given other passages in the third volume of his History of Southern Literature. This popular and elegant work contains some interesting and not very common information as to the early Spanish poets in the Provençal dialect, as well as those who wrote in Castilian.

r Dissert. 32.

s Tiraboschi, t. iv. p. 340.

internal factions, we might, upon all general reasoning, anticipate the early use and vigorous cultivation of their native language. Even if it were not yet ripe for historians and philosophers, it is strange that no poet should have been inspired with songs of triumph or invective by the various fortunes of his country. But, on the contrary, the poets of Lombardy became troubadours, and wasted their genius in Provençal love strains at the courts of princes. The Milanese and other Lombard dialects were, indeed, exceedingly rude; but this rudeness separated them more decidedly from Latin: nor is it possible that the Lombards could have employed that language intelligibly for any public or domestic purpose. And indeed in the earliest Italian compositions that have been published, the new language is so thoroughly formed, that it is natural to infer a very long disuse of that from which it was derived. The Sicilians claim the glory of having first adapted their own harmonious dialect to poetry. Frederic II. both encouraged their art and cultivated it; among the very first essays of Italian verse we find his productions and those of his chancellor Piero delle Vigne. Thus Italy was destined to owe the beginnings of her national literature to a foreigner and an enemy. These poems are very short and few; those ascribed to St. Francis about the same time are hardly distinguishable from prose; but after the middle of the thirteenth century the Tuscan poets awoke to a sense of the beauties which their native language, refined from the impurities of vulgar speech,[t] could display, and the genius of Italian literature was rocked upon the restless waves of the Florentine democracy. Ricordano Malespini, the first historian, and nearly the first prose writer in Italian, left memorials of the republic down to the year 1281, which was that of his death, and it was continued by Giacchetto Malespini to 1286. These are little inferior in purity of style to the best Tuscan authors; for it is the singular fate of that language to have spared itself all intermediate stages of refinement, and, starting the last in the race, to have arrived almost instantane-

[t] Dante, in his treatise De vulgari Eloquentiâ, reckons fourteen or fifteen dialects, spoken in different parts of Italy, all of which were debased by impure modes of expression. But the "noble, principal, and courtly Italian idiom," was that which belonged to every city, and seemed to belong to none, and which, if Italy had a court, would be the language of that court. Pp. 274, 277.

Allowing for the metaphysical obscurity in which Dante chooses to envelop the subject, this might perhaps be said at present. The Florentine dialect has its peculiarities, which distinguish it from the general Italian language, though these are seldom discerned by foreigners, nor always by natives, with whom Tuscan is the proper denomination of their national tongue.

ously at the goal. There is an interval of not much more than half a century between the short fragment of Ciullo d'Alcamo, mentioned above, and the poems of Guido Guinizzelli, Guitone d'Arezzo, and Guido Cavalcante, which, in their diction and turn of thought, are sometimes not unworthy of Petrarch.[u]

But at the beginning of the next age arose a much greater genius, the true father of Italian poetry, and the first name in the literature of the middle ages. This was Dante, or Durante Alighieri, born in 1265, of a respectable family at Florence. Attached to the Guelf party, which had then obtained a final ascendency over its rival, he might justly promise himself the natural reward of talents under a free government, public trust and the esteem of his compatriots. But the Guelfs unhappily were split into two factions, the Bianchi and the Neri, with the former of whom, and, as it proved, the unsuccessful side, Dante was connected. In 1300 he filled the office of one of the Priori, or chief magistrates at Florence; and having manifested in this, as was alleged, some partiality towards the Bianchi, a sentence of proscription passed against him about two years afterwards, when it became the turn of the opposite faction to triumph. Banished from his country, and baffled in several efforts of his friends to restore their fortunes, he had no resource but at the courts of the Scalas at Verona, and other Italian princes, attaching himself in adversity to the Imperial interests, and tasting, in his own language, the bitterness of another's bread.[v] In this state of exile he finished, if he did not commence, his great poem, the Divine Comedy; a representation of the three kingdoms of futurity, Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise, divided into one hundred cantos, and containing about 14,000 lines. He died at Ravenna in 1321.

Dante is among the very few who have created the national

[u] Tiraboschi, t. iv. pp. 309-377. Ginguené, vol. i. c. 6. The style of the Vita Nuova of Dante, written soon after the death of his Beatrice, which happened in 1290, is hardly distinguishable, by a foreigner, from that of Machiavel or Castiglione. Yet so recent was the adoption of this language, that the celebrated master of Dante, Brunetto Latini, had written his Tesoro in French; and gives as a reason for it, that it was a more agreeable and useful language than his own. Et se aucuns demandoit pourquoi chis livre est ecris en Romans, selon la raison de France, pour chose que nous sommes Ytalien, je diroie que ch'est pour chose que nous sommes en France; l'autre pour chose que la parleure en est plus delitable et plus commune a toutes gens. There is said to be a manuscript history of Venice down to 1275, in the Florentine library, written in French by Martin de Canale, who says that he has chosen that language, parceque la langue franceise cort parmi le monde, et est la plus delitable a lire et a oir que nulle autre. Ginguené, vol. i. p. 384.

[v] Tu proverai si (says Cacciaguida to him) come sà di sale
Il pane altrui, e come è duro calle
Il scendere e 'l salir per altrui scale.
Paradis. cant. 16.

poetry of their country. For notwithstanding the polished elegance of some earlier Italian verse, it had been confined to amorous sentiment; and it was yet to be seen that the language could sustain, for a greater length than any existing poem except the Iliad, the varied style of narration, reasoning, and ornament. Of all writers he is the most unquestionably original. Virgil was indeed his inspiring genius, as he declares himself, and as may sometimes be perceived in his diction; but his tone is so peculiar and characteristic, that few readers would be willing at first to acknowledge any resemblance. He possessed, in an extraordinary degree, a command of language, the abuse of which led to his obscurity and licentious innovations. No poet ever excelled him in conciseness, and in the rare talent of finishing his pictures by a few bold touches; the merit of Pindar in his better hours. How prolix would the stories of Francesca or of Ugolino have become in the hands of Ariosto, or of Tasso, or of Ovid, or of Spenser! This excellence indeed is most striking in the first part of his poem. Having formed his plan so as to give an equal length to the three regions of his spiritual world, he found himself unable to vary the images of hope or beatitude, and the Paradise is a continual accumulation of descriptions, separately beautiful, but uniform and tedious. Though images derived from light and music are the most pleasing, and can be borne longer in poetry than any others, their sweetness palls upon the sense by frequent repetition, and we require the intermixture of sharper flavors. Yet there are detached passages of great excellence in this third part of Dante's poem; and even in the long theological discussions which occupy the greater proportion of its thirty-three cantos, it is impossible not to admire the enunciation of abstract positions with remarkable energy, conciseness, and sometimes perspicuity. The first twelve cantos of the Purgatory are an almost continual flow of soft and brilliant poetry. The last seven are also very splendid; but there is some heaviness in the intermediate parts. Fame has justly given the preference to the Inferno, which displays throughout a more vigorous and masterly conception; but the mind of Dante cannot be thoroughly appreciated without a perusal of his entire poem.

The most forced and unnatural turns, the most barbarous licenses of idiom, are found in this poet, whose power of expression is at other times so peculiarly happy. His style is

indeed generally free from those conceits of thought which discredited the other poets of his country; but no sense is too remote for a word which he finds convenient for his measure or his rhyme. It seems indeed as if he never altered a line on account of the necessity of rhyme, but forced another, or perhaps a third, into company with it. For many of his faults no sufficient excuse can be made. But it is candid to remember, that Dante, writing almost in the infancy of a language, which he contributed to create, was not to anticipate that words which he borrowed from the Latin, and from the provincial dialects, would by accident, or through the timidity of later writers, lose their place in the classical idiom of Italy. If Petrarch, Bembo, and a few more, had not aimed rather at purity than copiousness, the phrases which now appear barbarous, and are at least obsolete, might have been fixed by use in poetical language.

The great characteristic excellence of Dante is elevation of sentiment, to which his compressed diction and the emphatic cadences of his measure admirably correspond. We read him, not as an amusing poet, but as a master of moral wisdom, with reverence and awe. Fresh from the deep and serious, though somewhat barren studies of philosophy, and schooled in the severer discipline of experience, he has made of his poem a mirror of his mind and life, the register of his solicitudes and sorrows, and of the speculations in which he sought to escape their recollection. The banished magistrate of Florence, the disciple of Brunetto Latini, the statesman accustomed to trace the varying fluctuations of Italian faction, is forever before our eyes. For this reason, even the prodigal display of erudition, which in an epic poem would be entirely misplaced, increases the respect we feel for the poet, though it does not tend to the reader's gratification. Except Milton, he is much the most learned of all the great poets, and, relatively to his age, far more learned than Milton. In one so highly endowed by nature, and so consummate by instruction, we may well sympathize with a resentment which exile and poverty rendered perpetually fresh. The heart of Dante was naturally sensible, and even tender; his poetry is full of simple comparisons from rural life; and the sincerity of his early passion for Beatrice pierces through the veil of allegory which surrounds her. But the memory of his injuries pursues him into the immensity of

eternal light; and, in the company of saints and angels, his unforgiving spirit darkens at the name of Florence.[w]

This great poem was received in Italy with that enthusiastic admiration which attaches itself to works of genius only in ages too rude to listen to the envy of competitors, or the fastidiousness of critics. Almost every library in that country contains manuscript copies of the Divine Comedy, and an account of those who have abridged or commented upon it would swell to a volume. It was thrice printed in the year 1472, and at least nine times within the fifteenth century. The city of Florence in 1373, with a magnanimity which almost redeems her original injustice, appointed a public professor to read lectures upon Dante; and it was hardly less honorable to the poet's memory that the first person selected for this office was Boccaccio. The universities of Pisa and Piacenza imitated this example; but it is probable that Dante's abstruse philosophy was often more regarded in their chairs than his higher excellences.[x] Italy indeed, and all Europe, had reason to be proud of such a master. Since Claudian, there had been seen for nine hundred years no considerable body of poetry, except the Spanish poem of the Cid, of which no one had heard beyond the peninsula, that could be said to pass mediocrity; and we must go much further back than Claudian to find anyone capable of being compared with Dante. His appearance made an epoch in the intellectual history of modern nations, and banished the discouraging suspicion which long ages of lethargy tended to excite, that nature had exhausted her fertility in the great poets of Greece and Rome. It was as if, at some of the ancient games, a stranger had appeared upon the plain, and thrown his quoit among the marks of former casts which tradition had ascribed to the demigods. But the admiration of Dante, though it gave a general impulse to the human mind, did not produce imitators. I am unaware at least of any writer, in whatever language, who can be said to have followed the steps of Dante: I mean not so much in his subject as in the character of his genius and style. His orbit is still all his own, and the track of his wheels can never be confounded with that of a rival.[y]

[w] Paradiso, cant. 16.

[x] Velli, Vita di Dante. Tiraboschi.

[y] The source from which Dante derived the scheme and general idea of his poem has been a subject of inquiry in Italy. To his original mind one might have thought the sixth Æneid would have sufficed. But besides several legendary visions of the 12th and 13th centuries, it seems probable that he derived

In the same year that Dante was expelled from Florence, a notary, by name Petracco, was involved in a similar banishment. Retired to Arezzo, he there became the father of Francis Petrarch. This great man shared of course, during his early years, in the adverse fortune of his family, which he was invincibly reluctant to restore, according to his father's wish, by the profession of jurisprudence. The strong bias of nature determined him to polite letters and poetry. These are seldom the fountains of wealth; yet they would perhaps have been such to Petrarch, if his temper could have borne the sacrifice of liberty for any worldly acquisitions. At the city of Avignon, where his parents had latterly resided, his gracely appearance and the reputation of his talents attracted one of the Colonna family, then Bishop of Lombes in Gascony. In him, and in other members of that great house, never so illustrious as in the fourteenth century, he experienced the union of patronage and friendship. This, however, was not confined to the Colonnas. Unlike Dante, no poet was ever so liberally and sincerely encouraged by the great; nor did any perhaps ever carry to that perilous intercourse a spirit more irritably independent, or more free from interested adulation. He praised his friends lavishly because he loved them ardently; but his temper was easily susceptible of offence, and there must have been much to tolerate in that restlessness and jealousy of reputation which is perhaps the inevitable failing of a poet.[z] But everything was forgiven to a man who was the acknowledged boast of his age and country. Clement VI. conferred one or two sinecure benefices upon Petrarch, and would probably have raised him to a bishopric if he had chosen to adopt the ecclesiastical profession. But he never took orders, the clerical tonsure being a sufficient qualification for holding canonries. The same pope

hints from the Tesoretto of his master in philosophical studies, Brunetto Latini. Ginguené, t. ii. p. 8.

z There is an unpleasing proof of this quality in a letter to Boccaccio on Dante, whose merit he rather disingenuously extenuates; and whose popularity evidently stung him to the quick. De Sade, t. iii. p. 512. Yet we judge so ill of ourselves, that Petrarch chose envy as the vice from which of all others he was most free. In his dialogue with St. Augustin, he says: Quicquid libuerit, dicito; modo me non accuses invidiæ. Aug. Utmam non tibi magis superbia quam invidia nocuisset: nam hoc crimine, me judice, liber es. De Contemptu Mundi, edit. 1581, p. 342.

I have read in some modern book, but know not where to seek the passage, that Petrarch did not intend to allude to Dante in the letter to Boccaccio mentioned above, but rather to Zanobi Strata, a contemporary Florentine poet, whom, however forgotten at present, the bad taste of a party in criticism preferred to himself. Matteo Villani mentions them together as the two great ornaments of his age. This conjecture seems probable, for some expressions are not in the least applicable to Dante. But whichever was intended, the letter equally shows the irritable humor of Petrarch.

even afforded him the post of apostolical secretary, and this was repeated by Innocent VI. I know not whether we should ascribe to magnanimity or to a politic motive the behavior of Clement VI. towards Petrarch, who had pursued a course as vexatious as possible to the Holy See. For not only he made the residence of the supreme pontiffs at Avignon, and the vices of their court, the topic of invectives, too well founded to be despised, but he had ostentatiously put himself forward as the supporter of Nicola di Rienzi in a project which could evidently have no other aim than to wrest the city of Rome from the temporal sovereignty of its bishop. Nor was the friendship and society of Petrarch less courted by the most respectable Italian princes; by Robert King of Naples, by the Visconti, the Correggi of Parma, the famous doge of Venice, Andrew Dandolo, and the Carrara family of Padua, under whose protection he spent the latter years of his life. Stories are related of the respect shown to him by men in humbler stations which are perhaps still more satisfactory.[a] But the most conspicuous testimony of public esteem was bestowed by the city of Rome, in his solemn coronation as laureate poet in the Capitol. This ceremony took place in 1341; and it is remarkable that Petrarch had at that time composed no works which could, in our estimation, give him pretensions to so singular an honor.

The moral character of Petrarch was formed of dispositions peculiarly calculated for a poet. An enthusiast in the emotions of love and friendship, of glory, of patriotism, of religion, he gave the rein to all their impulses; and there is not perhaps a page in his Italian writing which does not bear the trace of one or other of these affections. By far the most predominant, and that which has given the greatest celebrity to his name, is his passion for Laura. Twenty years of unrequited and almost unaspiring love were lightened by song; and the attachment, which, having long survived the beauty of its object,[b] seems to have at one time nearly passed from

[a] A goldsmith of Bergamo, by name Henry Capra, smitten with an enthusiastic love of letters, and of Petrarch, earnestly requested the honor of a visit from the poet. The house of this good tradesman was full of representations of his person, and of inscriptions with his name and arms. No expense had been spared in copying all his works as they appeared. He was received by Capra with a princely magnificence; lodged in a chamber hung with purple, and a splendid bed on which no one before or after him was permitted to sleep. Goldsmiths, as we may judge by this instance, were opulent persons; yet the friends of Petrarch dissuaded him from the visit, as derogatory to his own elevated station. De Sade, t. iii. p. 496.

[b] See the beautiful sonnet, Erano i ca-

the heart to the fancy, was changed to an intenser feeling, and to a sort of celestial adoration, by her death. Laura, before the time of Petrarch's first accidental meeting with her, was united in marriage with another; a fact which, besides some more particular evidence, appears to me deducible from the whole tenor of his poetry.[c] Such a passion is undoubtedly not capable of a moral defence; nor would I seek its palliation so much in the prevalent manners of his age, by which however the conduct of even good men is generally not a little influenced, as in the infirmity of Petrarch's character, which induced him both to obey and to justify the emotions of his heart. The lady too, whose virtue and prudence we are not to question, seems to have tempered the light and shadow of her countenance so as to preserve her admirer from despair, and consequently to prolong his sufferings and servitude.

The general excellences of Petrarch are his command over the music of his native language, his correctness of style, scarcely two or three words that he has used having been rejected by later writers, his exquisite elegance of diction, improved by the perpetual study of Virgil; but, far above all, that tone of pure and melancholy sentiment which has something in it unearthly, and forms a strong contrast to the amatory poems of antiquity. Most of these are either licentious or uninteresting; and those of Catullus, a man endowed by nature with deep and serious sensibility, and a poet, in my opinion, of greater and more varied genius than Petrarch, are contaminated above all the rest with the most degrading grossness. Of this there is not a single instance in the poet of Vaucluse; and his strains, diffused and admired as they have been, may have conferred a benefit that criticism cannot estimate, in giving elevation and refinement to the imaginations of youth. The great defect of Petrarch was his want of strong original conception, which prevented him from throwing off the affected and overstrained manner of the Provençal trouba-

pei d'oro all' aura sparsi. In a famous passage of his Confessions, he says: Corpus illud egregium morbis et crebris partubus exhaustum, multum pristini vigoris amisit. Those who maintain the virginity of Laura are forced to read perturbationibus, instead of partubus. Two manuscripts in the royal library at Paris have the contraction ptbus, which leaves the matter open to controversy. De Sade contends that "crebris" is less applicable to "perturbationibus" than to "partubus." I do not know that there is much in this; but I am clear that corpus exhaustum partubus is much the more elegant Latin expression of the two.

[c] [Note III.]

dours, and of the earlier Italian poets. Among his poems the Triumphs are perhaps superior to the Odes, as the latter are to the Sonnets; and of the latter, those written subsequently to the death of Laura are in general the best. But that constrained and laborious measure cannot equal the graceful flow of the canzone, or the vigorous compression of the terza rima. The Triumphs have also a claim to superiority, as the only poetical composition of Petrarch that extends to any considerable length. They are in some degree perhaps an imitation of the dramatic Mysteries, and form at least the earliest specimens of a kind of poetry not uncommon in later times, wherein real and allegorical personages are intermingled in a mask or scenic representation.[d]

None of the principal modern languages was so late in its formation, or in its application to the purposes of literature, as the English. This arose, as is well known, out of the Saxon branch of the Great Teutonic stock spoken in England till after the Conquest. From this mother dialect our English differs less in respect of etymology, than of syntax, idiom, and flection. In so gradual a transition as probably took place, and one so sparingly marked by any existing evidence, we cannot well assign a definite origin to our present language. The question of identity is almost as perplexing in languages as in individuals. But, in the reign of Henry II., a version of Wace's poem of Brut, by one Layamon, a priest of Ernly-upon-Severn, exhibits as it were the chrysalis of the English language, in a very corrupt modification of the Anglo-Saxon.[e] Very soon

[d] [I leave this as it stood. But my own taste has changed. I retract altogether the preference here given to the Triumphs above the Canzoni, and doubt whether the latter are superior to the Sonnets. This at least is not the opinion of Italian critics, who ought to be the most competent. 1848.]

[e] A sufficient extract from this work of Layamon has been published by Mr. Ellis, in his Specimens of Early English Poetry, vol. i. p. 61. This extract contains, he observes, no word which we are under the necessity of ascribing to a French origin.

[Layamon, as is now supposed, wrote in the reign of John. See Sir Frederick Madden's edition, and Mr. Wright's Biographia Literaria. The best reason seems to be that he speaks of Eleanor, Queen of Henry, as then dead, which took place in 1204. But it requires a vast knowledge of the language to find a date by the use or disuse of particular forms; the idiom of one part of England not being similar to that of another in grammatical flections. See Quarterly Review for April, 1848.

The entire work of Layamon contains a small number of words taken from the French; about fifty in the original text, and about forty more in that of a manuscript, perhaps half a century later, and very considerably altered in consequence of the progress of our language. Many of these words derived from the French express new ideas, as admiral, astronomy, baron, mantel, &c. "The language of Layamon," says Sir Frederick Madden, "belongs to that transition period in which the groundwork of Anglo-Saxon phraseology and grammar still existed, although gradually yielding to the influence of the popular forms of speech. We find in it, as in the later portion of the Saxon Chronicle, marked indications of a tendency to adopt those terminations and sounds which characterize a language in a state of change, and which are apparent also in some

afterwards the new formation was better developed; and some metrical pieces, referred by critics to the earlier part of the thirteenth century, differ but little from our legitimate grammar.[f] About the beginning of Edward I.'s reign, Robert, a monk of Gloucester, composed a metrical chronicle from the history of Geoffrey of Monmouth, which he continued to his own time. This work, with a similar chronicle of Robert Manning, a monk of Brunne (Bourne) in Lincolnshire, nearly thirty years later, stand at the head of our English poetry. The romance of Sir Tristrem, ascribed to Thomas of Erceldoune, surnamed the Rhymer, a Scottish minstrel, has recently laid claim to somewhat higher antiquity.[g] In the fourteenth century a great number of metrical romances were translated from the French. It requires no small portion of indulgence to speak favorably of any of these early English productions. A poetical line may no doubt occasionally be found; but in general the narration is as heavy and prolix as the versification is unmusical.[h] The first English writer who can be read with approbation is William Langland, the author of Piers Plowman's vision, a severe satire upon the clergy. Though his measure is more uncouth than that of his predecessors, there is real energy in his conceptions, which he caught not from the chimeras of knight-errantry, but the actual manners and opinions of his time.

The very slow progress of the English language as an instrument of literature is chiefly to be ascribed to the effects of the Norman conquest, in degrading the native inhabitants and transferring all power and riches to foreigners. The barons, without perhaps one exception, and a large proportion of the gentry, were of French descent, and preserved among themselves the speech of their fathers. This continued much longer

other branches of the Teutonic tongue. The use of *a* as an article—the change of the Anglo-Saxon terminations *a* and *an* into *e* and *en*, as well as the disregard of inflections and genders—the masculine forms given to neuter nouns in the plural—the neglect of the feminine terminations of adjectives and pronouns, and confusion between the definite and indefinite declensions—the introduction of the preposition *to* before infinitives, and occasional use of weak preterits of verbs and participles instead of strong—the constant recurrence of *er* for *or* in the plurals of verbs—together with the uncertainty of the rule for the government of prepositions—all these variations, more or less visible in the two texts of Layamon, combined with the vowel-changes, which are numerous though not altogether arbitrary, will show at once the progress made in two centuries, in departing from the ancient and purer grammatical forms, as found in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts." Preface, p. xxviii.]

[f] Warton's History of English Poetry, Ellis's Specimens.

[g] This conjecture of Scott has not been favorably received by later critics.

[h] Warton printed copious extracts from some of these. Ritson gave several of them entire to the press. And Mr. Ellis has adopted the only plan which could render them palatable, by intermingling short passages, where the original is rather above its usual mediocrity, with his own lively analysis.

than we should naturally have expected; even after the loss of Normandy had snapped the thread of French connections, and they began to pride themselves in the name of Englishmen, and in the inheritance of traditionary English privileges. Robert of Gloucester has a remarkable passage, which proves that in his time, somewhere about 1290, the superior ranks continued to use the French language.[i] Ralph Higden, about the early part of Edward III.'s reign, though his expressions do not go the same length, asserts that "gentlemen's children are taught to speak French from the time they are rocked in their cradle; and uplandish (country) or inferior men will liken themselves to gentlemen, and learn with great business for to speak French, for to be the more told of." Notwithstanding, however, this predominance of French among the higher class, I do not think that some modern critics are warranted in concluding that they were in general ignorant of the English tongue. Men living upon their estates among their tenantry, whom they welcomed in their halls, and whose assistance they were perpetually needing in war and civil frays, would hardly have permitted such a barrier to obstruct their intercourse. For we cannot, at the utmost, presume that French was so well known to the English commonalty in the thirteenth century as English is at present to the same class in Wales and the Scottish Highlands. It may be remarked also, that the institution of trial by jury must have rendered a knowledge of English almost indispensable to those who administered justice. There is a proclamation of Edward I. in Rymer, where he endeavors to excite his subjects against the King of France by imputing to him the intention of conquering the country and abolishing the English language (linguam delere Anglicanam), and this is frequently repeated in the proclamations of Edward III.[j] In his time, or perhaps a little before, the native language had become more familiar than French in common use, even with the court and nobility. Hence the numerous translations of metrical romances, which are chiefly referred to his reign. An important change was effected in 1362 by a statute, which enacts that all pleas in courts of justice shall be pleaded, debated, and judged in English. But Latin was by this act

[i] The evidences of this general employment and gradual disuse of French in conversation and writing are collected by Tyrwhitt, in a dissertation on the ancient English language, prefixed to the fourth volume of his edition of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales; and by Ritson, in the preface to his Metrical Romances, vol. i. p. 70.

[j] Rymer, t. v. p. 490; t. vi. p. 642, et alibi.

to be employed in drawing the record; for there seems to have still continued a sort of prejudice against the use of English as a written language. The earliest English instrument known to exist is said to bear the date of 1343.[k] And there are but few entries in our own tongue upon the rolls of parliament before the reign of Henry VI., after whose accession its use becomes very common.[l] Sir John Mandeville, about 1356, may pass for the father of English prose, no original work being so ancient as his Travels. But the translation of the Bible and other writings by Wicliffe, nearly thirty years afterwards, taught us the copiousness and energy of which our native dialect was capable; and it was employed in the fifteenth century by two writers of distinguished merit, Bishop Pecock and Sir John Fortescue.

But the principal ornament of our English literature was Geoffrey Chaucer, who, with Dante and Petrarch, fills up the triumvirate of great poets in the middle ages. Chaucer was born in 1328, and his life extended to the last year of the fourteenth century. That rude and ignorant generation was not likely to feel the admiration of native genius as warmly as the compatriots of Petrarch; but he enjoyed the favor of Edward III., and still more conspicuously of John Duke of Lancaster; his fortunes were far more prosperous than have usually been the lot of poets; and a reputation was established beyond competition in his lifetime, from which no succeeding generation has withheld its sanction. I cannot, in my own taste, go completely along with the eulogies that some have bestowed upon Chaucer, who seems to me to have wanted grandeur, where he is original, both in conception and in language. But in vivacity of imagination and ease of expression, he is above all poets of the middle time, and comparable perhaps to the greatest of those who have followed. He invented, or rather introduced from France, and employed with facility the regular iambic couplet; and though it was not to be expected that he should perceive the capacities latent in that measure, his versification, to which he accommodated a very licentious and arbitrary pronunciation, is uniform and harmonious.[m] It is

[k] Ritson, p. 80. There is one in Rymer of the year 1385.

[l] [Note IV.]

[m] See Tyrwhitt's essay on the language and versification of Chaucer, in the fourth volume of his edition of the Canterbury Tales. The opinion of this eminent critic has lately been controverted by Dr. Nott, who maintains the versification of Chaucer to have been wholly founded on accentual and not syllabic regularity. I adhere, however, to Tyrwhitt's doctrine.

chiefly, indeed, as a comic poet, and a minute observer of manners and circumstances, that Chaucer excels. In serious and moral poetry he is frequently languid and diffuse; but he springs like Antæus from the earth, when his subject changes to coarse satire, or merry narrative. Among his more elevated compositions, the Knight's Tale is abundantly sufficient to immortalize Chaucer, since it would be difficult to find anywhere a story better conducted, or told with more animation and strength of fancy. The second place may be given to his Troilus and Creseide, a beautiful and interesting poem, though enfeebled by expansion. But perhaps the most eminent, or at any rate the most characteristic testimony to his genius will be found in the prologue to his Canterbury Tales; a work entirely and exclusively his own, which can seldom be said of his poetry, and the vivid delineations of which perhaps very few writers but Shakspeare could have equalled. As the first original English poet, if we except Langland, as the inventor of our most approved measure, as an improver, though with too much innovation, of our language, and as a faithful witness to the manners of his age, Chaucer would deserve our reverence, if he had not also intrinsic claims for excellences, which do not depend upon any collateral considerations.

The last circumstance which I shall mention, as having contributed to restore society from the intellectual degradation into which it had fallen during the dark ages, is the revival of classical learning. The Latin language indeed, in which all legal instruments were drawn up, and of which all ecclesiastics availed themselves in their epistolary intercourse, as well as in their more solemn proceedings, had never ceased to be familiar. Though many solecisms and barbarous words occur in the writings of what were called learned men, they possessed a fluency of expression in Latin which does not often occur at present. During the dark ages, however, properly so called, or the period from the sixth to the eleventh century, we chiefly meet with quotations from the Vulgate or from theological writers. Nevertheless, quotations from the Latin poets are hardly to be called unusual. Virgil, Ovid, Statius, and Horace are brought forward by those who aspired to some literary reputation, especially during the better periods of that long twilight, the reigns of Charlemagne and his son in France, part of the tenth century in Germany, and the eleventh in both.

The prose writers of Rome are not so familiar, but in quotations we are apt to find the poets preferred; and it is certain that a few could be named who were not ignorant of Cicero, Sallust, and Livy. A considerable change took place in the course of the twelfth century. The polite literature, as well as the abstruser science of antiquity, became the subject of cultivation. Several writers of that age, in different parts of Europe, are distinguished more or less for elegance, though not absolute purity of Latin style; and for their acquaintance with those ancients, who are its principal models. Such were John of Salisbury, the acute and learned author of the Polycraticon, William of Malmesbury, Giraldus Cambrensis, Roger Hoveden, in England; and in foreign countries, Otho of Frisingen, Saxo Grammaticus, and the best perhaps of all I have named as to style, Falcandus, the historian of Sicily. In these we meet with frequent quotations from Livy, Cicero, Pliny, and other considerable writers of antiquity. The poets were now admired and even imitated. All metrical Latin before the latter part of the twelfth century, so far as I have seen, is of little value; but at this time, and early in the succeeding age, there appeared several versifiers who aspired to the renown of following the steps of Virgil and Statius in epic poetry. Joseph Iscanus, an Englishman, seems to have been the earliest of these; his poem on the Trojan war containing an address to Henry II. He wrote another, entitled Antiocheis, on the third crusade, most of which has perished. The wars of Frederic Barbarossa were celebrated by Gunther in his Ligurinus; and not long afterwards, Guillelmus Brito wrote the Philippis, in honor of Philip Augustus, and Walter de Chatillon the Alexandreis, taken from the popular romance of Alexander. None of these poems, I believe, have much intrinsic merit; but their existence is a proof of taste that could relish, though not of genius that could emulate antiquity.[n]

[n] Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, vol. i. Dissertation II. Roquefort, Etat de la Poésie Française du douzième Siècle, p. 18. The following lines from the beginning of the eighth book of the Philippis seem a fair, or rather a favorable specimen of these epics. But I am very superficially acquainted with any of them.

Solverat interea zephyris melioribus annum
Frigore depulso veris tepor, et renovari
Cœperat et viridi gremio juvenescere tellus;
Cum Rea læta Jovis rideret ad oscula mater,
Cum jam post tergum Phryxi vectore relicto
Solis Agenorei premeret rota terga juvenci.

The tragedy of Eccerinus (Eccelin da Romano), by Albertinus Mussatus, a Paduan, and author of a respectable history, deserves some attention, as the first attempt to revive the regular trag-

In the thirteenth century there seems to have been some decline of classical literature, in consequence probably of the scholastic philosophy, which was then in its greatest vigor; at least we do not find so many good writers as in the preceding age. But about the middle of the fourteenth, or perhaps a little sooner, an ardent zeal for the restoration of ancient learning began to display itself. The copying of books, for some ages slowly and sparingly performed in monasteries, had already become a branch of trade;[o] and their price was consequently reduced. Tiraboschi denies that the invention of making paper from linen rags is older than the middle of that century; and although doubts may be justly entertained as to the accuracy of this position, yet the confidence with which so eminent a scholar advances it is at least a proof that paper manuscripts of an earlier date are very rare.[p] Princes became far more attentive to literature when it was no longer confined to metaphysical theology and canon law. I have already mentioned the translations from classical authors, made by command of John and Charles V. of France.[q] These French trans-

edy It was written soon after 1300. The language by no means wants animation, notwithstanding an unskilful conduct of the fable. The Eccerinus is printed in the tenth volume of Muratori's collection.

o Booksellers appear in the latter part of the twelfth century. Peter of Blois mentions a law-book which he had procured a quodam publico mangone librorum. Hist. Littéraire de la France, t. ix. p. 84. In the thirteenth century there were many copyists by occupation in the Italian universities. Tiraboschi, t. iv. p. 72. The number of these at Milan before the end of that age is said to have been fifty. Ibid. But a very small proportion of their labor could have been devoted to purposes merely literary. By a variety of ordinances, the first of which bears date in 1275, the booksellers of Paris were subjected to the control of the university. Crevier, t. ii. pp. 67, 286. The pretext of this was, lest erroneous copies should obtain circulation. And this appears to have been the original of those restraints upon the freedom of publication, which since the invention of printing have so much retarded the diffusion of truth by means of that great instrument.

p Tiraboschi, t. v. p. 85. On the contrary side are Montfaucon, Mabillon, and Muratori; the latter of whom carries up the invention of our ordinary paper to the year 1000. But Tiraboschi contends that the paper used in manuscripts of so early an age was made from cotton rags, and, apparently from the inferior durability of that material, not frequently employed. The editors of Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique are of the same opinion, and doubt the use of linen paper before the year 1300. T. i. pp. 517, 521. Meerman, well known as a writer upon the antiquities of printing, offered a reward for the earliest manuscript upon linen paper, and, in a treatise upon the subject, fixed the date of its invention between 1270 and 1300. But M. Schwandner of Vienna is said to have found in the imperial library a small charter bearing the date of 1243 on such paper. Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, vol. i. p. 394. Tiraboschi, if he had known this, would probably have maintained the paper to be made of cotton, which he says it is difficult to distinguish. He assigns the invention of linen paper to Pace da Fabiano of Treviso. But more than one Arabian writer asserts the manufacture of linen paper to have been carried on at Samarcand early in the eighth century having been brought thither from China. And what is more conclusive, Casiri positively declares many manuscripts in the Escurial of the eleventh and twelfth centuries to be written on that substance. Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispanica, t. ii. p. 9. This authority appears much to outweigh the opinion of Tiraboschi in favor of Pace da Fabiano, who must perhaps take his place at the table of fabulous heroes with Bartholomew Schwartz and Flavio Gioja. But the material point, that paper was very little known in Europe till the latter part of the fourteenth century, remains as before. See Introduction to History of Literature, c. i. sec. 58.

q Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, vol. ii. p. 122.

lations diffused some acquaintance with ancient history and learning among our own countrymen. The public libraries assumed a more respectable appearance. Louis IX. had formed one at Paris, in which it does not appear that any work of elegant literature was found.[r] At the beginning of the fourteenth century, only four classical manuscripts existed in this collection; of Cicero, Ovid, Lucan, and Boethius.[s] The academical library of Oxford, in 1300, consisted of a few tracts kept in chests under St. Mary's church. That of Glastonbury Abbey, in 1240, contained four hundred volumes, among which were Livy, Sallust, Lucan, Virgil, Claudian, and other ancient writers.[t] But no other, probably, of that age was so numerous or so valuable. Richard of Bury, Chancellor of England, and Edward III., spared no expense in collecting a library, the first perhaps that any private man had formed. But the scarcity of valuable books was still so great, that he gave the Abbot of St. Albans fifty pounds weight of silver for between thirty and forty volumes.[u] Charles V. increased the royal library at Paris to nine hundred volumes, which the Duke of Bedford purchased and transported to London.[v] His brother Humphrey Duke of Gloucester presented the university of Oxford with six hundred books, which seem to have been of extraordinary value, one hundred and twenty of them having been estimated at one thousand pounds. This indeed was in 1440, at which time such a library would not have been thought remarkably numerous beyond the Alps,[w] but England had made comparatively little progress in learning. Germany, however, was probably still less advanced. Louis, Elector Palatine, be-

[r] Velly, t. v. p. 202; Crevier, t. ii. p. 36.

[s] Warton, vol. i.; Dissert. II.

[t] Ibid.

[u] Ibid. Fifty-eight books were transcribed in this abbey under one abbot, about the year 1300. Every considerable monastery had a room, called Scriptorium, where this work was performed. More than eighty were transcribed at St. Albans under Whethamstede, in the time of Henry VI. Ibid. See also Du Cange V. Scriptores. Nevertheless we must remember, first, that the far greater part of these books were mere monastic trash, or at least useless in our modern apprehension; secondly, that it depended upon the character of the abbot, whether the scriptorium should be occupied or not. Every head of a monastery was not a Whethamstede. Ignorance and jollity, such as we find in Bolton Abbey, were their more usual characteristics. By the account books of this rich monastery, about the beginning of the fourteenth century, three books only appear to have been purchased in forty years. One of those was the Liber Sententiarum of Peter Lombard, which cost thirty shillings, equivalent to near forty pounds at present. Whitaker's Hist. of Craven, p. 330.

[v] Ibid.; Villaret, t. xi. p. 117.

[w] Niccolo Niccoli, a private scholar, who contributed essentially to the restoration of ancient learning, bequeathed a library of eight hundred volumes to the republic of Florence. This Niccoli hardly published anything of his own; but earned a well-merited reputation by copying and correcting manuscripts. Tiraboschi, t. vi. p. 114; Shepherd's Poggio, p. 319. In the preceding century, Colluccio Salutato had procured as many as eight hundred volumes. Ibid. p. 23. Roscoe's Lorenzo de' Medici, p. 55.

queathed in 1421 his library to the university of Heidelberg, consisting of one hundred and fifty-two volumes. Eighty-nine of these related to theology, twelve to canon and civil law, forty-five to medicine, and six to philosophy.[x]

Those who first undertook to lay open the stores of ancient learning found incredible difficulties from the scarcity of manuscripts. So gross and supine was the ignorance of the monks, within whose walls these treasures were concealed, that it was impossible to ascertain, except by indefatigable researches, the extent of what had been saved out of the great shipwreck of antiquity. To this inquiry Petrarch devoted continual attention. He spared no means to preserve the remains of authors, who were perishing from neglect and time. This danger was by no means past in the fourteenth century. A treatise of Cicero upon Glory, which had been in his possession, was afterwards irretrievably lost.[y] He declares that he had seen in his youth the works of Varro; but all his endeavors to recover these and the second Decad of Livy were fruitless. He found, however, Quintilian, in 1350, of which there was no copy in Italy.[z] Boccaccio, and a man of less general fame, Colluccio Salutato, were distinguished in the same honorable task. The diligence of these scholars was not confined to searching for manuscripts. Transcribed by slovenly monks, or by ignorant persons who made copies for sale, they required the continual emendation of accurate critics.[a] Though much certainly was left for the more enlightened sagacity of later times, we owe the first intelligible text of the Latin classics of Petrarch, Poggio, and their contemporary laborers in this vineyard for a hundred years before the invention of printing.

What Petrarch began in the fourteenth century was carried on by a new generation with unabating industry. The whole lives of Italian scholars in the fifteenth century were devoted to the recovery of manuscripts and the revival of philology. For this they sacrificed their native language, which had made such surprising shoots in the preceding age, and were content to trace, in humble reverence, the footsteps of antiquity. For this too they lost the hope of permanent glory, which can never remain with imitators, or such as trim the lamp of ancient sep-

[x] Schmidt, Hist. des Allemands, t. v. p. 520.

[y] He had lent it to a needy man of letters, who pawned the book, which was never recovered. De Sade, t. i. p. 57.

[z] Tiraboschi, p. 89.

[a] Idem. t. v. p. 83; De Sade, t. i. p. 88.

ulchres. No writer perhaps of the fifteenth century, except Politian, can aspire at present even to the second class, in a just marshalling of literary reputation. But we owe them our respect and gratitude for their taste and diligence. The discovery of an unknown manuscript, says Tiraboschi, was regarded almost as the conquest of a kingdom. The classical writers, he adds, were chiefly either found in Italy, or at least by Italians; they were first amended and first printed in Italy, and in Italy they were first collected in public libraries.[b] This is subject to some exception, when fairly considered; several ancient authors were never lost, and therefore cannot be said to have been discovered; and we know that Italy did not always anticipate other countries in classical printing. But her superior merit is incontestable. Poggio Bracciolini, who stands perhaps at the head of the restorers of learning, in the earlier part of the fifteenth century, discovered in the monastery of St. Gall, among dirt and rubbish in a dungeon scarcely fit for condemned criminals, as he describes it, an entire copy of Quintilian, and part of Valerius Flaccus. This was in 1414; and soon afterwards, he rescued the poem of Silius Italicus, and twelve comedies of Plautus, in addition to eight that were previously known; besides Lucretius, Columella, Tertullian, Ammianus Marcellinus, and other writers of inferior note.[c] A bishop of Lodi brought to light the rhetorical treatises of Cicero. Not that we must suppose these books to have been universally unknown before; Quintilian, at least, is quoted by English writers much earlier. But so little intercourse prevailed among different countries, and the monks had so little acquaintance with the riches of their conventual libraries, that an author might pass for lost in Italy, who was familiar to a few learned men in other parts of Europe. To the name of Poggio we may add a number of others, distinguished in this memorable resurrection of ancient literature, and united, not always indeed by friendship, for their bitter animosities disgrace their profession, but by a sort of common sympathy in the cause of learning; Filelfo, Laurentius Valla, Niccolo Niccoli, Ambrogio Traversari, more commonly called Il Camaldolense, and Leonardo Aretino.

From the subversion of the Western Empire, or at least from

b Tiraboschi, p. 101.
c Ibid. t. vi. p. 104; and Shepherd's Life of Poggio, pp. 106, 110; Roscoe's Lorenzo de Medici, p. 38.

the time when Rome ceased to pay obedience to the exarchs of Ravenna, the Greek language and literature had been almost entirely forgotten within the pale of the Latin church. A very few exceptions might be found, especially in the earlier period of the middle ages, while the eastern emperors retained their dominion over part of Italy.[d] Thus Charlemagne is said to have established a school for Greek at Osnaburg.[e] John Scotus seems to have been well acquainted with the language. And Greek characters may occasionally, though very seldom, be found in the writings of learned men; such as Lanfranc or William of Malmesbury.[f] It is said that Roger Bacon understood Greek; and that his eminent contemporary, Robert Grosstete, Bishop of Lincoln, had a sufficient intimacy with it to translate a part of Suidas. Since Greek was spoken with considerable purity by the noble and well educated natives of Constantinople, we may wonder that, even as a living language, it was not better known by the western nations, and especially in so neighboring a nation as Italy. Yet here the ignorance was perhaps even more complete than in France or England. In some parts indeed of Calabria, which had been subject to the eastern empire till near the year 1100, the liturgy was still performed in Greek; and a considerable acquaintance

d Schmidt, Hist. des Allemands, t. ii. p. 374, Tiraboschi, t. iii. p. 124, et alibi. Bede extols Theodore Primate of Canterbury and Tobias Bishop of Rochester for their knowledge of Greek. Hist. Eccles. c. 9 and 24. But the former of these prelates, if not the latter, was a native of Greece.

e Hist. Littéraire de la France, t. iv. p. 12.

f Greek characters are found in a charter of 943, published in Martenne, Thesaurus Anecdot, t. i. p. 74. The title of a treatise περὶ θύσεων μερίσμου, and the word θεοτόκος, occur in William of Malmesbury, and one or two others in Lanfranc's Constitutions. It is said that a Greek psalter was written in an abbey at Tournay about 1105. Hist. Litt. de la France, t. ix. p. 102. This was, I should think, a very rare instance of a Greek manuscript, sacred or profane, copied in the western parts of Europe before the fifteenth century. But a Greek psalter written in Latin characters at Milan in the 9th century was sold some years ago in London. John of Salisbury is said by Crevier to have known a little Greek, and he several times uses technical words in that language. Yet he could not have been much more learned than his neighbors; since, having found the word οὐσία in St. Ambrose, he was forced to ask the meaning of one John Sarasin, an Englishman, because, says he, none of our masters here (at Paris) understand Greek. Paris, indeed, Crevier thinks, could not furnish any Greek scholar in that age except Abelard and Heloise, and probably neither of them knew much. Hist. de l'Univers. de Paris, t. i. p. 259.

The ecclesiastical language, it may be observed, was full of Greek words Latinized. But this process had taken place before the fifth century; and most of them will be found in the Latin dictionaries. A Greek word was now and then borrowed as more imposing than the correspondent Latin. Thus the English and other kings sometimes called themselves Basileus, instead of Rex.

It will not be supposed that I have professed to enumerate all the persons of whose acquaintance with the Greek tongue some evidence may be found; nor have I ever directed my attention to the subject with that view. Doubtless the list might be more than doubled. But, if ten times the number could be found, we should still be entitled to say, that the language was almost unknown, and that it could have had no influence on the condition of literature. [See Introduction to Hist. of Literature, chap. 2, sec. 7.]

with the language was of course preserved. But for the scholars of Italy, Boccaccio positively asserts, that no one understood so much as the Greek characters.[g] Nor is there probably a single line quoted from any poet in that language from the sixth to the fourteenth century.

The first to lead the way in restoring Grecian learning in Europe were the same men who had revived the kindred muses of Latium, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. Barlaam, a Calabrian by birth, during an embassy from the court of Constantinople in 1335, was persuaded to become the preceptor of the former, with whom he read the works of Plato.[h] Leontius Pilatus, a native of Thessalonica, was encouraged some years afterwards by Boccaccio to give public lectures upon Homer at Florence.[i] Whatever might be the share of general attention that he excited, he had the honor of instructing both these great Italians in his native language. Neither of them perhaps reached an advanced degree of proficiency; but they bathed their lips in the fountain, and enjoyed the pride of being the first who paid the homage of a new posterity to the father of poetry. For some time little fruit apparently resulted from their example; but Italy had imbibed the desire of acquisitions in a new sphere of knowledge, which, after some interval, she was abundantly able to realize. A few years before the termination of the fourteenth century, Emanuel Chrysoloras, whom the Emperor John Palæologus had previously sent into Italy, and even as far as England, upon one of those unavailing embassies, by which the Byzantine court strove to obtain sympathy and succor from Europe, returned to Florence as a public teacher of Grecian literature.[j] His school was afterwards removed successively to Pavia, Venice, and Rome; and during nearly twenty years that he taught in Italy, most of those eminent scholars whom I have already named, and who distinguish the first half of that century, derived from his instruction their knowledge of the Greek tongue. Some, not content with being the disciples of Chrysoloras, betook themselves to the source of that

[g] Nemo est qui Græcas literas nôrit; at ego in hoc Latinitati compatior, quæ sic omnino Græca abjecit studia, ut etiam non noscamus characteres literarum. Genealogiæ Deorum, apud Hodium de Græcis Illustribus, p. 3.

[h] Mém. de Pétrarque, t. i. p. 407.

[i] Ibid. t. i. p. 447; t. iii. p. 634. Hody de Græcis Illust. p. 2. Boccaccio speaks modestly of his own attainments in Greek: etsi non satis plenè perteperim, percepi tamen quantum potui; nec dubium, si permansisset homo ille vagus diutius penes nos, quin plenius percepissem. Id. p. 4.

[j] Hody places the commencement of Chrysoloras's teaching as early as 1391. p. 3. But Tiraboschi, whose research was more precise, fixes it at the end of 1396 or beginning of 1397, t. vii. p. 126.

literature at Constantinople; and returned to Italy, not only with a more accurate insight into the Greek idiom than they could have attained at home, but with copious treasures of manuscripts, few, if any, of which probably existed previously in Italy, where none had ability to read or value them; so that the principal authors of Grecian antiquity may be considered as brought to light by these inquirers, the most celebrated of whom are Guarino of Verona, Aurispa, and Filelfo. The second of these brought home to Venice in 1423 not less than two hundred and thirty-eight volumes.[k]

The fall of that eastern empire, which had so long outlived all other pretensions to respect that it scarcely retained that founded upon its antiquity, seems to have been providentially delayed till Italy was ripe to nourish the scattered seeds of literature that would have perished a few ages earlier in the common catastrophe. From the commencement of the fifteenth century even the national pride of Greece could not blind her to the signs of approaching ruin. It was no longer possible to inspire the European republic, distracted by wars and restrained by calculating policy, with the generous fanaticism of the crusades; and at the council of Florence, in 1439, the court and church of Constantinople had the mortification of sacrificing their long-cherished faith, without experiencing any sensible return of protection or security. The learned Greeks were perhaps the first to anticipate, and certainly not the last to avoid, their country's destruction. The council of Florence brought many of them into Italian connections, and held out at least a temporary accommodation of their conflicting opinions. Though the Roman pontiffs did nothing, and probably could have done nothing effectual, for the empire of Constantinople, they were very ready to protect and reward the learning of individuals. To Eugenius IV., to Nicholas V., to Pius II., and some other popes of this age, the Greek exiles were indebted for a patronage which they repaid by splendid services in the restoration of their native literature throughout Italy. Bessarion, a disputant on the Greek side in the council of Florence, was well content to renounce the doctrine of single procession for a cardinal's hat—a dignity which he deserved for his learning, if not for his pliancy. Theodore Gaza, George of Trebizond, and Gemistus Pletho, might equal Bessarion in

[k] Tiraboschi, t. vi. p. 102; Roscoe's Lorenzo de' Medici, vol. i. p. 43.

merit, though not in honors. They all, however, experienced the patronage of those admirable protectors of letters, Nicholas V., Cosmo de' Medici, or Alfonso King of Naples. These men emigrated before the final destruction of the Greek empire; Lascaris and Musurus, whose arrival in Italy was posterior to that event, may be deemed perhaps still more conspicuous; but as the study of the Greek language was already restored, it is unnecessary to pursue the subject any further.

The Greeks had preserved, through the course of the middle ages, their share of ancient learning with more fidelity and attention than was shown in the west of Europe. Genius, indeed, or any original excellence, could not well exist along with their cowardly despotism, and their contemptible theology, more corrupted by frivolous subtleties than that of the Latin church. The spirit of persecution, naturally allied to despotism and bigotry, had nearly, during one period, extinguished the lamp, or at least reduced the Greeks to a level with the most ignorant nations of the West. In the age of Justinian, who expelled the last Platonic philosophers, learning began rapidly to decline; in that of Heraclius, it had reached a much lower point of degradation; and for two centuries, especially while the worshippers of images were persecuted with unrelenting intolerance, there is almost a blank in the annals of Grecian literature.[l] But about the middle of the ninth century it revived pretty suddenly, and with considerable success.[m] Though, as I have observed, we find in very few instances any original talent, yet it was hardly less important to have had compilers of such erudition as Photius,

[l] The authors most conversant with Byzantine learning agree in this. Nevertheless, there is one manifest difference between the Greek writers of the worst period, such as the eighth century, and those who correspond to them in the West. Syncellus, for example, is of great use in chronology, because he was acquainted with many ancient histories now no more. But Bede possessed nothing which we have lost; and his compilations are consequently altogether unprofitable. The eighth century, the Sæculum Iconoclasticum of Cave, low as it was in all polite literature, produced one man, John Damascenus, who has been deemed the founder of scholastic theology, and who at least set the example of that style of reasoning in the East. This person, and Michael Psellus, a philosopher of the eleventh century, are the only considerable men, as original writers, in the annals of Byzantine literature.

[m] The honor of restoring ancient or heathen literature is due to the Cæsar Bardas, uncle and minister of Michael II. Cedrenus speaks of it in the following terms: ἐπεμελήθη δὲ καὶ τῆς ἔξω σοφίας. (ἦν γὰρ ἐκ πόλλου χρόνου παραρρυεῖσα, καὶ πρὸς τῇ μηδὲν ὅλως χωρήσασα τῇ τῶν κρατούντων ἀργίᾳ καὶ ἀμαθίᾳ) διατρίβας ἑκάστῃ τῶν ἐπιστήμων ἀφορίσας, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ὅπῃ περ ἔτυχε, τῆς δ' ἐπὶ πασῶν ἐπόχου φιλοσοφίας κατ' αὐτὰ τὰ βασίλεια ἐν τῇ Μαγναύρᾳ καὶ οὕτω ἐξ ἐκείνου ἀνηβάσκειν αἱ ἐπιστῆμαι ἤρξαντο. κ.τ.λ. Hist. Byzant. Script. (Lutet.) t. x. p. 547. Bardas found out and promoted Photius, afterwards patriarch of Constantinople, and equally famous in the annals of the church and of learning. Gibbon passes perhaps too rapidly over the Byzantine literature, chap. 53. In this as in many other places, the masterly boldness and precision of his outline, which astonish those who have trodden parts of the same field, are apt to escape an uninformed reader.

Suidas, Eustathius, and Tzetzes. With these certainly the Latins of the middle ages could not place any names in comparison. They possessed, to an extent which we cannot precisely appreciate, many of those poets, historians, and orators of ancient Greece whose loss we have long regretted and must continue to deem irretrievable. Great havoc, however, was made in the libraries of Constantinople at its capture by the Latins—an epoch from which a rapid decline is to be traced in the literature of the eastern empire. Solecisms and barbarous terms, which sometimes occur in the old Byzantine writers, are said to deform the style of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[n] The Turkish ravages and destruction of monasteries ensued; and in the cheerless intervals of immediate terror there was no longer any encouragement to preserve the monuments of an expiring language, and of a name that was to lose its place among nations.[o]

[n] Du Cange, Præfatio ad Glossar. Græcitatis Medii Evi. Anna Comnena quotes some popular lines, which seem to be the earliest specimen extant of the Romaic dialect, or something approaching it, as they observe no grammatical inflection, and bear about the same resemblance to ancient Greek that the worst law-charters of the ninth and tenth centuries do to pure Latin. In fact, the Greek language seems to have declined much in the same manner as the Latin did, and almost at as early a period. In the sixth century, Damascius, a Platonic philosopher, mentions the old language as distinct from that which was vernacular, τὴν ἀρχαίαν γλῶτταν ἀνὴρ τὴν ἰδιώτην μελετοῦσι. Du Cange, ibid. p. 11. It is well known that the popular, or political verses of Tzetzes, a writer of the twelfth century, are accentual; that is, are to be read, as the modern Greeks do, by treating every acute or circumflex syllable as long, without regard to its original quantity. This innovation, which must have produced still greater confusion of metrical rules than it did in Latin, is much older than the age of Tzetzes; if, at least, the editor of some notes subjoined to Meursius's edition of the Themata of Constantine Porphyrogenitus (Lugduni, 1617) is right in ascribing certain political verses to that emperor, who died in 959. These verses are regular accentual trochaics. But I believe they have since been given to Constantine Manasses, a writer of the eleventh century.

According to the opinion of a modern traveller (Hobhouse's Travels in Albania, letter 33) the chief corruptions which distinguished the Romaic from its parent stock, especially the auxiliary verbs, are not older than the capture of Constantinople by Mahomet II. But it seems difficult to obtain any satisfactory proof of this; and the auxiliary verb is so natural and convenient, that the ancient Greeks may probably, in some of their local idioms, have fallen into the use of it; as Mr. H. admits they did with respect to the future auxiliary θέλω. See some instances of this in Lesbonax, περὶ σχημάτων, ad finem Ammonii, curâ Valckenaër.

[o] Photius (I write on the authority of M. Heeren) quotes Theopompus, Arrian's History of Alexander's Successors, and of Parthia, Ctesias, Agatharcides, the whole of Diodorus Siculus, Polybius, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, twenty lost orations of Demosthenes, almost two hundred of Lycias, sixty-four of Isæus, about fifty of Hyperides. Heeren ascribes the loss of these works altogether to the Latin capture of Constantinople, no writer subsequent to that time having quoted them. Essai sur les Croisades, p. 413. It is difficult, however, not to suppose that some part of the destruction was left for the Ottomans to perform. Æneas Sylvius bemoans, in his speech before the diet of Frankfort, the vast losses of literature by the recent subversion of the Greek empire. Quid de libris dicam, qui illic erant innumerabiles, nondum Latinis cogniti! . . . . . Nunc ergo, et Homero et Pindaro et Menandro et omnibus illustriorbus poetis, secunda mors erit. But nothing can be inferred from this declamation, except, perhaps, that he did not know whether Menander still existed or not. Æn. Sylv. Opera, p. 715; also p. 881. Harris's Philological Inquiries, part iii. c. 4. It is a remarkable proof, however, of the turn which Europe, and especially Italy, was taking, that a pope's legate should, on a solemn occasion, descant so seriously on the injury sustained by profane literature.

An useful summary of the lower

That ardor for the restoration of classical literature which animated Italy in the first part of the fifteenth century, was by no means common to the rest of Europe. Neither England, nor France, nor Germany, seemed aware of the approaching change. We are told that learning, by which I believe is only meant the scholastic ontology, had begun to decline at Oxford from the time of Edward III.[p] And the fifteenth century, from whatever cause, is particularly barren of writers in the Latin language. The study of Greek was only introduced by Grocyn and Linacer under Henry VII., and met with violent opposition in the university of Oxford, where the unlearned party styled themselves Trojans, as a pretext for abusing and insulting the scholars.[q] Nor did any classical work proceed from the respectable press of Caxton. France, at the beginning of the fifteenth age, had several eminent theologians; but the reigns of Charles VII. and Louis XI. contributed far more to her political than her literary renown. A Greek professor was first appointed at Paris in 1458, before which time the language had not been publicly taught, and was little understood.[r] Much less had Germany thrown off her ancient rudeness. Æneas Sylvius, indeed, a deliberate flatterer, extols every circumstance in the social state of that country; but Campano, the papal legate at Ratisbon in 1471, exclaims against the barbarism of a nation, where very few possessed any learning, none any elegance.[s] Yet the progress of intellectual cultivation, at least in the two former countries, was uniform, though silent; libraries became more numerous, and books, after the happy invention of paper, though still very scarce, might be copied at less expense. Many colleges were founded in the English as well as foreign universities during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Nor can I pass over institutions that have so eminently contributed

Greek literature, taken chiefly from the Bibliotheca Græca of Fabricius, will be found in Berington's Literary History of the Middle Ages, Appendix I.; and one rather more copious in Schoëll, Abrégé de la Littérature Grècque. (Paris, 1812.)

[p] Wood's Antiquities of Oxford, vol. i. p. 537.

[q] Roper's Vita Mori, ed. Hearne, p. 75.

[r] Crevier, t. iv. p. 243; see, too, p. 46.

[s] Incredibilis ingeniorum barbaries est; rarissimi literas nôrunt, nulli elegantiam. Papiensis Epistolæ, p. 377. Campano's notion of elegance was ridiculous enough. Nobody ever carried further the pedantic affectation of avoiding modern terms in his Latinity. Thus, in the life of Braccio da Montone he renders his meaning almost unintelligible by excess of classical purity. Braccio boasts se numquam deorum immortalium templa violàsse. Troops committing outrages in a city are accused virgines vestales incestàsse. In the terms of treaties he employs the old Roman forms; exercitum trajicito—oppida pontificis sunto, &c. And with a most absurd pedantry, the ecclesiastical state is called Romanum imperium. Campani Vita Braccii, in Muratori Script. Rer. Ital. t. xix.

to the literary reputation of this country, and that still continue to exercise so conspicuous an influence over her taste and knowledge, as the two great schools of grammatical learning, Winchester and Eton—the one founded by William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, in 1373; the other in 1432, by King Henry the Sixth.†

But while the learned of Italy were eagerly exploring their recent acquisitions of manuscripts, deciphered with difficulty and slowly circulated from hand to hand, a few obscure Germans had gradually perfected the most important discovery recorded in the annals of mankind. The invention of printing, so far from being the result of philosophical sagacity, does not appear to have been suggested by any regard to the higher branches of literature, or to bear any other relation than that of coincidence to their revival in Italy. The question why it was struck out at that particular time must be referred to that disposition of unknown causes which we call accident. Two or three centuries earlier, we cannot but acknowledge the discovery would have been almost equally acceptable. But the invention of paper seems to have naturally preceded those of engraving and printing. It is generally agreed that playing cards, which have been traced far back in the fourteenth century, gave the first notion of taking off impressions from engraved figures upon wood. The second stage, or rather second application of this art, was the representation of saints and other religious devices, several instances of which are still extant. Some of these are accompanied with an entire page of illustrative text, cut into the same wooden block. This process is indeed far removed from the invention that has given immortality to the names of Fust, Schœffer, and Gutenburg, yet it probably led to the consideration of means whereby it might be rendered less operose and inconvenient. Whether movable wooden characters were ever employed in any entire work is very questionable—the opinion that referred their use to Laurence Coster, of Haarlem, not having stood the test of more accurate investigation. They appear, however, in the capital letters of some early printed books. But no expedient of this

† A letter from Master William Paston at Eton (Paston Letters, vol. i. p. 299) proves that Latin versification was taught there as early as the beginning of Edward IV.'s reign. It is true that the specimen he rather proudly exhibits does not much differ from what we denominate nonsense verses. But a more material observation is, that the sons of country gentlemen living at a considerable distance were already sent to public schools for grammatical education.

kind could have fulfilled the great purposes of this invention, until it was perfected by founding metal types in a matrix or mould, the essential characteristic of printing, as distinguished from other arts that bear some analogy to it.

The first book that issued from the presses of Fust and his associates at Mentz was an edition of the Vulgate, commonly called the Mazarin Bible, a copy having been discovered in the library that owes its name to Cardinal Mazarin at Paris. This is supposed to have been printed between the years 1450 and 1455.[u] In 1457 an edition of the Psalter appeared, and in this the invention was announced to the world in a boasting colophon, though certainly not unreasonably bold.[v] Another edition of the Psalter, one of an ecclesiastical book, Durand's account of liturgical offices, one of the Constitutions of Pope Clement V., and one of a popular treatise on general science, called the Catholicon, filled up the interval till 1462, when the second Mentz Bible proceeded from the same printers.[w] This, in the opinion of some, is the earliest book in which cast types were employed—those of the Mazarin Bible having been cut with the hand. But this is a controverted point. In 1465 Fust and Schœffer published an edition of Cicero's Offices, the first tribute of the new art to polite literature. Two pupils of their school, Sweynheim and Pannartz, migrated the same year into Italy, and printed Donatus's grammar and the works of Lactantius at the monastery of Subiaco, in the neighborhood of Rome.[x] Venice had the honor of extending her patronage to John of Spira, the first who applied the art on an extensive scale to the publication of classical writers.[y] Several Latin authors came forth from his press in 1470; and during the next ten years a multitude of editions were published in various parts of Italy. Though, as we may judge from their present scarcity, these editions were by no means numerous in respect of impressions, yet, contrasted with the dilatory process of copying manuscripts, they were like a new mechanical power in machinery, and gave a wonderfully accelerated impulse to the intellectual cultivation of mankind. From the era of these first

[u] De Bure, t. i. p. 30. Several copies of this book have come to light since its discovery.

[v] Id., p. 71.

[w] Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, t. xiv. p. 265. Another edition of the Bible is supposed to have been printed by Pfister at Bamberg in 1459.

[x] Tiraboschi, t. vi. p. 140.

[y] Sanuto mentions an order of the senate in 1469, that John of Spira should print the epistles of Tully and Pliny for five years, and that no one else should do so. Script. Rerum Italic. t. xxii. p. 1189.

editions proceeding from the Spiras, Zarot, Janson, or Sweynheim and Pannartz, literature must be deemed to have altogether revived in Italy. The sun was now fully above the horizon, though countries less fortunately circumstanced did not immediately catch his beams; and the restoration of ancient learning in France and England cannot be considered as by any means effectual even at the expiration of the fifteenth century. At this point, however, I close the present chapter. The last twenty years of the middle ages, according to the date which I have fixed for their termination in treating of political history, might well invite me by their brilliancy to dwell upon that golden morning of Italian literature. But, in the history of letters, they rather appertain to the modern than the middle period; nor would it become me to trespass upon the exhausted patience of my readers by repeating what has been so often and so recently told, the story of art and learning, that has employed the comprehensive research of a Tiraboschi, a Ginguené, and a Roscoe.

The Notes for Book IX. will be found in this volume, beginning on page 224.

NOTES TO BOOK VIII.

PART III.

NOTE XVI.

It is rather a curious, speculative question, and such only, we may presume, it will long continue, whether bishops are entitled, on charges of treason or felony, to a trial by the peers. If this question be considered either theoretically or according to ancient authority, I think the affirmative proposition is beyond dispute. Bishops were at all times members of the great national council, and fully equal to lay lords in temporal power as well as dignity. Since the Conquest they have held their temporalities of the crown by a baronial tenure, which, if there be any consistency in law, must unequivocally distinguish them from commoners—since any one holding by barony might be challenged on a jury, as not being the peer of the party whom he was to try. It is true that they take no share in the judicial power of the house of lords in cases of treason or felony; but this is merely in conformity to those ecclesiastical canons which prohibited the clergy from partaking in capital judgment, and they have always withdrawn from the house on such occasions under a protestation of their right to remain. Had it not been for this particularity, arising wholly out of their own discipline, the question of their peerage could never have come into dispute. As for the common argument that they are not tried as peers because they have no inheritable nobility, I consider it as very frivolous, since it takes for granted the precise matter in controversy, that an inheritable nobility is necessary to the definition of peerage, or to its incidental privileges.

If we come to constitutional precedents, by which, when sufficiently numerous and unexceptionable, all questions of this kind are ultimately to be determined, the weight of ancient authority seems to be in favor of the prelates. In the fifteenth year of Edward III. (1340), the king brought several charges against Archbishop Stratford. He came to parliament with a declared intention of defending himself before his peers. The king insisted upon his answering in the court of exchequer. Stratford however persevered, and the house of lords, by the king's consent, appointed twelve of their number, bishops, earls, and barons, to report whether peers ought to answer criminal charges in parliament, and not elsewhere. This committee reported to the king in full parliament that the peers of the land ought nor to be arraigned, nor put on trial, except in parliament and by their peers. The archbishop upon this prayed the king, that, inasmuch as he had been notoriously defamed, he might be arraigned in full parliament before the peers, and there make answer; which request the king granted. (Rot. Parl. vol. ii. p. 127. Collier's Eccles. Hist. vol. i. p. 543.) The proceedings against Stratford went no further; but I think it impossible

not to admit that his right to trial as a peer was fully recognized both by the king and lords.

This is, however, the latest, and perhaps the only instance of a prelate's obtaining so high a privilege. In the preceding reign of Edward II., if we can rely on the account of Walsingham (p. 119), Adam Orleton, the factious Bishop of Hereford, had first been arraigned before the house of lords, and subsequently convicted by a common jury; but the transaction was of a singular nature, and the king might probably be influenced by the difficulty of obtaining a conviction from the temporal peers, of whom many were disaffected to him, in a case where privilege of clergy was vehemently claimed. But about 1357 a bishop of Ely, being accused of harboring one guilty of murder, though he demanded a trial by the peers, was compelled to abide the verdict of a jury. (Collier, p. 557.) In the 31st of Edw. III. (1358) the abbot of Missenden was hanged for coining. (2 Inst. p. 635.) The abbot of this monastery appears from Dugdale to have been summoned by writ in the 49th of Henry III. If he actually held by barony, I do not perceive any strong distinction between his case and that of a bishop. The leading precedent, however, and that upon which lawyers principally found their denial of this privilege to the bishops, is the case of Fisher, who was certainly tried before an ordinary jury; nor am I aware that any remonstrance was made by himself, or complaint by his friends, upon this ground. Cranmer was treated in the same manner; and from these two, being the most recent precedents, though neither of them in the best of times, the great plurality of law-books have drawn a conclusion that bishops are not entitled to trial by the temporal peers. Nor can there be much doubt that, whenever the occasion shall occur, this will be the decision of the house of lords.

There are two peculiarities, as it may naturally appear, in the abovementioned resolution of the lords in Stratford's case. The first is, that they claim to be tried, not only before their peers, but in parliament. And in the case of the Bishop of Ely it is said to have been objected to his claim of trial by his peers, that parliament was not then sitting. (Collier, ubi sup.) It is most probable, therefore, that the court of the lord high steward, for the special purpose of trying a peer, was of more recent institution—as appears also from Sir E. Coke's expressions. (4 Inst. p. 58.) The second circumstance that may strike a reader is, that the lords assert their privilege in all criminal cases, not distinguishing misdemeanors from treasons and felonies. But in this they were undoubtedly warranted by the clear language of Magna Charta, which makes no distinction of the kind. The practice of trying a peer for misdemeanors by a jury of commoners, concerning the origin of which I can say nothing, is one of those anomalies which too often render our laws capricious and unreasonable in the eyes of impartial men.

Since writing the above note I have read Stillingfleet's treatise on the judicial power of the bishops in capital cases—a right which, though now, I think, abrogated by non-claim and a course of contrary precedents, he proves beyond dispute to have existed by the common law and constitutions of Clarendon, to have been occasionally exercised, and to have been only suspended by their voluntary act. In the course of this argument he treats of the peerage of the bishops, and produces abundant evidence from the records of parliament that they were styled peers, for which, though convinced from general recollection, I had not leisure or disposition to search. But if any doubt should remain, the statute 25 E. III. c. 6, contains a legislative declaration of the peerage of bishops. The whole subject is discussed with much perspicuity and force by Stillingfleet, who seems however not to press very greatly the right of trial by peers, aware no doubt of the weight of op-

posite precedents (Stillingfleet's Works, vol. iii. p. 820.) In one distinction, that the bishops vote in their judicial functions as barons, but in legislation as magnates, which Warburton has brought forward as his own in the Alliance of Church and State, Stillingfleet has perhaps not taken the strongest ground, nor sufficiently accounted for their right of sitting in judgment on the impeachment of a commoner. Parliamentary impeachment, upon charges of high public crimes, seems to be the exercise of a right inherent in the great council of the nation, some traces of which appear even before the Conquest. (Chron. Sax. pp. 164, 169), independent of and superseding that of trial by peers, which, if the 29th section of Magna Charta be strictly construed, is only required upon indictments at the king's suit. And this consideration is of great weight in the question, still unsettled, whether a commoner can be tried by the lords upon an impeachment for treason.

The treatise of Stillingfleet was written on occasion of the objection raised by the commons to the bishops voting on the question of Lord Danby's pardon, which he pleaded in bar of his impeachment. Burnet seems to suppose that their right to final judgment had never been defended, and confounds judgment with sentence. Mr. Hargrave, strange to say, has made a much greater blunder, and imagined that the question related to their right of voting on a bill of attainder, which no one, I believe, ever disputed. (Notes on Co. Litt. 134 b.)

Note XVII.

The constitution of parliament in this period, antecedent to the Great Charter, has been minutely and scrupulously investigated by the Lords' Committee on the Dignity of a Peer in 1819. Two questions may be raised as to the lay portion of the great council of the nation from the Conquest to the reign of John:—first, Did it comprise any members, whether from the counties or boroughs, not holding themselves, nor deputed by others holding in chief of the crown by knight-service or grand serjeanty? secondly, Were all such tenants *in capite* personally, or in contemplation of law, assisting, by advice and suffrage, in councils held for the purpose of laying on burdens, or for permanent and important legislation?

The former of these questions they readily determine. The committee have discovered no proof, nor any likelihood from analogy, that the great council, in these Norman reigns, was composed of any who did not hold in chief of the crown by a military tenure, or one in grand serjeanty; and they exclude, not only tenants in petty serjeanty and socage, but such as held of an escheated barony, or, as it was called, *de honore*.

They found more difficulty in the second question. It has generally been concluded, and I may have taken it for granted in my text, that all military tenants *in capite* were summoned, or ought to have been summoned, to any great council of the realm, whether for the purpose of levying a new tax, or any other affecting the public weal. The committee, however, laudably cautious in drawing any positive inference, have moved step by step through this obscure path with a circumspection as honorable to themselves as it renders their ultimate judgment worthy of respect.

"The council of the kingdom, however composed (they are adverting to the reign of Henry I.), must have been assembled by the king's command; and the king, therefore, may have assumed the power of selecting the persons to whom he addressed the command, especially if the object of assembling such a council was not to impose any burden on any of the subjects of the realm exempted from such burdens except

by their own free grants. Whether the king was at this time considered as bound by any constitutional law to address such command to any particular persons, designated by law as essential parts of such an assembly for all purposes, the committee have been unable to ascertain. It has generally been considered as the law of the land that the king had a right to require the advice of any of his subjects, and their personal services, for the general benefit of the kingdom; but as, by the terms of the charters of Henry and of his father, no aid could be required of the immediate tenants of the crown by military service, beyond the obligation of their respective tenures, if the crown had occasion for any extraordinary aid from those tenants, it must have been necessary, according to law, to assemble all persons so holding, to give their consent to the imposition. Though the numbers of such tenants of the crown were not originally very great, as far as appears from Domesday, yet, if it was necessary to convene all to form a constitutional legislative assembly, the distances of their respective residences, and the inconvenience of assembling at one time, in one spot, all those who thus held of the crown, and upon whom the maintenance of the Conquest itself must for a considerable time have importantly depended, must have produced difficulties, even in the reign of the Conqueror; and the increase of their numbers by subdivisions of tenures must have greatly increased the difficulty in the reign of his son Henry: and at length, in the reigns of his successors, it must have been almost impossible to have convened such an assembly, except by general summons of the greater part of the persons who were to form it; and unless those who obeyed the summons could bind those who did not, the powers of the assembly when convened must have been very defective." (P. 40.)

Though I do not perceive why we should assume any great subdivision of tenures before the statute of *Quia Emptores*, in 18 Edw. I., which prohibited subinfeudation, it is obvious that the committee have pointed out the inconvenience of a scheme which gave all tenants *in capite* (more numerous in Domesday than they perhaps were aware) a right to assist at great councils. Still, as it is manifest from the early charters, and explicitly admitted by the committee, that the king could raise no extraordinary contribution from his immediate vassals by his own authority, and as there was no feudal subordination between one of these and another, however differing in wealth, it is clear that they were legally entitled to a voice, be it through general or special summons, in the imposition of taxes which they were to pay. It will not follow that they were summoned, or had an acknowledged right to be summoned, on the few other occasions when legislative measures were in contemplation, or in the determinations taken by the king's great council. This can only be inferred by presumptive proof or constitutional analogy.

The eleventh article of the Constitutions of Clarendon in 1164 declares that archbishops, bishops, and all persons of the realm who hold of the king *in capite*, possess their lands as a barony, and are bound to attend in the judgments of the king's court like other barons. It is plain, from the general tenor of these constitutions, that "universæ personæ regni" must be restrained to ecclesiastics; and the only words which can be important in the present discussion are "sicut barones cæteri." "It seems," says the committee, "to follow that all those termed the king's barons were tenants in chief of the king; but it does not follow that all tenants in chief of the king were the king's barons, and as such bound to attend his court. They might not be bound to attend unless they held their lands of the king in chief 'sicut baroniam,' as expressed in this article with respect to the archbishops and other clergy." (P. 44.) They conclude, however, that "upon the whole the

Constitutions of Clarendon, if the existing copies be correct, afford strong ground for presuming that owing suit to the king's great court rendered the tenant one of the king's barons or members of that court, though probably in general none attended who were not specially summoned. It has been already observed that this would not include all the king's tenants in chief, and particularly those who did not hold of him as of his crown, or even to all who did hold of him as of his crown, but not by knight-service or grand serjeanty, which were alone deemed military and honorable tenures; though, whether all who held of the king as of his crown, by knight-service or grand serjeanty, did originally owe suit to the king's court, or whether that obligation was confined to persons holding by a particular tenure, called *tenure per baroniam*, as has been asserted, the Constitutions of Clarendon do not assist to ascertain." (P. 45.) But this, as they point out, involves the question whether the *Curia Regis*, mentioned in these constitutions, was not only a judicial but a legislative assembly, or one competent to levy a tax on military tenants, since by the terms of the charter of Henry I., confirmed by that of Henry II., all such tenants were clearly exempted from taxation, except by their own consents.

They touched slightly on the reign of Richard I. with the remark that "the result of all which they have found with respect to the constitution of the legislative assemblies of the realm still leaves the subject in great obscurity." (P. 49.) But it is remarkable that they have never alluded to the presence of tenants in chief, knights as well as barons, at the parliament of Northampton under Henry II. They come, however, rather suddenly to the conclusion that "the records of the reign of John seem to give strong ground for supposing that all the king's tenants in chief by military tenure, if not all the tenants in chief,[a] were at one time deemed necessary members of the common councils of the realm, when summoned for extraordinary purposes, and especially for the purpose of obtaining a grant of any extraordinary aid to the king; and this opinion accords with what has generally been deemed originally the law in France, or other countries where what is called the feudal system of tenures has been established." (P. 54.) It cannot surely admit of a doubt, and has been already affirmed more than once by the committee, that for an extraordinary grant of money the consent of military tenants in chief was required long before the reign of John. Nor was that a reign, till the enactment of the Great Charter, when any fresh extension of political liberty was likely to have become established. But the difficulty may still remain with respect to "extraordinary purposes" of another description.

They observe afterwards that "they have found no document before the Great Charter of John in which the term 'majores barones' has been used, though in some subsequent documents words of apparently similar import have been used. From the instrument itself it might be presumed that the term 'majores barones' was then a term in some degree understood; and that the distinction had, therefore, an earlier origin, though the committee have not found the term in any earlier instrument." (P. 67.) But though the Dialogue on the Exchequer, generally referred to the reign of Henry II., is not an instrument, it is a law-book of sufficient reputation, and in this we read—"Quidam de rege tenent in capite quæ ad coronam pertinent; baronias scilicet majores seu minores." (Lib. ii. cap. 10.) It would be trifling to dispute that the tenant of a *baronia major* might be called a *baro major*. And

a This hypothetical clause is somewhat remarkable. Grand serjeanty is of course included by parity under military service. But did any hold of the king in socage, except upon his demesne lands. There might be some by petty serjeanty. Yet the committee, as we have just seen, absolutely exclude these from any share in the great councils of the Conqueror and his immediate descendants.

what could the *secundæ dignitatis barones* at Northampton have been but tenants *in capite* holding fiefs by some line or other distinguishable from a superior class?[b]

It appears, therefore, on the whole, that in the judgment of the committee, by no means indulgent in their requisition of evidence, or disposed to take the more popular side, all the military tenants *in capite* were constitutionally members of the *commune concilium* of the realm during the Norman constitution. This *commune concilium* the committee distinguish from a *magnum concilium*, though it seems doubtful whether there were any very definite line between the two. But that the consent of these tenants was required for taxation they repeatedly acknowledge. And there appears sufficient evidence that they were occasionally present for other important purposes. It is, however, very probable that writs of summons were actually addressed only to those of distinguished name, to those resident near the place of meeting, or to the servants and favorites of the crown. This seems to be deducible from the words in the Great Charter, which limit the king's engagement to summon all tenants in chief, through the sheriff, to the case of his requiring an aid or scutage, and still more from the withdrawing of this promise in the first year of Henry III. The privilege of attending on such occasions, though legally general, may never have been generally exercised.

The committee seem to have been perplexed about the word *magnates* employed in several records to express part of those present in great councils. In general they interpret it, as well as the word *proceres*, to include persons not distinguished by the name "*barones*"; a word which in the reign of Henry III. seems to have been chiefly used in the restricted sense it has latterly acquired. Yet in one instance, a letter addressed to the justiciar of Ireland, 1 Hen. III., they suppose the word *magnates* to "exclude those termed therein 'alii quamplurimi'; and consequently to be confined to prelates, earls, and barons. This may be deemed important in the consideration of many other instruments in which the word *magnates* has been used to express persons constituting the 'commune concilium regni.'" But this strikes me as an erroneous construction of the letter. The words are as follows:—"Convenerunt apud Glocestriam plures regni nostri magnates, episcopi, abbates, comites, et barones, qui patri nostro viventi semper astiterunt fideliter et devotè, et alii quamplurimi; applaudentibus clero et populo, &c., publicè fuimus in regem Angliæ inuncti et coronati." (P. 77.) I think that *magnates* is a collective word, including the "alii quamplurimi." It appears to me that *magnates*, and perhaps some other Latin words, correspond to the witan of the Anglo-Saxons, expressing the legislature in general, under which were comprised those who held peculiar dignities, whether lay or spiritual. And upon the whole we may be led to believe that the Norman great council was essentially of the same composition as the witenagemot which had preceded it; the king's thanes being replaced by the barons of the first or second degree, who, whatever may have been the distinction between them, shared one common character, one source of their legislative rights—the derivation of their lands as immediate fiefs from the crown.

b Mr. Spence has ingeniously conjectured, observing that in some passages of Domesday (he quotes two, but I only find one) the barons who held more than six manors paid their relief directly to the king, while those who had six or less paid theirs to the sheriff (Yorkshire, 298, b), that "this may tend to solve the disputed question as to what constituted one of the greater barons mentioned in the Magna Charta of John and other early Norman documents; for, by analogy to the mode in which the relief was paid, the greater barons were summoned by particular writs, the rest by one general summons through the sheriff." History of Equitable Jurisdiction, p. 40.

The result of the whole inquiry into the constitution of parliament down to the reign of John seems to be—1. That the Norman kings explicitly renounced all prerogative of levying money on the immediate military tenants of the crown, without their consent given in a great council of the realm; this immunity extending also to their subtenants and dependants. 2. That all these tenants in chief had a constitutional right to attend, and ought to be summoned; but whether they could attend without a summons is not manifest. 3. That the summons was usually directed to the higher barons, and to such of a second class as the king pleased, many being omitted for different reasons, though all had a right to it. 4. That on occasions when money was not to be demanded, but alterations made in the law, some of these second barons, or tenants in chief, were at least occasionally summoned, but whether by strict right or usage does not fully appear. 5. That the irregularity of passing many of them over when councils were held for the purpose of levying money, led to the provision in the Great Charter of John by which the king promises that they shall all be summoned through the sheriff on such occasions; but the promise does not extend to any other subject of parliamentary deliberation. 6. That even this concession, though but the recognition of a known right, appeared so dangerous to some in the government that it was withdrawn in the first charter of Henry III.

The charter of John, as has just been observed, while it removes all doubt, if any could have been entertained, as to the right of every military tenant *in capite* to be summoned through the sheriff, when an aid or scutage was to be demanded, will not of itself establish their right of attending parliament on other occasions. We cannot absolutely assume any to have been, in a general sense, members of the legislature except the prelates and the *majores barones*. But who were these, and how distinguished? For distinguished they must now have become, and that by no new provision, since none is made. The right of personal summons did not constitute them, for it is on *majores barones*, as already a determinate rank, that the right is conferred. The extent of property afforded no definite criterion; at least some baronies, which appear to have been of the first class, comprehended very few knights' fees; yet it seems probable that this was the original ground of distinction.[c]

The charter, as renewed in the first year of Henry III., does not only omit the clause prohibiting the imposition of aids and scutages without consent, and providing for the summons of all tenants *in capite* before either could be levied, but gives the following reason for suspending this and other articles of King John's charter:—"Quia vero quædam capitula in priori cartâ continebantur, quæ gravia et dubitabilia videbantur, *sicut de scutagiis et auxiliis assidendis* . . . . placuit supra-dictis prælatis et magnatibus ea esse in respectu, quousque plenius consilium habuerimus, et tunc faciemus plurissimè, tam de his quam de aliis quæ occurrerint emendanda, quæ ad communem omnium utilitatem pertinuerint, et pacem et statum nostrum et regni nostri." This charter was made but twenty-four days after the death of John; and we may agree with the committee (p. 77) in thinking it extraordinary that these deviations from the charter of Runnymede, in such important particulars, have been so little noticed. It is worthy of consideration in what respects the provisions respecting the levying of money could have appeared grave and doubtful. We cannot believe that the Earl of Pembroke, and the other barons who were with

c See quotation from Spence's Equitable Jurisdiction, a little above. The barony of Berkeley was granted in 1 Ric. I., to be holden by the service of five knights, which was afterwards reduced to three. Nicolas's Report of Claim to Barony of L'Isle, Appendix, p. 318.

the young king, himself a child of nine years old and incapable of taking a part, meant to abandon the constitutional privilege of not being taxed in aids without their consent. But this they might deem sufficiently provided for by the charters of former kings and by general usage. It is not, however, impossible that the government demurred to the prohibition of levying scutage, which stood on a different footing from extraordinary aids; for scutage appears to have been formerly taken without consent of the tenants; and in the second charter of Henry III. there is a clause that it should be taken as it had been in the time of Henry II. This was a certain payment for every knight's fee; but if the original provision of the Runnymede charter had been maintained, none could have been levied without consent of parliament.

It seems also highly probable that, before the principle of representation had been established, the greater barons looked with jealousy on the equality of suffrage claimed by the inferior tenants *in capite*. That these were constitutionally members of the great council, at least in respect of taxation, has been sufficiently shown; but they had hitherto come in small numbers, likely to act always in subordination to the more potent aristocracy. It became another question whether they should all be summoned, in their own counties, by a writ selecting no one through favor, and in its terms compelling all to obey. And this question was less for the crown, which might possibly find its advantage in the disunion of its tenants, than for the barons themselves. They would naturally be jealous of a second order, whom in their haughtiness they held much beneath them, yet by whom they might be outnumbered in those councils where they had bearded the king. No effectual or permanent compromise could be made but by representation, and the hour for representation was not come.

Note XVIII.

The Lords' committee, though not very confidently, take the view of Brady and Blackstone, confining the electors of knights to tenants *in capite*. They admit that "the subsequent usage, and the subsequent statutes founded on that usage, afford ground for supposing that in the 49th of Henry III. and in the reign of Edward I. the knights of the shires returned to parliament were elected at the county courts and by the suitors of those courts. If the knights of the shires were so elected in the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I., it seems important to discover, if possible, who were the suitors of the county courts in these reigns" (p. 149). The subject, they are compelled to confess, after a discussion of some length, remains involved in great obscurity, which their industry has been unable to disperse. They had, however, in the earlier part of their report (p. 30), thought it highly probable that the knights of the shires in the reign of Edward III. represented a description of persons who might in the reign of the Conqueror have been termed barons. And the general spirit of their subsequent investigation seems to favor this result, though they finally somewhat recede from it, and admit at least that, before the close of Edward III.'s reign, the elective franchise extended to freeholders.

The question, as the committee have stated it, will turn on the character of those who were suitors to the county court. And, if this may be granted, I must own that to my apprehension there is no room for the hypothesis that the county court was differently constituted in the reign of Edward I. or of Edward III. from what it was very lately, and what it was long before those princes sat on the throne. In the

Anglo-Saxon period we find this court composed of thanes, but not exclusively of royal thanes, who were comparatively few. In the laws of Henry I. we still find sufficient evidence that the suitors of the court were all who held freehold lands, *terrarum domini;* or, even if we please to limit this to lords of manors, which is not at all probable, still without distinction of a mesne or immediate tenure. Vavassors, that is, mesne tenants, are particularly mentioned in one enumeration of barons attending the court. In some counties a limitation to tenants *in capite* would have left this important tribunal very deficient in numbers. And as in all our law-books we find the county court composed of freeholders, we may reasonably demand evidence of two changes in its constitution, which the adherents to the theory of restrained representation must combine—one which excluded all freeholders except those who held immediately of the crown; another which restored them. The notion that the county court was the king's court baron (Report, p. 150), and thus bore an analogy to that of the lord in every manor, whether it rests on any modern legal authority or not, seems delusive. The court baron was essentially a feudal institution; the county court was from a different source; it was old Teutonic, and subsisted in this and other countries before the feudal jurisdictions had taken root. It is a serious error to conceive that, because many great alterations were introduced by the Normans, there was nothing left of the old system of society.[a]

It may, however, be naturally inquired why, if the king's tenants in chief were exclusively members of the national council before the era of county representation, they did not retain that privilege; especially if we conceive, as seems on the whole probable, that the knights chosen in 38 Henry III. were actually representatives of the military tenants of the crown. The answer might be that these knights do not appear to have been elected in the county court; and when that mode of choosing knights of the shire was adopted, it was but consonant to the increasing spirit of liberty, and to the weight also of the barons, whose tenants crowded the court, that no freeholder should be debarred of his equal suffrage. But this became the more important, and we might almost add necessary, when the feudal aids were replaced by subsidies on movables; so that, unless the mesne freeholders could vote at county elections, they would have been taxed without their consent and placed in a worse condition than ordinary burgesses. This of itself seems almost a decisive argument to prove that they must have joined in the election of knights of the shire after the *Confirmatio Chartarum.* If we were to go down so late as Richard II., and some pretend that the mesne freeholders did not vote before the reign of Henry IV., we find Chaucer's franklin, a vavassor, capable even of sitting in parliament for his shire. For I do not think Chaucer ignorant of the proper meaning of that word. And Allen says (Edinb. Rev. xxviii. 145)—"In the earliest records of the house of commons we have found many instances of sub-vassals who have represented their counties in parliament."

If, however, it should be suggested that the practice of admitting the votes of mesne tenants at county elections may have crept in by

a A charter of Henry I., published in the new edition of Rymer (i. p. 12), fully confirms what is here said. Sciatis quod concedo et præcipio, ut à modo comitatus mei et hundreda in illis locis et iisdem terminis sedeant, sicut sederunt in tempore regis Edwardi, et non aliter. Ego enim, quando voluero, faciam ea satis summoneri propter mea dominica necessaria ad voluntatem meam. Et si modo exurgat placitum de divisione terrarum, si est inter barones meos dominicos, tractetur placitum in curea mea. Et si est inter vavassores duorum dominorum, tractetur in comitatu. Et hoc duello fiat, nisi in eis remanserit. Et volo et præcipio, ut omnes de comitatu eant ad comitatus et hundreda, sicut fecerunt in tempore regis Edwardi. But it is also easily proved from the Leges Henrici Primi.

degrees, partly by the constitutional principle of common consent, partly on account of the broad demarcation of tenants *in capite* by knight-service from barons, which the separation of the houses of parliament produced, thus tending, by diminishing the importance of the former, to bring them down to the level of other freeholders; partly, also, through the operation of the statute *Quia Emptores* (18 Edward I.), which, by putting an end to subinfeudation, created a new tenant of the crown upon every alienation of land, however partial, by one who was such already, and thus both multiplied their numbers and lowered their dignity; this supposition, though incompatible with the argument built on the nature of the county court, would be sufficient to explain the facts, provided we do not date the establishment of the new usage too low. The Lords' committee themselves, after much wavering, come to the conclusion that "at length, if not always, two persons were elected by all the freeholders of the county, whether holding in chief of the crown or of others" (p. 331). This they infer from the petitions of the commons that the mesne tenants should be charged with the wages of knights of the shire; since it would not be reasonable to levy such wages from those who had no voice in the election. They ultimately incline to the hypothesis that the change came in silently, favored by the growing tendency to enlarge the basis of the constitution, and by the operation of the statute *Quia Emptores*, which may not have been of inconsiderable influence. It appears by a petition in 51 Edward III. that much confusion had arisen with respect to tenures; and it was frequently disputed whether lands were held of the king or of other lords. This question would often turn on the date of alienation; and, in the hurry of an election, the bias being always in favor of an extended suffrage, it is to be supposed that the sheriff would not reject a claim to vote which he had not leisure to investigate.

Note XIX.

It now appears more probable to me than it did that some of the greater towns, but almost unquestionably London, did enjoy the right of electing magistrates with a certain jurisdiction before the Conquest. The notion which I found prevailing among the writers of the last century, that the municipal privileges of towns on the continent were merely derived from charters of the twelfth century, though I was aware of some degree of limitation which it required, swayed me too much in estimating the condition of our own burgesses. And I must fairly admit that I have laid too much stress on the silence of Domesday Book; which, as has been justly pointed out, does not relate to matters of internal government, unless when they involve some rights of property.

I do not conceive, nevertheless, that the municipal government of Anglo-Saxon boroughs was analogous to that generally established in our corporations from the reign of Henry II. and his successors. The real presumption has been acutely indicated by Sir F. Palgrave, arising from the universal institution of the court-leet, which gave to an alderman, or otherwise denominated officer, chosen by the suitors, a jurisdiction, in conjunction with themselves as a jury, over the greater part of civil disputes and criminal accusations, as well as general police, that might arise within the hundred. Wherever the town or borough was too large to be included within a hundred, this would imply a distinct jurisdiction, which may of course be called municipal. It would be similar to that which, till lately, existed in some towns—an elective high bailiff or principal magistrate, without a representative body of

aldermen and councillors. But this is more distinctly proved with respect to London, which, as is well known, does not appear in Domesday, than as to any other town. It was divided into wards, answering to hundreds in the county; each having its own wardmote, or leet, under its elected alderman. "The city of London, as well within the walls, as its liberties without the walls, has been divided from time immemorial into wards, bearing nearly the same relation to the city that the hundred anciently did to the shire. Each ward is for certain purposes, a distinct jurisdiction. The organization of the existing municipal constitution of the city is, and always has been, as far as can be traced, entirely founded upon the ward system." (Introduction to the French Chronicle of London.—Camden Society, 1844.)

Sir F. Palgrave extends this much further:—"There were certain districts locally included within the hundreds, which nevertheless constituted independent bodies politic. The burgesses, the tenants, the resiants of the king's burghs and manors in ancient demesne, owed neither suit nor service to the hundred leet. They attended at their own leet, which differed in no essential respect from the leet of the hundred. The principle of frank-pledge required that each friborg should appear by its head as its representative; and consequently, the jurymen of the leet of the burgh or manor are usually described under the style of the twelve chief pledges. The legislative and remedial assembly of the burgh or manor was constituted by the meeting of the heads of its component parts. The portreeve, constable, headborough, bailiff, or other the chief executive magistrate, was elected or presented by the leet jury. Offences against the law were repressed by their summary presentments. They who were answerable to the community for the breach of the peace punished the crime. Responsibility and authority were conjoined. In their legislative capacity they bound their fellow-townsmen by making by-laws. (Edinb. Rev. xxxvi. 309.) "Domesday Book," he says afterwards, "does not notice the hundred court, or the county-court; because it was unnecessary to inform the king or his justiciaries of the existence of the tribunals which were in constant action throughout all the land. It was equally unnecessary to make a return of the leets which they knew to be inherent in every burgh. Where any special municipal jurisdiction existed, as in Chester, Stamford, and Lincoln, then it became necessary that the franchise should be recorded. The twelve lagemen in the two latter burghs were probably hereditary aldermen. In London and in Canterbury aldermen occasionally held their sokes by inheritance.[a] The negative evidence extorted out of Domesday has, therefore, little weight." (P. 313.)

It seems, however, not unquestionable whether this representation of an Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman municipality is not urged rather beyond the truth. The portreeve of London, their principal magistrate, appears to have been appointed by the crown. It was not till 1188 that Henry Fitzalwyn, ancestor of the present Lord Beaumont,[b] became the first mayor of London. But he also was nominated by the crown, and remained twenty-four years in office. In the same year the first sheriffs are said to have been made (*facti*). But John, immediately after his accession in 1199, granted the citizens leave to choose their own sheriffs. And his charter of 1215 permits them to elect annually their mayor. (Maitland's Hist. of London, pp. 74, 76.) We read, however, under the year 1200, in the ancient chronicle lately

a See the ensuing part of this note.

b This pedigree is elaborately and with pious care, traced by Mr. Stapleton, in his excellent introduction to the old chronicle of London, already quoted. The name Alwyn appears rather Saxon than Norman, so that we may presume the first mayor to have been of English descent; but whether he were a merchant, or a landholder living in the city, must be undecided.

published, that twenty-five of the most discreet men of the city were chosen and sworn to advise for the city, together with the mayor. These were evidently different from the aldermen, and are the original common council of the city. They were perhaps meant in a later entry (1229):—"Omnes aldermanni et magnates civitatis per assensum universorum civium," who are said to have agreed never to permit a sheriff to remain in office during two consecutive years.

The city and liberties of London were not wholly under the jurisdiction of the several wardmotes and their aldermen. Landholders, secular and ecclesiastical, possessed their exclusive sokes, or jurisdictions, in parts of both. One of these has left its name to the ward of Portsoken. The prior of the Holy Trinity, in right of this district, ranked as an alderman, and held a regular wardmote. The wards of Farringdon are denominated from a family of that name, who held a part of them by hereditary right as their territorial franchise. These sokes gave way so gradually before the power of the citizens, with whom, as may be supposed, a perpetual conflict was maintained, that there were nearly thirty of them in the early part of the reign of Henry III., and upwards of twenty in that of Edward I. With the exception of Portsoken, they were not commensurate with the city wards, and we find the juries of the wards, in the third of Edward I., presenting the sokes as liberties enjoyed by private persons or ecclesiastical corporations, to the detriment of the crown. But, though the lord of these sokes trenched materially on the exclusive privileges of the city, it is remarkable that, no condition but inhabitancy being required in the thirteenth century for civic franchises, both they and their tenants were citizens, having individually a voice in municipal affairs, though exempt from municipal jurisdiction. I have taken most of this paragraph from a valuable though short notice of the state of London in the thirteenth century, published in the fourth volume of the Archæological Journal (p. 273).

The inference which suggests itself from these facts is that London, for more than two centuries after the Conquest, was not so exclusively a city of traders, a democratic municipality, as we have been wont to conceive. And as this evidently extends back to the Anglo-Saxon period, it both lessens the improbability that the citizens bore at times a part in political affairs, and exhibits them in a new light, as lords and tenants of lords, as well as what of course they were in part, engaged in foreign and domestic commerce. It will strike every one, in running over the list of mayors and sheriffs in the thirteenth century, that a large proportion of the names are French; indicating, perhaps, that the territorial proprietors whose sokes were intermingled with the city had influence enough, through birth and wealth, to obtain an election. The general polity, Saxon and Norman, was aristocratic; whatever infusion there might be of a more popular scheme of government, and much certainly there was, could not resist, even if resistance had been always the people's desire, the joint predominance of rank, riches, military habits, and common alliance, which the great baronage of the realm enjoyed. London, nevertheless, from its populousness, and the usual character of cities, was the centre of a democratic power, which, bursting at times into precipitate and needless tumult easily repressed by force, kept on its silent course till, near the end of the thirteenth century, the rights of the citizens and burgesses in the legislature were constitutionally established. [1848.]

Note XX.

If Fitz-Stephen rightly informs us that in London there were 126 parish churches, besides 13 conventual ones, we may naturally think the population much underrated at 40,000. But the fashion of building churches in cities was so general, that we cannot apply a standard from modern times. Norwich contained sixty parishes.

Even under Henry II., as we find by Fitz-Stephen, the prelates and nobles had town houses. "Ad hæc omnes fere episcopi, abbates, et magnates Angliæ, quasi cives et municipes sunt urbis Lundoniæ; sua ibi habentes ædificia præclara; ubi se recipiunt, ubi divites impensas faciunt, ad concilia, ad conventus celebres in urbem evocati, a domino rege vel metropolitano suo, seu propriis tracti negotiis." The eulogy of London by this writer is very curious; its citizens were thus early distinguished by their good eating, to which they added amusements less congenial to later liverymen, hawking, cock-fighting, and much more. The word cockney is not improbably derived from *cocayne*, the name of an imaginary land of ease and jollity.

The city of London within the walls was not wholly built, many gardens and open spaces remaining. And the houses were never more than a single story above the ground-floor, according to the uniform type of English dwellings in the twelfth and following centuries. On the other hand, the liberties contained many inhabitants; the streets were narrower than since the fire of 1666; and the vast spaces now occupied by warehouses might have been covered by dwelling-houses. Forty thousand, on the whole, seems rather a low estimate for these two centuries; but it is impossible to go beyond the vaguest conjecture.

The population of Paris in the middle ages has been estimated with as much diversity as that of London. M. Dulaure, on the basis of the *taille* in 1313, reckons the inhabitants at 49,110.[a] But he seems to have made unwarrantable assumptions where his data were deficient. M. Guérard, on the other hand (Documens Inédits, 1841), after long calculations, brings the population of the city in 1292 to 215,861. This is certainly very much more than we could assign to London, or probably any European city; and, in fact, his estimate goes on two arbitrary postulates. The extent of Paris in that age, which is tolerably known, must be decisive against so high a population.[b]

The Winton Domesday, in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries of London, furnishes some important information as to that city, which, as well as London, does not appear in the great Domesday Book. This record is of the reign of Henry I. Winchester had been, as is well known, the capital of the Anglo-Saxon kings. It has been observed that "the opulence of the inhabitants may possibly be gathered from the frequent recurrence of the trade of goldsmith in it, and the populousness of the town from the enumeration of the streets." (Cooper's Public Records, i. 226.) Of these we find sixteen. "In the petition from the city of Winchester to King Henry VI. in 1450, no less than nine of these streets are mentioned as having been ruined." As York appears to have contained about 10,000 inhabitants under the Confessor, we may probably compute the population of Winchester at nearly twice that number.

a Hist. de Paris, vol. iii. p. 231.

b John of Troyes says, in 1467, that from sixty to eighty thousand men appeared in arms. Dulaure (Hist. de Paris, vol. iii. p. 505) says this gives 120,000 for the whole population; but it gives double, which is incredible. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the houses were still cottages; only four streets were paved; they were very narrow and dirty, and often inundated by the Seine. Ib. p. 198.

Note XXI.

The Lords' Committee extenuate the presumption that either knights or burgesses sat in any of these parliaments. The "cunctarum regni civitatum pariter et burgorum potentiores," mentioned by Wikes in 1269 or 1270, they suppose to have been invited in order to witness the ceremony of translating the body of Edward the Confessor to his tomb newly prepared in Westminster Abbey (p. 161). It is evident, indeed, that this assembly acted afterwards as a parliament in levying money. But the burgesses are not mentioned in this. It cannot, nevertheless, be presumed from the silence of the historian, who had previously informed us of their presence at Westminster, that they took no part. It may be, perhaps, more doubtful whether they were chosen by their constituents or merely summoned as "potentiores."

The words of the statute of Marlbridge (51 Hen. III.), which are repeated in French by that of Gloucester (6 Edw. I.), do not satisfy the committee that there was any representation either of counties or boroughs. "They rather import a selection by the king of the most discreet men of every degree" (p. 183). And the statutes of 13 Edw. I., referring to this of Gloucester, assert it to have been made by the king, "with prelates, earls, barons, and his council," thus seeming to exclude what would afterwards have been called the lower house. The assembly of 1271, described in the Annals of Waverley, "seems to have been an extraordinary convention, warranted rather by the particular circumstances under which the country was placed than by any constitutional law" (p. 173). It was, however, a case of representation; and following several of the like nature, at least as far as counties were concerned, would render the principle familiar. The committee are even unwilling to admit that "la communauté de la terre illocques summons" in the statute of Westminster I., though expressly distinguished from the prelates, earls, and barons, appeared in consequence of election (p. 173). But, if not elected, we cannot suppose less than that all the tenants in chief, or a large number of them, were summoned; which, after the experience of representation, was hardly a probable course.

The Lords' Committee, I must still incline to think, have gone too far when they come to the conclusion that, on the whole view of the evidence collected on the subject, from the 49th of Hen. III. to the 18th of Edw. I., there seems strong ground for presuming that, after the 49th of Hen. III., the constitution of the legislative assembly returned generally to its old course; that the writs issued in the 49th of Hen. III., being a novelty, were not afterwards precisely followed, as far as appears, in any instance; and that the writs issued in the 11th of Edw. I., "for assembling two conventions, at York and Northampton, of knights, citizens, burgesses, and representatives of towns, without prelates, earls, and barons, were an extraordinary measure, probably adopted for the occasion, and never afterwards followed; and that the writs issued in the 18th of Edw. I., for electing two or three knights for each shire without corresponding writs for election of citizens or burgesses, and not directly founded on or conformable to the writs issued in the 49th of Henry III., were probably adopted for a particular purpose, possibly to sanction one important law [the statute *Quia Emptores*], and because the smaller tenants in chief of the crown rarely attended the ordinary legislative assemblies when summoned, or attended in such small numbers that a representation of them by knights chosen for the whole shire was deemed advisable, to give sanction to a law materially affecting all the tenants in chief, and those holding under them" (p. 204).

The election of two or three knights for the parliament of 18th Edw. I., which I have overlooked in my text, appears by an entry on the close roll of that year, directed to the sheriff of Northumberland; and it is proved from the same roll that similar writs were directed to all the sheriffs in England. We do not find that the citizens and burgesses were present in this parliament; and it is reasonably conjectured that, the object of summoning it being to procure a legislative consent to the statute *Quia Emptores*, which put an end to the subinfeudation of lands, the towns were thought to have little interest in the measure. It is, however, another early precedent for county representation; and that of 22d of Edw. I. (see the writ in Report of Committee, p. 209) is more regular. We do not find that the citizens and burgesses were summoned to either parliament.

But, after the 23d of Edward I., the legislative constitution seems not to have been unquestionably settled, even in the essential point of taxation. The Confirmation of the Charters, in the 25th year of that reign, while it contained a positive declaration that no "aids, tasks, or prizes should be levied in future, without assent of the realm," was made in consideration of a grant made by an assembly in which representatives of cities and boroughs do not appear to have been present. Yet, though the words of the charter or statute are prospective, it seems to have long before been reckoned a clear right of the subject, at least by himself, not to be taxed without his consent. A tallage on royal towns and demesnes, nevertheless, was set without authority of parliament four years afterwards. This "seems to show, either that the king's right to tax his demesnes at his pleasure was not intended to be included in the word tallage in that statute [meaning the supposed statute *de tallagio non concedendo*], or that the king acted in contravention of it. But if the king's cities and boroughs were still liable to tallage at the will of the crown, it may not have been deemed inconsistent that they should be required to send representatives for the purpose of granting a general aid to be assessed on the same cities and boroughs, together with the rest of the kingdom, when such general aid was granted, and yet should be liable to be tallaged at the will of the crown when no such general aid was granted" (p. 244).

If in these later years of Edward's reign the king could venture on so strong a measure as the imposition of a tallage without consent of those on whom it was levied, it is less surprising that no representatives of the commons appear to have been summoned to one parliament, or perhaps two, in his twenty-seventh year, when some statutes were enacted. But, as this is merely inferred from the want of any extant writ, which is also the case in some parliaments where, from other sources, we can trace the commons to have been present, little stress should be laid upon it.

In the remarks which I have offered in these notes on the Report of the Lords' Committee, I have generally abstained from repeating any which Mr. Allen brought forward. But the reader should have recourse to his learned criticism in the Edinburgh Review. It will appear that the committee overlooked not a few important records, both in the reign of Edward I. and that of his son.

Note XXII.

Two considerable authorities have, since the first publication of this work, placed themselves, one very confidently, one much less so, on the side of our older lawyers and in favor of the antiquity of borough representation. Mr. Allen, who, in his review of my volumes (Edinb. Rev. xxx. 169), observes, as to this point,—"We are inclined, in the

main, to agree with Mr. Hallam," lets us know, two or three years afterwards, that the scale was tending the other way, when, in his review of the Report of the Lords' Committee, who give a decided opinion that cities and boroughs were on no occasion called upon to assist at legislative meetings before the forty-ninth of Henry III., and are much disposed to believe that none were originally summoned to parliament, except cities and boroughs of ancient demesne, or in the hands of the king at the time when they received the summons, he says,—"We are inclined to doubt the first of these propositions, and convinced that the latter is entirely erroneous." (Edinb. Rev. xxxv. 30.) He allows, however, that our kings had no motive to summon their cities and boroughs to the legislature, for the purpose of obtaining money, "this being procured through the justices in eyre, or special commissioners; and therefore, if summoned at all, it is probable that the citizens and burgesses were assembled on particular occasions only, when their assistance or authority was wanted to confirm or establish the measures in contemplation by the government." But as he alleges no proof that this was ever done, and merely descants on the importance of London and other cities both before and after the Conquest, and as such an occasional summons to a great council, for the purpose of advice, would by no means involve the necessity of legislative consent, we can hardly reckon this very acute writer among the positive advocates of a high antiquity for the commons in parliament.

Sir Francis Palgrave has taken much higher ground, and his theory, in part at least, would have been hailed with applause by the parliaments of Charles I. According to this, we are not to look to feudal principles for our great councils of advice and consent. They were the aggregate of representatives from the courts-leet of each shire and each borough, and elected by the juries to present the grievances of the people and to suggest their remedies. The assembly summoned by William the Conqueror appears to him not only, as it did to Lord Hale, "a sufficient parliament," but a regular one; "proposing the law and giving the initiation to the bill which required the king's consent." (Ed. Rev. xxxvi. 327.) "We cannot," he proceeds, "discover any essential difference between the powers of these juries and the share of the legislative authority which was enjoyed by the commons at a period when the constitution assumed a more tangible shape and form." This is supported with that copiousness and variety of illustration which distinguish his theories, even when there hangs over them something not quite satisfactory to a rigorous inquirer, and when their absolute originality on a subject so beaten is of itself reasonably suspicious. Thus we come in a few pages to the conclusion —"Certainly there is no theory so improbable, so irreconcilable to general history or to the peculiar spirit of our constitution, as the opinions which are held by those who deny the substantial antiquity of the house of commons. No paradox is so startling as the assumption that the knights and burgesses who stole into the great council between the close of the reign of John and the beginning of the reign of Edward should convert themselves at once into the third estate of the realm, and stand before the king and his peers in possession of powers and privileges which the original branches of the legislature could neither dispute nor withstand" (p. 332). "It must not be forgotten that the researches of all previous writers have been directed wholly in furtherance of the opinions which have been held respecting the feudal origin of parliament. No one has considered it as a common-law court."

I do not know that it is necessary to believe in a properly feudal origin of parliament, or that this hypothesis is generally received. The

great council of the Norman kings was, as in common with Sir F. Palgrave and many others I believe, little else than a continuation of the witenagemot, the immemorial organ of the Anglo-Saxon aristocracy in their relation to the king. It might be composed, perhaps, more strictly according to feudal principles; but the royal thanes had always been consenting parties. Of the representation of courts-leet we may require better evidence: aldermen of London, or persons bearing that name, perhaps as landowners rather than citizens (see a former note), may possibly have been occasionally present; but it is remarkable that neither in historians nor records do we find this mentioned; that aldermen, in the municipal sense, are never enumerated among the constituents of a witenagemot or a council, though they must, on the representative theory, have composed a large portion of both. But, waiving this hypothesis, which the author seems not here to insist upon, though he returns to it in the Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, why is it "a startling paradox to deny the substantial antiquity of the house of commons"? By this I understand him to mean that representatives from counties and boroughs came regularly, or at least frequently, to the great councils of Saxon and Norman kings. Their indispensable consent in legislation I do not apprehend him to affirm, but rather the reverse:—"The supposition that in any early period the burgesses had a voice in the solemn acts of the legislature is untenable." (Rise and Progress, &c.; i. 314.) But they certainly did, at one time or other, obtain this right, "or convert themselves," as he expresses it, "into the third estate of the realm"; so that upon any hypothesis a great constitutional change was wrought in the powers of the commons. The revolutionary character of Montfort's parliament in the 49th of Hen. III. would sufficiently account both for the appearance of representatives from a democracy so favorable to that bold reformer and for the equality of power with which it was probably designed to invest them. But whether in the more peaceable times of Edward I. the citizens or burgesses were recognized as essential parties to every legislative measure, may, as I have shown, be open to much doubt.

I cannot upon the whole overcome the argument from the silence of all historians, from the deficiency of all proof as to any presence of citizens and burgesses, in a representative character as a house of commons, before the 49th year of Henry III.; because after this time historians and chroniclers exactly of the same character as the former, or even less copious and valuable, do not omit to mention it. We are accustomed in the sister kingdoms, so to speak, of the continent, founded on the same Teutonic original, to argue against the existence of representative councils, or other institutions, from the same absence of positive testimony. No one believes that the three estates of France were called together before the time of Philip the Fair. No one strains the representation of cities in the cortes of Castile beyond the date at which we discover its existence by testimony. It is true that unreasonable inferences may be made from what is usually called negative evidence; but how readily and how often are we deceived by a reliance on testimony! In many instances the negative conclusion carries with it a conviction equal to a great mass of affirmative proof. And such I reckon the inference from the language of Roger Hoveden, of Matthew Paris, and so many more who speak of councils and parliaments full of prelates and nobles, without a syllable of the burgesses. Either they were absent, or they were too insignificant to be named; and in that case it is hard to perceive any motive for requiring their attendance.

Note XXIII.

A record, which may be read in Brady's History of England (vol. ii. Append. p. 66) and in Rymer (t. iv. p. 1237), relative to the proceedings on Edward II.'s flight into Wales and subsequent detention, recites that, "the king having left his kingdom without government, and gone away with notorious ehemies of the queen, prince, and realm, divers prelates, earls, barons, and knights, then being at Bristol in the presence of the said queen and duke (Prince Edward, Duke of Cornwall), by the assent of the whole commonalty of the realm there being, unanimously elected the said duke to be guardian of the said kingdom; so that the said duke and guardian should rule and govern the said realm in the name and by the authority of the king his father, he being thus absent." But the king being taken and brought back into England, the power thus delegated to the guardian ceased of course; whereupon the Bishop of Hereford was sent to press the king to permit that the great seal, which he had with him, the prince having only used his private seal, should be used in all things that required it. Accordingly the king sent the great seal to the queen and prince. The bishop is said to have been thus commissioned to fetch the seal by the prince and queen, and by the said prelates and peers, with the assent of the said commonalty then being at Hereford. It is plain that these were mere words of course; for no parliament had been convoked, and no proper representatives could have been either at Bristol or Hereford. However, this is a very curious record, inasmuch as it proves the importance attached to the forms of the constitution at this period.

The Lords' Committee dwell much on an enactment in the parliament held at York in 15 Edw. II. (1322), which they conceived to be the first express recognition of the constitutional powers of the lower house. It was there enacted that "forever thereafter all manner of ordinances or provisions made by the subjects of the king or his heirs, by any power or authority whatsoever, concerning the royal power of the king or his heirs, or against the estate of the crown, should be void and of no avail or force whatsoever; but the matters to be established for the estate of the king and of his heirs, and for the estate of the realm and of the people, should be treated, accorded, and established in parliament by the king, and by the assent of the prelates, earls, and barons, and the commonalty of the realm, according as had been before accustomed. This proceeding, therefore, declared the legislative authority to reside only in the king, with the assent of the prelates, earls, and barons, and commons assembled in parliament; and that every legislative act not done by that authority should be deemed void and of no effect. By whatever violence this statute may have been obtained, it declared the constitutional law of the realm on this important subject." (P. 282.) The violence, if resistance to the usurpation of a subject is to be called such, was on the part of the king, who had just sent the Earl of Lancaster to the scaffold, and the present enactment was levelled at the ordinances which had been forced upon the crown by his faction. The lords ordainers, nevertheless, had been appointed with the consent of the commons, as has been mentioned in the text; so that this provision in 15 Edward II. seems rather to limit than to enhance the supreme power of parliament, if it were meant to prohibit any future enactment of the same kind by its sole authority. But the statute is declaratory in its nature; nor can we any more doubt that the legislative authority was reposed in the king, lords, and commons before this era than that it was so ever afterwards. Unsteady as the constitutional usage had been through the reign of Edward I., and willing as both he and his son may have been

to prevent its complete establishment, the necessity of parliamentary consent both for levying money and enacting laws must have become an article of the public creed before his death. If it be true that even after this declaratory statute laws were made without the assent or presence of the commons, as the Lords' Committee incline to hold (pp. 285, 286, 287), it was undeniably an irregular and unconstitutional proceeding; but this can only show that we ought to be very slow in presuming earlier proceedings of the same nature to have been more conformable to the spirit of the existing constitution. The Lords' Committee too often reason from the fact to the right, as well as from the words to the fact; both are fallacious, and betray them into some vacillation and perplexity. They do not, however, question, on the whole, but that a new constitution of the legislative assemblies of the realm had been introduced before the 15th year of Edward II., and that "the practice had prevailed so long before as to give it, in the opinion of the parliament then assembled, the force and effect of a custom, which the parliament declared should thereafter be considered as established law." (P. 293.) This appears to me rather an inadequate exposition of the public spirit, of the tendency towards enlarging the basis of the constitution, to which the "practice and custom" owed its origin; but the positive facts are truly stated.

Note XXIV.

Writs are addressed in 11th of Edw. II. "comitibus, majoribus baronibus, et prælatis," whence the Lords' Committee infer that the style used in John's charter was still preserved. (Report, p. 277). And though in those times there might be much irregularity in issuing writs of summons, the term "majores barones" must have had an application to definite persons. Of the irregularity we may judge by the fact that under Edward I. about eighty were generally summoned; under his son never so many as fifty, sometimes less than forty, as may be seen in Dugdale's Summonitiones ad Parliamentum. The committee endeavor to draw an inference from this against a subsisting right of tenure. But if it is meant that the king had an acknowledged prerogative of omitting any baron at his discretion, the higher English nobility must have lost its notorious privileges, sanctioned by long usage, by the analogy of all feudal governments, and by the charter of John, which, though not renewed in terms, nor intended to be retained in favor of the lesser barons, or tenants *in capite*, could not, relatively to the rights of the superior order, have been designedly relinquished.

The committee wish to get rid of tenure as conferring a right to summons; they also strongly doubt whether the summons conferred an hereditary nobility; but they assert that, in the 15th of Edward III., "those who may have been deemed to have been in the reign of John distinguished as *majores barones* by the honor of a personal writ of summons, or by the extent and influence of their property, from the other tenants in chief of the crown, were now clearly become, with the earls and the newly created dignity of duke, a distinct body of men denominated peers of the land, and having distinct personal rights; while the other tenants in chief, whatsoever their rights may have been in the reign of John, sank into the general mass." (P. 314.)

The appellation "peers of the land" is said to occur for the first time in 14 Edward II. (p. 281), and we find them very distinctly in the proceedings against Beresford and others at the beginning of the next reign. They were, of course, entitled to trial by their own order. But whether all laymen summoned by particular writs to parliament were

at that time considered as peers, and triable by the rest as such, must be questionable, unless we could assume that the writ of summons already ennobled the blood, which is at least not the opinion of the committee. If, therefore, the writ did not constitute an hereditary peer, nor tenure in chief by barony give a right to sit in parliament, we should have a difficulty in finding any determinate estate of nobility at all, exclusive of earls, who were, at all times and without exception, indisputably noble; an hypothesis manifestly paradoxical, and contradicted by history and law. If it be said that prescription was the only title, this may be so far granted that the *majores barones* had by prescription, antecedent to any statute or charter, been summoned to parliament; but this prescription would not be broken by the omission, through negligence or policy, of an individual tenant by barony in a few parliaments. The prescription was properly in favor of the class, the *majores barones* generally, and as to them it was perfect, extending itself in right, if not always in fact, to every one who came within its scope.

In the Third Report of the Lords' Committee, apparently drawn by the same hand as the Second, they "conjecture that after the establishment of the commons' house of parliament as a body by election, separate and distinct from the lords, all idea of a right to a writ of summons to parliament by reason of tenure had ceased, and that the dignity of baron, if not conferred by patent, was considered as derived only from the king's writ of summons." (Third Report, p. 226.) Yet they have not only found many cases of persons summoned by writ several times whose descendants have not been summoned, and hesitate even to approve the decision of the house on the Clifton barony in 1673, when it was determined that the claimant's ancestor, by writ of summons and sitting in parliament, was a peer, but doubt whether "even at this day the doctrine of that case ought to be considered as generally applicable, or may be limited by time and circumstances."[a] (P. 33.)

It seems, with much deference to more learned investigators, rather improbable that, either before or after the regular admission of the knights and burgesses by representation, and consequently the constitution of a distinct lords' house of parliament, a writ of summons could have been lawfully withheld at the king's pleasure from any one holding such lands by barony as rendered him notoriously one of the *majores barones*. Nor will this be much affected by arguments from the inexpediency or supposed anomaly of permitting the right of sitting as a peer of parliament to be transferred by alienation. The Lords' Committee dwell at length upon them. And it is true that, in our original feudal constitution, the fiefs of the crown could not be alienated without its consent. But when this was obtained, when a barony had passed by purchase, it would naturally draw with it, as an incident of tenure, the privilege of being summoned to parliament, or, in language more accustomed in those times, the obligation of doing suit and service to the king in his high court. Nor was the alienee, doubtless, to be taxed without his own consent, any more than another

a This doubt was soon afterwards changed into a proposition, strenuously maintained by the supposed compiler of these Reports, Lord Redesdale, on the claim to the barony of L'Isle in 1829. The ancestor had been called by writ to several parliaments of Edward III.; and having only a daughter, the negative argument from the omission of his posterity is of little value; for though the husbands of heiresses were frequently summoned, this does not seem to have been a universal practice. It was held by Lord Redesdale, that, at least until the statute of 5 Richard II. c. 4, no hereditary or even personal right to the peerage was created by the writ of summons. The house of lords rejected the claim, though the language of their resolution is not conclusive as to the principle. The opinion of Lord R. has been ably impugned by Sir Harris Nicolas, in his Report of the L'Isle Peerage, 1829.

tenant *in capite*. What incongruity, therefore, is there in the supposition that, after tenants in fee-simple acquired by statute the power of alienation without previous consent of the crown, the new purchaser stood on the same footing in all other respects as before the statute? It is also much to be observed that the claim to a summons might be gained by some methods of purchase, using that word, of course, in the legal sense. Thus the husbands of heiresses of baronies were frequently summoned, and sat as tenants by courtesy after the wife's death; though it must be owned that the committee doubt, in their Third Report (p. 47), whether tenancy by courtesy of a dignity was ever allowed as a right. Thus, too, every estate created in tail male was a diversion of the inheritance by the owner's sole will from its course according to law. Yet in the case of the barony of Abergavenny, even so late as the reign of James I., the heir male, being in seizin of the lands, was called by writ as baron, to the exclusion of the heir general. Surely this was an authentic recognition, not only of baronial tenure as the foundation of a right to sit in parliament, but of its alienability by the tenant.[b]

If it be asked whether the posterity of a baron aliening the lands which gave him a right to be summoned to the king's court would be entitled to the privileges of peerage by nobility of blood, it is true that, according to Collins, whose opinion the committee incline to follow, there are instances of persons in such circumstances being summoned. But this seems not to prove anything to the purpose. The king, no one doubts, from the time of Edward I., used to summon by writ many who had no baronial tenure; and the circumstance of having alienated a barony could not render anyone incapable of attending parliament by a different title. It is very hard to determine any question as to times of much irregularity; but it seems that the posterity of one who had parted with his baronial lands would not, in those early times, as a matter of course, remain noble. A right by tenure seems to exclude a right by blood; not necessarily because two collateral titles may coexist, but in the principle of the constitution. A feudal principle was surely the more ancient; and what could be more alien to this than a baron, a peer, an hereditary counsellor, without a fief? Nobility, that is, gentility of birth, might be testified by a pedigree or a bearing; but a peer was to be in arms for the crown, to grant his own money as well as that of others, to lead his vassals, to advise, to exhort, to restrain the sovereign. The new theory came in by degrees, but in the decay of every feudal idea; it was the substitution of a different pride of aristocracy for that of baronial wealth and power; a pride nourished by heralds, more peaceable, more indolent, more accommodated to the rules of fixed law and vigorous monarchy. It is difficult to trace the progress of this theory, which rested on nobility of blood, but yet so remarkably modified by the original principle of tenure, that the privileges of this nobility were ever confined to the actual possessor, and did not take his kindred out of the class of commoners. This sufficiently demonstrates that the phrase is, so to say, catachrestic, not used in a proper sense; inasmuch as the actual seizin of the peerage as an hereditament, whether by writ or by patent, is as much requisite at present for nobility, as the seizin of an estate by barony was in the reign of Henry III.

Tenure by barony appears to have been recognized by the house of lords in the reign of Henry VI., when the earldom of Arundel was claimed as annexed to the "castle, honor, and lordship aforesaid."

b The Lords' Committee (Second Report, p. 436) endeavor to elude the force of this authority; but it manifestly appears that the Nevilles were preferred to the Fanes for the particular barony in question; though some satisfaction was made to the claimant of the latter family by calling her to a different peerage.

The Lords' Committee have elaborately disproved the allegations of descent and tenure, on which this claim was allowed. (Second Report, pp. 406-426.) But all with which we are concerned is the decision of the crown and of the house in the 11th year of Henry VI., whether it were right or wrong as to the particular facts of the case. And here we find that the king, by the advice and assent of the lords, "considering that Richard Fitzalan, &c., was seized of the castle, honor, and lordship in fee, and by reason of his possession thereof, without any other reason or creation, was Earl of Arundel, and held the name, style, and honor of Earl of Arundel, and the place and seat of Earl of Arundel in parliament and councils of the king," &c., admits him to the same seat and place as his ancestors, Earls of Arundel, had held. This was long afterwards confirmed by act of parliament (3 Car. I.), reciting the dignity of Earl of Arundel to be real and local, &c., and settling the title on certain persons in tail, with provisions against alienation of the castle and honor. This appears to establish a tenure by barony in Arundel, as a recent determination had done in Abergavenny. Arundel was a very peculiar instance of an earldom by tenure. For we cannot doubt that all earls were peers of parliament by virtue of that rank, though, in fact, all held extensive lands of the crown. But in 1669 a new doctrine, which probably had long been floating among lawyers and in the house of lords, was laid down by the king in council on a claim to the title of Fitzwalter. The nature of a barony by tenure having been discussed, it was found "to have been discontinued for many ages, and not in being" (a proposition not very tenable, if we look at the Abergavenny case, even setting aside that of Arundel as peculiar in its character, and as settled by statute); "and so not fit to be received, or to admit any pretence of right to succession thereto." It is fair to observe that some eminent judges were present on this occasion. The committee justly say that "this decision" (which, after all, was not in the house of lords) "may perhaps be considered as amounting to a solemn opinion that, although in early times the right to a writ of summons to parliament as a baron may have been founded on tenure, a contrary practice had prevailed for ages, and that, therefore, it was not to be taken as then forming part of the constitutional law of the land." (P. 446.) Thus ended barony by tenure. The final decision, for such it has been considered, and recent attempts to revive the ancient doctrine have been defeated, has prevented many tedious investigations of claims to baronial descent, and of alienations in times long past. For it could not be pretended that every fraction of a barony gave a right to summons; and, on the other hand, alienations of parcels, and descents to coparceners, must have been common, and sometimes difficult to disprove. It was held, indeed, by some, that the *caput baroniæ*, or principal lordship, contained, as it were, the vital principle of the peerage, and that its owner was the true baron; but this assumption seems uncertain.

It is not very easy to reconcile this peremptory denial of peerage by tenure with the proviso in the recent statute taking away tenure by knight-service, and, inasmuch as it converts all tenure into socage, that also by barony, "that this act shall not infringe or hurt any title of honor, feudal or other, by which any person hath or may have right to sit in the lords' house of parliament, as to his or their title of honor, or sitting in parliament, and the privilege belonging to them as peers." (Stat. 12 Car. II. c. 24, s. 11.)

Surely this clause was designed to preserve the incident to baronial tenure, the privilege of being summoned to parliament, while it destroyed its original root, the tenure itself. The privy council, in their decision on the Fitzwalter claim, did not allude to this statute, probably on account of the above proviso, and seem to argue that, if tenure

by barony was no longer in being, the privilege attached to it must have been extinguished also. It is, however, observable that tenure by barony is not taken away by the statute, except by implication. No act indeed can be more loosely drawn than this, which was to change essentially the condition of landed property throughout the kingdom. It literally abolishes all tenure *in capite;* though this is the basis of the crown's right to escheat, and though lands in common socage, which the act with a strange confusion opposes to socage *in capite,* were as much holden of the king or other lord as those by knight-service. Whether it was intended by the silence about tenure by barony to pass it over as obsolete, or this arose from negligence alone, it cannot be doubted that the proviso preserving the right of sitting in parliament by a feudal honor was introduced in order to save that privilege, as well for Arundel and Abergavenny as for any other that might be entitled to it.[c]

Note XXV.

The equitable jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery has been lately traced, in some respects, though not for the special purpose mentioned in the text, higher than the reign of Richard II. This great minister of the crown, as he was at least from the time of the conquest,[a] always till the reign of Edward III. an ecclesiastic of high dignity, and honorably distinguished as the keeper of the king's conscience, was peculiarly intrusted with the duty of redressing the grievances of the subject, both when they sprung from misconduct of the government, through its subordinate officers, and when the injury had been inflicted by powerful oppressors. He seems generally to have been the chief or president of the council, when it exerted that jurisdiction which we have been sketching in the text, and which will be the subject of another note. But he is more prominent when presiding in a separate tribunal as a single judge.

The Court of Chancery is not distinctly to be traced under Henry III. For a passage in Matthew Paris, who says of Radulfus de Nevil —"Erat regis fidelissimus cancellarius, et inconcussa columna veritatis, singulis sua jura, præcipue pauperibus, justè reddens et indilatè," may be construed of his judicial conduct in the council. This province naturally, however, led to a separation of the two powers. And in the reign of Edward I. we find the king sending certain of the petitions addressed to him, praying extraordinary remedies, to the chancellor and master of the rolls, or to either separately, by writ under the privy seal, which was the usual mode by which the king delegated the exer-

c The continuance of barony by tenure has been controverted by Sir Harris Nicolas, in some remarks on such a claim preferred by the present Earl Fitzharding while yet a commoner, in virtue of the possession of Berkeley castle, published as an Appendix to his Report of the L'Isle Peerage. In the particular case there seem to have been several difficulties, independently of the great one, that, in the reign of Charles II., barony by tenure had been finally condemned. But there is surely a great general difficulty on the opposite side, in the hypothesis that, while it is acknowledged that there were, in the reigns of Edward I. and Edward II., certain known persons holding by barony and called peers of the realm, it could have been agreeable to the feudal or to the English contsitution that the king, by refusing to the posterity of such barons a writ of summons to parliament, might deprive them of their nobility, and reduce them forever to the rank of commoners.

a It has been doubted, notwithstanding the authority of Spelman, and some earlier but rather precarious testimony, whether the chancellor before the Conquest was any more than a scribe or secretary. Palgrave, in the Quarterly Review, xxxiv. 291. The Anglo-Saxon charters, as far as I have observed, never mention him as a witness; which seems a very strong circumstance. Ingulfus, indeed, has given a pompous account of Chancellor Turketul; and, if the history ascribed to Ingulfus be genuine, the office must have been of high dignity. Lord Campbell assumes this in his Lives of the Chancellors.

cise of his prerogative to his council, directing them to give such remedy as should appear to be consonant to honesty (or equity, *honestati*). "There is reason to believe," says Mr. Spence (Equitable Jurisdiction, p. 335), "that this was not a novelty." But I do not know upon what grounds this is believed. Writs, both those of course and others, issued from Chancery in the same reign. (Palgrave's Essay on King's Council, p. 15.) Lord Campbell has given a few specimens of petitions to the council, and answers endorsed upon them, in the reign of Edward I., communicated to him by Mr. Hardy from the records of the Tower. In all these the petitions are referred to the chancellor for justice. The entry, at least as given by Lord Campbell, is commonly so short that we cannot always determine whether the petition was on account of wrongs by the crown or others. The following is rather more clear than the rest: "18 Edw. I. The king's tenants of Aulton complain that Adam Gordon ejected them from their pasture, contrary to the tenor of the king's writ. Resp. Veniant partes coram cancellario, et ostendat ei Adam quare ipsos ejecit, et fiat iis justitia." Another is a petition concerning concealment of dower, for which, perhaps, there was no legal remedy.

In the reign of Edward II. the peculiar jurisdiction of the chancellor was still more distinctly marked. "From petitions and answers lately discovered, it appears that during this reign the jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery was considerably extended, as the 'consuetudo cancellariæ' is often familiarly mentioned. We find petitions referred to the chancellor in his court, either separately, or in conjunction with the king's justices, or the king's serjeants; on disputes respecting the wardship of infants, partition, dower, rent-charges, tithes, and goods of felons. The chancellor was in full possession of his jurisdiction over charities, and he superintended the conduct of coroners. Mere wrongs, such as malicious prosecutions and trespasses to personal property, are sometimes the subject of proceedings before him; but I apprehend that those were cases where, from powerful combinations and confederacies, redress could not be obtained in the courts of common law." (Lives of Chanc. vol. i. p. 204.)

Lord Campbell, still with materials furnished by Mr. Hardy, has given not less than thirty-eight entries during the reign of Edward II., where the petition, though sometimes directed to the council, is referred to the chancellor for determination. One only of these, so far as we can judge from their very brief expression, implies anything of an equitable jurisdiction. It is again a case of dower, and the claimant is remitted to the Chancery; "et fiat sibi ibidem justitia, quia non potest juvari per communem legem per breve de dote." This case is in the Rolls of Parliament (i. 340), and had been previously mentioned by Mr. Bruce in a learned memoir on the Court of Star-Chamber. (Archæologia, xxv. 345.) It is difficult to say whether this fell within the modern rules of equity, but the general principle is evidently the same.

Another petition is from the commonalty of Suffolk to the council, complaining of false indictments and presentments in courts-leet. It is answered—"Si quis sequi-voluerit adversus falsos indicatores et procuratores de falsis indictamentis, sequatur in Cancell. et habebit remedium consequens." Several other entries in this list are illustrative of the jurisdiction appertaining, in fact at least, to the council and the chancellor; and being of so early a reign form a valuable accession to those which later records have furnished to Sir Matthew Hale and others.

The Court of Chancery began to decide causes as a court of equity, according to Mr. Hardy, in the reign of Edward III., probably about 22 Edw. III. (Introduction to Close Rolls, p. 28.) Lord Campbell

would carry this jurisdiction higher, and the instances already mentioned may be sufficient just to prove that it had begun to exist. It certainly seems no unnatural supposition that the great principle of doing justice, by which the council and the chancellor professed to guide their exercise of judicature, may have led them to grant relief in some of those numerous instances where the common law was defective or its rules too technical and unbending. But, as has been observed, the actual entries, as far as quoted, do not afford many precedents of equity. Mr. Hardy, indeed, suggests (p. 25) that the *Curia Regis* in the Norman period proceeded on equitable principles; and that this led to the removal of plaints into it from the county-court. This is, perhaps, not what we should naturally presume. The subtle and technical spirit of the Norman lawyers is precisely that which leads, in legal procedure, to definite and unbending rules; while in the lower courts, where Anglo-Saxon thanes had ever judged by the broad rules of justice, according to the circumstances of the case, rather than a strict line of law which did not yet exist, we might expect to find all the uncertainty and inconsistency which belongs to a system of equity, until, as in England, it has acquired by length of time the uniformity of law, but none at least of the technicality so characteristic of our Norman common law, and by which the great object of judicial proceedings was so continually defeated. This, therefore, does not seem to me a probable cause of the removal of suits from the county court or court-baron to those of Westminster. The true reason, as I have observed in another place, was the partiality of these local tribunals. And the exprense of trying a suit before the justices in eyre might not be very much greater than in the county court.

I conceive, therefore, that the three supreme courts at Westminster proceeded upon those rules of strict law which they had chiefly themselves established; and this from the date of their separation from the original *Curia Regis*. But whether the king's council may have given more extensive remedies than the common law afforded, as early at least as the reign of Henry III., is what we are not competent, apparently, to affirm or deny. We are at present only concerned with the Court of Chancery. And it will be interesting to quote the deliberate opinion of a late distinguished writer, who has taken a different view of the subject from any of his predecessors.

"After much deliberation," says Lord Campbell, "I must express my clear conviction that the chancellor's equitable jurisdiction is as indubitable and as ancient as his common-law jurisdiction, and that it may be traced in a manner equally satisfactory. The silence of Bracton, Glanvil, Fleta, and other early judicial writers, has been strongly relied upon to disprove the equitable jurisdiction of the chancellor; but they as little notice his common-law jurisdiction, most of them writing during the subsistence of the *Aula Regia;* and they all speak of the Chancery, not as a court, but merely as an office for the making and sealing of writs. There are no very early decisions of the chancellors on points of law any more than of equity, to be found in the Year-books or old abridgments. . . . . By 'equitable jurisdiction' must be understood the extraordinary interference of the chancellor, without common-law process or regard to the common-law rules of proceeding, upon the petition of a party grieved who was without adequate remedy in a court of common law; whereupon the opposite party was compelled to appear and to be examined, either personally or upon written interrogatories: and evidence being heard on both sides, without the interposition of a jury, an order was made *secundum æquum et bonum*, which was enforced by imprisonment. Such a jurisdiction had belonged to the *Aula Regia*, and was long exercised by parliament; and, when parliament was not sitting, by the king's ordi-

nary council. Upon the dissolution of the *Aula Regia* many petitions, which parliament or the council could not conveniently dispose of were referred to the chancellor, sometimes with and sometimes without assessors. To avoid the circuity of applying to parliament or the council, the petition was very soon, in many instances, addressed originally to the chancellor himself." (Lives of Chancellors, i. 7.)

In the latter part of Edward III.'s long reign this equitable jurisdiction had become, it is likely, of such frequent exercise, that we may consider the following brief summary by Lord Campbell as probable by analogy and substantially true, if not sustained in all respects by the evidence that has yet been brought to light:—"The jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery was now established in all matters where its own officers were concerned, in petitions of right where an injury was alleged to be done to a subject by the king or his officers in relieving against judgments in courts of law (Lord C. gives two instances), and generally in cases of fraud, accident, and trust." (P. 291.)

In the reign of Richard II. the writ of *subpœna* was invented by John de Waltham, master of the rolls; and to this a great importance seems to have been attached at the time, as we may perceive by the frequent complaints of the commons in parliament, and by the traditionary abhorrence in which the name of the inventor was held. "In reality," says Lord Campbell, "he first framed it in its present form when a clerk in Chancery in the latter end of the reign of Edward III.; but the invention consisted in merely adding to the old clause, *Quibusdam certis de causis*, the words '*Et hoc subpœna centum librarum nullatenus omittas*'; and I am at a loss to conceive how such importance was attached to it, or how it was supposed to have brought about so complete a revolution in equitable proceedings, for the penalty was never enforced; and if the party failed to appear, his default was treated, according to the practice prevailing in our own time, as a contempt of court, and made the foundation of compulsory process." (P. 296.)

The commons in parliament, whose sensitiveness to public grievances was by no means accompanied by an equal sagacity in devising remedies, had, probably without intention, vastly enhanced the power of the chancellor by a clause in a remedial act passed in the thirty-sixth year of Edward III., that, "If any man that feeleth himself aggrieved contrary to any of the articles above written, or others contained in divers statutes, will come into the Chancery, or any for him, and thereof make his complaint, he shall presently there have remedy by force of the said articles or statutes, without elsewhere pursuing to have remedy." Yet nothing could be more obvious than that the breach of any statute was cognizable before the courts of law. And the mischief of permitting men to be sued vexatiously before the chancellor becoming felt, a statute was enacted, thirty years indeed after this time (17 Ric. II. c. 6), analogous altogether to those in the late reign respecting the jurisdiction of the council, which, reciting that "people be compelled to come before the king's council, or in the Chancery by writs grounded on untrue suggestions," provides that "the chancellor for the time being, presently after that such suggestions be duly found and proved untrue, shall have power to ordain and award damages, according to his discretion, to him which is so troubled unduly as aforesaid." "This remedy," Lord Campbell justly remarks, "which was referred to the discretion of the chancellor himself, whose jurisdiction was to be controlled, proved, as might be expected, wholly ineffectual; but it was used as a parliamentary recognition of his jurisdiction, and a pretence for refusing to establish any other check on it." (P. 247.)

A few years before this statute the commons had petitioned (13 Ric. II., Rot. Parl. iii. 269) that the chancellor might make no order against

the common law, and that no one should appear before the chancellor where remedy was given by the common law. "This carries with it an admission," as Lord C. observes, "that a power of jurisdiction did reside in the chancellor, so long as he did not determine against the common law, nor interfere where the common law furnished a remedy. The king's answer, 'that it should continue as the usage had been heretofore,' clearly demonstrates that such an authority, restrained within due bounds, was recognized by the constitution of the country." (P. 305.)

The act of 17 Ric. II. seems to have produced a greater regularity in the proceedings of the court, and put an end to such hasty interference, on perhaps verbal suggestions, as had given rise to this remedial provision. From the very year in which the statute was enacted we find bills in Chancery, and the answers to them, regularly filed; the grounds of demanding relief appear, and the chancellor renders himself in every instance responsible for the orders he has issued, by thus showing that they came within his jurisdiction. There are certainly many among the earlier bills in Chancery, which, according to the statute law and the great principle that they were determinable in other courts, could not have been heard; but we are unable to pronounce how far the allegation usually contained or implied, that justice could not be had elsewhere, was founded on the real circumstances. A calendar of these early proceedings (in abstract) is printed in the Introduction to the first volume of the Calendar of Chancery Proceedings in the Reign of Elizabeth, and may also be found in Cooper's Public Records, i. 356.

The struggle, however, in behalf of the common law was not at an end. It is more than probable that the petitions against encroachments of Chancery, which fill the rolls under Henry IV., Henry V., and in the minority of Henry VI., emanated from that numerous and jealous body whose interests as well as prejudices were so deeply affected. Certain it is that the commons, though now acknowledging an equitable jurisdiction, or rather one more extensive than is understood by the word "equitable," in the greatest judicial officer of the crown, did not cease to remonstrate against his transgression of these boundaries. They succeeded so far, in 1436, as to obtain a statute (15 Henry VI. c. 4) in these words:—"For that divers persons have before this time been greatly vexed and grieved by writs of *subpœna*, purchased for matters determinable by the common law of this land, to the great damage of such persons so vexed, in suspension and impediment of the common law as aforesaid; Our lord the king doth command that the statutes thereof made shall be duly observed, according to the form and effect of the same, and that no writ of *subpœna* be granted from henceforth until surety be found to satisfy the party so grieved and vexed for his damages and expenses, if so be that the matter cannot be made good which is contained in the bill." It was the intention of the commons, as appears by the preamble of this statute and more fully by their petition in Rot. Parl. (iv. 101), that the matters contained in the bill on which the *subpœna* was issued should be not only true in themselves, but such as could not be determined at common law. But the king's answer appears rather equivocal.

The principle seems nevertheless to have been generally established, about the reign of Henry VI., that the Court of Chancery exercises merely a remedial jurisdiction, not indeed controllable by courts of law, unless possibly in such circumstances as cannot be expected, but bound by its general responsibility to preserve the limits which ancient usage and innumerable precedents have imposed. It was at the end of this reign, and not in that of Richard II., according to the writer so often quoted, that the great enhancement of the chancellor's authority,

by bringing feoffments to uses within it, opened a new era in the history of our law. And this the judges brought on themselves by their narrow adherence to technical notions. They now began to discover this; and those of Edward IV., as Lord Campbell well says, were "very bold men," having repealed the statute *de donis* by their own authority in Taltarum's case—a stretch of judicial power beyond any that the Court of Chancery had ventured upon. They were also exceedingly jealous of that court; and in one case, reported in the Year-books (*22* Edw. IV. 37), advised a party to disobey an injunction from the Court of Chancery, telling him that, if the chancellor committed him to the Fleet, they would discharge the prisoner by *habeas corpus*. (Lord Campbell, p. 394.) The case seems to have been one where, in modern times, no injunction would have been granted, the courts of law being competent to apply a remedy.

Note XXVI.

This intricate subject has been illustrated, since the first publication of these volumes, in an Essay upon the original Authority of the King's Council, by Sir Francis Palgrave (1834), written with remarkable perspicuity and freedom from diffusiveness. But I do not yet assent to the judgment of the author as to the legality of proceedings before the council, which I have represented as unconstitutional, and which certainly it was the object of parliament to restrain.

"It seems," he says, "that in the reign of Henry III. the council was considered as a court of peers within the terms of Magna Charta; and before which, as a court of original jurisdiction, the rights of tenants holding *in capite* or by barony were to be discussed and decided, and it unquestionably exercised a direct jurisdiction over all the king's subjects" (p. 34). The first volume of Close Rolls, published by Mr. Hardy since Sir F. Palgrave's Essay, contains no instances of jurisdiction exercised by the council in the reign of John. But they begin immediately afterwards, in the minority of Henry III.; so that we have not only the fullest evidence that the council took on itself a coercive jurisdiction in matters of law at that time, but that it had not done so before; for the Close Rolls of John are so full as to render the negative argument satisfactory. It will, of course, be understood that I take the facts on the authority of Mr. Hardy (Introduction to Close Rolls, vol. ii.), whose diligence and accuracy are indisputable. Thus this exercise of judicial power began immediately after the Great Charter. And yet, if it is to be reconciled with the twenty-ninth section, it is difficult to perceive in what manner that celebrated provision for personal liberty against the crown, which has always been accounted the most precious jewel in the whole coronet, the most valuable stipulation made at Runnymede, and the most enduring to later times, could merit the fondness with which it has been regarded. "Non super eum ibimus, nec super eum mittemus, nisi per legale judicium parium suorum, vel per legem terræ." If it is alleged that the jurisdiction of the king's council was the law of the land, the whole security falls to the ground and leaves the grievance as it stood, unredressed. Could the judgment of the council have been reckoned, as Sir F. Palgrave supposes, a "judicium parium suorum," except perhaps in the case of tenants in chief? The word is commonly understood of that trial *per pais* which, in one form or another, is of immemorial antiquity in our social institutions.

"Though this jurisdiction," he proceeds, "was more frequently called into action when parliament was sitting, still it was no less inherent in the council at all other times; and until the middle of the

reign of Edward III. no exception had ever been taken to the form of its proceedings." He subjoins indeed in a note, "Unless the statute of 5 Edw. III. c. 9, may be considered as an earlier testimony against the authority of the council. This, however, is by no means clear, and there is no corresponding petition in the parliament roll from which any further information could be obtained" (p. 34).

The irresistible conclusion from this passage is, that we have been wholly mistaken in supposing the commons under Edward III. and his successors to have resisted an illegal encroachment of power in the king's ordinary council, while it had in truth been exercising an ancient jurisdiction, never restrained by law and never complained of by the subject. This would reverse our constitutional theory to no small degree, and affect so much the spirit of my own pages, that I cannot suffer it to pass, coming on an authority so respectable, without some comment. But why is it asserted that this jurisdiction was inherent in the council? Why are we to interpret Magna Charta otherwise than according to the natural meaning of the words and the concurrent voice of parliament? The silence of the commons in parliament under Edward II. as to this grievance will hardly prove that it was not felt, when we consider how few petitions of a public nature, during that reign, are on the rolls. But it may be admitted that they were not so stenuous in demanding redress, because the were of comparatively recent origin as an estate of parliament, as they became in the next long reign, the most important, perhaps, in our early constitutional history.

It is doubted by Sir F. Palgrave whether the statute of 5 Edw. III. c. 9, can be considered as a testimony against the authority of the council. It is, however, very natural so to interpret it, when we look at the subsequent statutes and petitions of the commons, directed for more than a century to the same object. "No man shall be taken," says Lord Coke (2 Inst. 46), "that is, restrained of liberty, by petition or suggestion to the king or to his council, unless it be by indictment or presentment of good and lawful men, where such deeds be done. This branch and divers other parts of this act have been wholly explained by divers act of parliament, &c., quoted in the margent." He then gives the titles of six statutes, the first being this of 5 Edw. III. c. 9. But let us suppose that the petition of the commons in 25 Edw. III. demanded an innovation in law, as it certainly did in long-established usage. And let us admit what is justly pointed out by Sir F. Palgrave, that the king's first answer to their petition is not commensurate to its request, and reserves, though it is not quite easy to see what, some part of its extraordinary jurisdiction.[a] Still the statute itself, enacted on a similar petition in a subsequent parliament, is explicit that "none shall be taken by petition or suggestion to the king or his council, unless it be by indictment or presentment" (in a criminal charge), "or

[a] The words of the petition and answer are the following:—

"Item, que nul franc homme ne soit mys a respondre de son frac tenement, ne de riens qui touche vie et membre, fyns ou redemptions, par apposailles devant le conseil notre seigneur le roi, ne devant ses ministres queconques, sinoun par proces de ley de ces en arere use."

"Il plest a notre seigneur le roi que les leies de son roialme soient tenuz et gardez en lour force, et que nul homme soit tenu a respondre de son fraunk tenement, sinoun par processe de ley: mes de chose que touche vie ou membre, contemptz ou excesse, soit fait come ad este use ces en arere." Rot. Par. ii. 228.

It is not easy to perceive what was reserved by the words "chose que touche vie ou membre;" for the council never determined these. Possibly it regarded accusations of treason or felony, which they might entertain as an inquest, though they would ultimately be tried by a jury. Contempts are easily understood; and by excesses were meant riots and seditions. These political offences, which could not be always safely tried in a lower court, it was the constant intention of the government to reserve for the council.

by writ original at the common law" (in a civil suit), "nor shall be put out of his franchise of freehold, unless he have been duly put to answer, and forejudged of the same by due course of law."

Lord Hale has quoted a remarkable passage from a Year-book, not long after these statutes of 25 Edw. III. and 28 Edw. III., which, if Sir F. Palgrave had not overlooked, he would have found not very favorable to his high notions of the king's prerogative in council. "In after ages," says Hale, "the constant opinion and practice was to disallow any reversals of judgment by the council, which appears by the notable case in Year-book, 39 Edw. III. 14." (Jurisdiction of Lords' House, p. 41.) It is indeed a notable case, wherein the chancellor before the council reverses a judgment of a court of law. "Mes les justices ne pristoient nul regard al reverser devant le council, par ceo que ce ne fust place ou jugement purroit estre reverse." If the council could not exercise this jurisdiction on appeal, which is not perhaps expressly taken away by any statute, much less against the language of so many statutes could they lawfully entertain any original suit. Such, however, were the vacillations of a motley assembly, so steady the perseverance of government in retaining its power, so indefinite the limits of ancient usage, so loose the phrases of remedial statutes, passing sometimes by their generality the intentions of those who enacted them, so useful, we may add, and almost indispensable, was a portion of those prerogatives which the crown exercised through the council and chancery, that we find soon afterwards a statute (37 Edw. III. c. 18), which recognizes in some measure those irregular proceedings before the council, by providing only that those who make suggestions to the chancellor and great council, by which men are put in danger against the form of the charter, shall give security for proving them. This is rendered more remedial by another act next year (38 Edw. III. c. 9), which, however, leaves the liberty of making such suggestions untouched. The truth is, that the act of 25 Edw. III. went to annihilate the legal and equitable jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery—the former of which had been long exercised, and the latter was beginning to spring up. But the 42 Edw. III. c. 3, which seems to go as far as the former in the enacting words, will be found, according to the preamble, to regard only criminal charges.

Sir Francis Palgrave maintains that the council never intermitted its authority, but on the contrary "it continually assumed more consistency and order. It is probable that the long absences of Henry V. from England invested this body with a greater degree of importance. After every minority and after every appointment of a select or extraordinary council by authority of the legislature, we find that the ordinary council acquired a fresh impulse and further powers. Hence the next reign constitutes a new era" (p. 80). He proceeds to give the same passage which I have quoted from Rot. Parl. 8 Hen. VI. vol. v. p. 343, as well as one in an earlier parliament (2 Hen. VI. p. 28). But I had neglected to state the whole case where I mention the articles settled in parliament for the regulation of the council. In the first place, this was not the king's ordinary council, but one specially appointed by the lords in parliament for the government of the realm during his minority. They consisted of certain lords spiritual and temporal, the chancellor, the treasurer, and a few commoners. These commissioners delivered a schedule of provisions "for the good and the governance of the land, which the lords that be of the king's council desireth" (p. 28). It does not explicitly appear that the commons assented to these provisions; but it may be presumed, at least in a legal sense, by their being present and by the schedule being delivered into parliament, "baillez en meme le parlement." But in the 8 Hen. VI., where the same provision as to the jurisdiction of this extraordinary

council is repeated, the articles are said, after being approved by the lords spiritual and temporal, to have been read "coram domino rege in eodem parliamento, in presentia trium regni statuum" (p. 343). It is always held that what is expressly declared to be done in presence of all the estates is an act of parliament.

We find, therefore, a recognition of the principle which had always been alleged in defence of the ordinary council in this parliamentary confirmation—the principle that breaches of the law, which the law could not, through the weakness of its ministers, or corruption, or partiality, sufficiently repress, must be reserved for the strong arm of royal authority. "Thus," says Sir Francis Palgrave, "did the council settle and define its principles and practice. A new tribunal was erected, and one which obtained a virtual supremacy over the common law. The exception reserved to their 'discretion' of interfering wherever their lordships felt too much might on one side, and too much unmight on the other, was of itself sufficient to embrace almost every dispute or trial" (p. 81).

But, in the first place, this latitude of construction was not by any means what the parliament meant to allow, nor could it be taken, except by wilfully usurping powers never imparted; and, secondly, it was not the ordinary council which was thus constituted during the king's minority; nor did the jurisdiction intrusted to persons so specially named in parliament extend to the regular officers of the crown. The restraining statutes were suspended for a time in favor of a new tribunal. But I have already observed that there was always a class of cases precisely of the same kind as those mentioned in the act creating this tribunal, tacitly excluded from the operation of those statutes, wherein the coercive jurisdiction of the king's ordinary council had great convenience, namely, where the course of justice was obstructed by riots, combinations of maintenance, or overawing influence. And there is no doubt that, down to the final abolition of the Court of Star Chamber (which was no other than the *consilium ordinarium* under a different name), these offences were cognizable in it, without the regular forms of the common law.

"From the reign of Edward IV. we do not trace any further opposition to the authority either of the chancery or of the council. These courts had become engrafted on the constitution; and if they excited fear or jealousy, there was no one who dared to complain. Yet additional parliamentary sanction was not considered as unnecessary by Henry VII., and in the third year of his reign an act was passed for giving the Court of Star Chamber, which had now acquired its determinate name, further authority to punish divers misdemeanors." (Palgrave, p. 97.)

It is really more than we can grant that the jurisdiction of the *consilium ordinarium* had been engrafted on the constitution, when the statute-book was full of laws to restrain, if not to abrogate it. The acts already mentioned, in the reign of Henry VI., by granting a temporary and limited jurisdiction to the council, demonstrate that its general exercise was not acknowledged by parliament. We can only say that it may have continued without remonstrance in the reign of Edward IV. I have observed in the text that the Rolls of Parliament under Edward IV. contain no complaints of grievances. But it is not quite manifest that the council did exercise in that reign as much jurisdiction as it had once done. Lord Hale tells us that "this jurisdiction was gradually brought into great disuse, though there remain some straggling footsteps of their proceedings till near 3 Hen. VII." (Hist. of Lords' Jurisdiction, p. 38.) And the famous statute in that year, which erected a new court, sometimes improperly called the Court of Star Chamber, seems to have been prompted by a desire to restore,

in a new and more legal form, a jurisdiction which was become almost obsolete, and, being in contradiction to acts of parliament, could not well be rendered effective without one.[c]

We cannot but discover, throughout the learned and luminous Essay on the Authority of the King's Council, a strong tendency to represent its exercise as both constitutional and salutary. The former epithet cannot, I think, be possibly applicable in the face of statute law; for what else determines our constitution? But it is a problem with some, whether the powers actually exerted by this anomalous court, admitting them to have been, at least latterly, in contravention of many statutes, may not have been rendered necessary by the disorderly condition of society and the comparative impotence of the common law. This cannot easily be solved with the defective knowledge that we possess. Sometimes, no doubt, the "might on one side, and unmight on the other," as the answer to a petition forcibly expresses it, afforded a justification which, practically at least, the commons themselves were content to allow. But were these exceptional instances so frequent as not to leave a much greater number wherein the legal remedy by suit before the king's justices of assize might have been perfectly effectual? For we are not concerned with the old county courts, which were perhaps tumultuary and partial enough, but with the regular administration, civil and criminal, before the king's justices of oyer and terminer and of gaol delivery. Had not they, generally speaking, in the reign of Edward III. and his successors, such means of enforcing the execution of law as left no sufficient pretext for recurring to an arbitrary tribunal? Liberty, we should remember, may require the sacrifice of some degree of security against private wrong, which a despotic government, with an unlimited power of restraint, can alone supply. If no one were permitted to travel on the high road without a license, or, as now so usual, without a passport, if no one could keep arms without a registry, if every one might be indefinitely detained on suspicion, the evil doers of society would be materially impeded, but at the expense, to a certain degree, of every man's freedom and enjoyment. Freedom being but a means to the greatest good, times might arise when it must yield to the security of still higher blessings; but the immediate question is, whether such were the state of society in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Now, that it was lawless and insecure, comparatively with our own times or the times of our fathers is hardly to be disputed. But if it required that arbitrary government which the king's council were anxious to maintain, the representatives of the commons in parliament, knights and burgesses, not above the law, and much interested in the conservation of property, must have complained very unreasonably for more than a hundred years. They were apparently as well able to judge as our writers can be; and if they reckoned a trial by jury *nisi prius* more likely, on the whole, to insure a just adjudication of a civil suit, than one before the great officers of state and other constituent members of the ordinary council, it does not seem clear to me that we have a right to assert the contrary. This mode of trial by jury, as has been seen in another place, had acquired, by the beginning of the fifteenth century, in its present form; and considering the great authority of the judges of assize, it may not, probably, have given very frequent occasion for complaint of partiality or corrupt influence.

c See Constitutional History of England, vol. i. p. 49. (1842.)

Note XXVII.

The learned author of the Inquiry into the Rise and Growth of the Royal Prerogative in England has founded his historical theory on the confusion which he supposes to have grown up between the ideal king of the constitution and the personal king on the throne. By the former he means the personification of abstract principles, sovereign power, and absolute justice, which the law attributes to the *genus* king, but which flattery or other motives have transferred to the possessor of the crown for the time being, and have thus changed the Teutonic *cyning*, the first man of the commonwealth, the man of the highest weregild, the man who was so much responsible that he might be sued for damages in his own courts or deposed for misgovernment, into the sole irresponsible person of indefeasible prerogatives, of attributes almost divine, whom Bracton and a long series of subsequent lawyers raised up to a height far beyond the theory of our early constitution.

This is supported with great acuteness and learning; nor is it possible to deny that the King of England, as the law-books represent him, is considerably different from what we generally conceive an ancient German chieftain to have been. Yet I doubt whether Mr. Allen has not laid too much stress on this, and given to the fictions of law a greater influence than they possessed in those times to which his inquiry relates; and whether, also, what he calls the monarchical theory was so much derived from foreign sources as he apprehends. We have no occasion to seek, in the systems of civilians or the dogmas of churchmen, what arose from a deep-seated principle of human nature. A king is a person; to persons alone we attach the attributes of power and wisdom; on persons we bestow our affection or our ill-will. An abstraction, a politic idea of royalty, is convenient for lawyers; it suits the speculative reasoner, but it never can become so familiar to a people, especially one too rude to have listened to such reasoners, as the simple image of the king, the one man whom we are to love and to fear. The other idea is a sort of monarchical pantheism, of which the vanishing point is a republic. And to this the prevalent theory, that kings are to reign but not to govern, cannot but lead. It is a plausible, and in the main, perhaps, for the times we have reached, a necessary theory; but it renders monarchy ultimately scarcely possible. And it was neither the sentiment of the Anglo-Saxons, nor of the Norman baronage; the feudal relation was essentially and exclusively personal; and if we had not enough, in a more universal feeling of human nature, to account for loyalty, we could not mistake its inevitable connection with the fealty and homage of the vassal. The influence of Roman notions was not inconsiderable upon the continent; but they never prevailed very much here; and though, after the close alliance between the church and state established by the Reformation, the whole weight of the former was thrown into the scale of the crown, the mediæval clergy, as I have observed in the text, were anything rather than upholders of despotic power.

It may be very true that, by considering the monarchy as a merely political institution, the scheme of prudent men to avoid confusion, and confer the minimum of personal authority on the reigning prince, the principle of his irresponsibility seems to be better maintained. But the question to which we are turning our eyes is not a political one; it relates to the positive law and positive sentiments of the English nation in the mediæval period. And here I cannot put a few necessary fictions grown up in the courts, such as, the king never dies, the king can do no wrong, the king is everywhere, against the tenor of our constitutional language, which implies an actual and active personality. Mr.

Allen acknowledges that the act against the Dispensers under Edward II., and reconfirmed after its repeal, for promulgating the doctrine that allegiance had more regard to the crown than to the person of the king, "seems to establish, as the deliberate opinion of the legislature, that allegiance is due to the person of the king generally, and not merely to his crown or politic capacity, so as to be released and destroyed by his misgovernment of the kingdom" (p. 14); which, he adds, is not easily reconcilable with the deposition of Richard II. But that was accomplished by force, with whatever formalities it may have been thought expedient to surround it.

We cannot, however, infer from the declaration of the legislature, that allegiance is due to the king's person and not to his politic capacity, any such consequence as that it is not, in any possible case, to be released by his misgovernment. This was surely not in the spirit of any parliament under Edward II. or Edward III.; and it is precisely because allegiance is due to the person, that, upon either feudal or natural principles, it might be cancelled by personal misconduct. A contrary language was undoubtedly held under the Stuarts; but it was not that of the mediæval period.

The tenet of our law, that all the soil belongs theoretically to the king, is undoubtedly an enormous fiction, and very repugnant to the barbaric theory preserved by the Saxons, that all unappropriated land belonged to the folk, and was unalienable without its consent.[a] It was, however, but an extension of the feudal tenure to the whole kingdom, and rested on the personality of feudal homage. William established it more by his power than by any theory of lawyers; though doubtless his successors often found lawyers as ready to shape the acts of power into a theory as if they had originally projected them. And thus grew up the high schemes of prerogative, which, for many centuries, were in conflict with those of liberty. We are not able, nevertheless, to define the constitutional authority of the Saxon kings; it was not legislative, nor was that of William and his successors ever such; it was not exclusive of redress for private wrong, nor was this ever the theory of English law, though the method of remedy might not be sufficiently effective; yet it had certainly grown before the Conquest, with no help from Roman notions, to something very unlike that of the German kings in Tacitus.

Note XXVIII.

The reduction of the free ceorls into villenage, especially if as general as is usually assumed, is one of the most remarkable innovations during the Anglo-Norman period; and one which, as far as our published records extend, we cannot wholly explain. Observations have been made on it by Mr. Wright, in the Archæologia (vol. xxx. p. 225). After adverting to the oppression of the peasants in Normandy which produced several rebellions, he proceeds thus:—"These feelings of hatred and contempt for the peasantry were brought into our island by the Norman barons in the latter half of the eleventh century. The Saxon laws and customs continued; but the Normans acted as the Franks had done towards the Roman coloni; they enforced with harshness the laws which were in their own favor, and gradually threw aside, or broke through, those which were in favor of the miserable serf."

In the Laws of Henry I. we find the weregild of the twyhinder, or villein, set at 200 shillings in Wessex, "quæ caput regni est et legum" (c. 70). But this expression argues an Anglo-Saxon source; and, in fact, so much in that treatise seems to be copied, without regard to the

[a] It has been mentioned in a former note, on Mr. Allen's authority, that the folcland had acquired the appellation *terra regis* before the Conquest.

change of times, from old authorities, mixed up with provisions of a feudal or Norman character, that we hardly know how to distinguish what belongs to each period. It is far from improbable that villenage, in the sense the word afterwards bore, that is, an absolutely servile tenure of lands, not only without legal rights over them, but with an incapacity of acquiring either immovable or movable property against the lord, may have made considerable strides before the reign of Henry II.[a] But unless light should be thrown on its history by the publication of more records, it seems almost impossible to determine the introduction of predial villenage more precisely than to say it does not appear in the laws of England at the Conquest, and it does so in the time of Glanvil. Mr. Wright's Memoir in the Archæologia, above quoted, contains some interesting matter; but he has too much confounded the *theow*, or Anglo-Saxon slave, with the *ceorl;* not even mentioning the latter, though it is indisputable that *villanus* is the equivalent of *ceorl*, and *servus* of *theow*.

But I suspect that we go a great deal too far in setting down the descendants of these ceorls, that is, the whole Anglo-Saxon population except thanes and burgesses, as almost universally to be counted such villeins as we read of in our law-books, or in concluding that the cultivators of the land, even in the thirteenth century, were wholly, or at least generally, servile. It is not only evident that small freeholders were always numerous, but we are, perhaps, greatly deceived in fancying that the occupiers of villein tenements were usually villeins. *Terre tenants en villenage* and tenants *par copie*, who were undoubtedly free, appear in the early Year-books, and we know not why they may not always have existed.[b] This, however, is a subject which I am not sufficiently conversant with records to explore; it deserves the attention of those well-informed and diligent antiquaries whom we possess. Meantime it is to be observed that the lands occupied by *villani* or *bordarii*, according to the Domesday survey, were much more extensive than the copyholds of the present day; and making every allowance for enfranchisements, we can hardly believe that all these lands, being, in fact, by far the greater part of the soil, were the *villenagia* of Glanvil's and Bracton's age. It would be interesting to ascertain at what time the latter were distinguished from *libera tenementa;* at what time, that is, the distinction of territorial servitude, independent as it was of the personal state of the occupant, was established in England.

Note XXIX.

This identity of condition between the villein regardant and in gross appears to have been, even lately, called in question, and some adhere to the theory which supposes an inferiority in the latter. The following considerations will prove that I have not been mistaken in rejecting it:—

I. It will not be contended that the words "regardant" and "in gross" indicate of themselves any specific difference between the two, or can mean anything but the title by which the villein was held; pre-

a A presumptive proof of this may be drawn from a chapter in the Laws of Henry I. c. 81, where the penalty payable by a villein for certain petty offences is set at thirty pence; that of a *cotset* at fifteen; and of a theow at six. The passage is extremely obscure; and this proportion of the three classes of men is almost the only part that appears evident. The cotset, who is often mentioned in Domesday, may thus have been an inferior villein, nearly similar to what Glanvil and later law-books call such.

b The following passage in the Chronicle of Brakelond does not mention any manumission of the ceorl on whom Abbot Samson conferred a manor:—Unum solum manerium carta sua confirmavit cuidam Anglico natione, *glebæ adscripto*, de cujus fidelitate plenius confidebat quis bonus agricola erat, et quia nesciebat lo qui Gallice. P. 24.

scriptive and territorial in one case, absolute in the other. For the proof, therefore, of any such difference we require some ancient authority, which has not been given. II. The villein regardant might be severed from the manor, with or without land, and would then become a villein in gross. If he was sold as a domestic serf, he might, perhaps, be practically in a lower condition than before, but his legal state was the same. If he was aliened with lands, parcel of the manor, as in the case of its descent to coparceners who made partition, he would no longer be regardant, because that implied a prescriptive dependence on the lord, but would occupy the same tenements and be in exactly the same position as before. "Villein in gross," says Littleton, "is where a man is seised of a manor whereunto a villein is regardant, and granteth the same villein by deed to another; then he is a villein in gross, and not regardant." (Sect. 181.) III. The servitude of all villeins was so complete that we cannot conceive degrees in it. No one could purchase lands or possess goods of his own; we do not find that any one, being strictly a villein, held by certain services; "he must have regard," says Coke, "to that which is commanded unto him; or, in the words of Bracton, 'a quo præstandum servitium incertum et indeterminatum, ubi scire non poterit vespere quod servitium fieri debet mane.'" (Co. Lit. 120, b.) How could a villein in gross be lower than this? It is true that the villein had one inestimable advantage over the American negro, that he was a freeman, except relatively to his lord; possibly he might be better protected against personal injury; but in his incapacity of acquiring secure property, or of refusing labor, he was just on the same footing. It may be conjectured that some villeins in gross were descended from the *servi*, of whom we find 25,000 enumerated in Domesday. Littleton says, "If a man and his ancestors, whose heir he is, have been seised of a villein and of his ancestors, as of villeins in gross, time out of memory of man, these are villeins in gross." (Sect. 182.)

It has been often asserted that villeins in gross seem not to have been a numerous class, and it might not be easy to adduce distinct instances of them in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, though we should scarcely infer, from the pains Littleton takes to describe them, that none were left in his time. But some may be found in an earlier age. In the ninth of John, William sued Ralph the priest for granting away lands which he held to Canford priory. Ralph pleaded that they were his freehold. William replied that he held them in villenage, and that he (the plaintiff) had sold one of Ralph's sisters for four shillings. (Blomefield's Norfolk, vol. iii. p. 860, 4to edition.) And Mr. Wright has found in Madox's Formulare Anglicanum not less than five instances of villeins sold with their family and chattels, but without land. (Archæologia, xxx. 228.) Even where they were sold along with land, unless it were a manor, they would, as has been observed before, have been villeins in gross. I have, however, been informed that in valuations under escheats in the old records a separate value is never put upon villeins; their alienation without the land was apparently not contemplated. Few cases concerning villeins in gross, it has been said, occur in the Year-books; but villenage of any kind does not furnish a great many; and in several I do not perceive, in consulting the report, that the party can be shown to have been regardant. One reason why villeins in gross should have become less and less numerous was that they could, for the most part, only be claimed by showing a written grant, or by prescription through descent; so that, if the title-deed were lost, or the descent unproved, the villein became free.

Manumissions were often, no doubt, gratuitous; in some cases the villein seems to have purchased his freedom. For though in strictness, as Glanvil tells us, he could not "libertatem suam suis denariis

quærere," inasmuch as all he possessed already belonged to the lord, it would have been thought a meanness to insist on so extreme a right. In order, however, to make the deed more secure, it was usual to insert the name of a third person as paying the consideration-money for the enfranchisement. (Archæologia, xxx. 228.)

It appears not by any means improbable that regular money payments, or other fixed liabilities, were often substituted instead of uncertain services for the benefit of the lord as well as the tenant. And when these had lasted a considerable time in any manor, the villenage of the latter, without any manumission, would have expired by desuetude. But, perhaps, an entry of his tenure on the court-roll, with a copy given to himself, would operate of itself, in construction of law, as a manumission. This I do not pretend to determine.

Note XXX.

The public history of Europe in the middle ages inadequately represents the popular sentiment, or only when it is expressed too loudly to escape the regard of writers intent sometimes on less important subjects. But when we descend below the surface, a sullen murmur of discontent meets the ear, and we perceive that mankind was not more insensible to wrongs and sufferings than at present. Besides the various outbreakings of the people in several counties, and their complaints in parliament, after the commons obtained a representation, we gain a conclusive insight into the spirit of the times by their popular poetry. Two very interesting collections of this kind have been lately published by the Camden Society, through the diligence of Mr. Thomas Wright; one, the Poems attributed to Walter Mapes; the other, the Political Songs of England, from John to Edward II.

Mapes lived under Henry II., and has long been known as the reputed author of humorous Latin verses; but it seems much more probable, that the far greater part of the collection lately printed is not from his hand. They may pass, not for the production of a single person, but rather of a class, during many years, or, in general words, a century, ending with the death of Henry III. in 1272. Many of them are professedly written by an imaginary Golias.

"They are not the expressions of hostility of one man against an order of monks, but of the indignant patriotism of a considerable portion of the English nation against the encroachments of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny." (Introduction to Poems ascribed to Walter Mapes, p. 21.) The poems in this collection reflect almost entirely on the pope and the higher clergy. They are all in rhyming Latin, and chiefly, though with exceptions, in the loose trochaic metre called Leonine. The authors, therefore, must have been clerks, actuated by the spirit which, in a church of great inequality in its endowments, and with a very numerous body of poor clergy, is apt to gain strength, but certainly, as ecclesiastical history bears witness, not one of mere envious malignity towards the prelates and the court of Rome. These deserved nothing better, in the thirteenth century, than biting satire and indignant reproof, and the poets were willing enough to bestow both.

But this popular poetry of the middle ages did not confine itself to the church. In the collection entitled "Political Songs" we have some reflecting on Henry III., some on the general administration. The famous song on the battle of Lewes in 1264 is the earliest in English; but in the reign of Edward I. several occur in that language. Others are in French or in Latin; one complaining of the taxes is in an odd mixture of these two languages; which, indeed, is not without other

examples in mediæval poetry. These Latin songs could not, of course, have been generally understood. But what the priests sung in Latin, they said in English; the lower clergy fanned the flame, and gave utterance to what others felt. It may, perhaps, be remarked, as a proof of general sympathy with the democratic spirit which was then fermenting, that we have a song of exultation on the great defeat which Philip IV. had just sustained at Courtrai, in 1302, by the burgesses of the Flemish cities, on whose liberties he had attempted to trample (p. 187). It is true that Edward I. was on ill terms with France, but the political interests of the king would not, perhaps, have dictated the popular ballad.

It was an idle exaggeration in him who said that, if he could make the ballads of a people, any one might make their laws. Ballads, like the press, and especially that portion of the press which bears most analogy to them, generally speaking, give vent to a spirit which has been at work before. But they had, no doubt, an influence in rendering more determinate, as well as more active, that resentment of wrong, that indignation at triumphant oppression, that belief in the vices of the great, which, too often for social peace and their own happiness, are cherished by the poor. In comparison, indeed, with the efficacy of the modern press, the power of ballads is trifling. Their lively sprightliness, the humorous tone of their satire, even their metrical form, sheathe the sting; and it is only in times when political bitterness is at its height that any considerable influence can be attached to them, and then it becomes undistinguishable from more energetic motives. Those which we read in the collection above mentioned appear to me rather the signs of popular discontent than greatly calculated to enhance it. In that sense they are very interesting, and we cannot but desire to see the promised continuation to the end of Richard II.'s reign.[a] They are said to have become afterwards less frequent, though the wars of the Roses were likely to bring them forward.

Some of the political songs are written in France, though relating to our kings John and Henry III. Deducting these, we have two in Latin for the former reign; seven in Latin, three in French (or what the editor calls Anglo-Norman, which is really the same thing), one in a mixture of the two, and one in English, for the reign of Henry III. In the reigns of Edward I. and Edward II. we have eight in Latin, three in French, nine in English, and four in mixed languages; a style employed probably for amusement. It must be observed that a large proportion of these songs contain panegyric and exultation on victory rather than satire; and that of the satire much is general, and much falls on the church; so that the animadversions on the king and the nobility are not very frequent, though with considerable boldness; but this is more shown in the Latin than the English poems.

a Mr. Wright has given a few specimens in Essays on the Literature and Popular Superstition of England in the Middle Ages, vol. i. p. 257. In fact we may reckon Piers Plowman an instance of popular satire, though far superior to the rest.

NOTES TO BOOK IX.

NOTE I.

A rapid decline of learning began in the sixth century, of which Gregory of Tours is both a witness and an example. It is, therefore, properly one of the dark ages, more so by much than the eleventh, which concludes them; since very few were left in the church who possessed any acquaintance with classical authors, or who wrote with any command of the Latin language. Their studies, whenever they studied at all, were almost exclusively theological; and this must be understood as to the subsequent centuries. By theological is meant the vulgate Scriptures and some of the Latin fathers; not, however, by reasoning upon them, or doing much more than introducing them as authority in their own words. In the seventh century, and still more at the beginning of the eighth, very little even of this remained in France, where we find hardly a name deserving of remembrance in a literary sense; but Isidore, and our own Bede, do honor to Spain and Britain.

It may certainly be said for France and Germany, notwithstanding a partial interruption in the latter part of the ninth and beginning of the tenth century, that they were gradually progressive from the time of Charlemagne. But then this progress was so very slow, and the men in front of it so little capable of bearing comparison with those of later times, considering their writings positively and without indulgence, that it is by no means unjust to call the centuries dark which elapsed between Charlemagne and the manifest revival of literary pursuits towards the end of the eleventh century. Alcuin, for example, has left us a good deal of poetry. This is superior to what we find in some other writers of the obscure period, and indicates both a correct ear and a familiarity with the Latin poets, especially Ovid. Still his verses are not as good as those which school-boys of fourteen now produce, either in poetical power or in accuracy of language and metre. The errors indeed are innumerable. Aldhelm, an earlier Anglo-Saxon poet, with more imaginative spirit, is further removed from classical poetry. Lupus, abbot of Ferrières, early in the ninth century, in some of his epistles writes tolerable Latin, though this is far from being always the case; he is smitten with a love of classical literature, quotes several poets and prose writers, and is almost as curious about little points of philology as an Italian scholar of the fifteenth century. He was continually borrowing books in order to transcribe them—a proof, however, of their scarcity and of the low condition of general learning, which is the chief point we have to regard.[a] But his more celebrated correspondent, Eginhard, went beyond him. Both his Annals and the Life of Charlemagne are very well written, in a classical spirit, unlike the church Latin; though a few words and phrases may not be of the best age, I should place Eginhard above Alcuin and Lupus, or, as far as I know, any other of the Caroline period.

The tenth century has in all times borne the worst name. Baronius calls it, in one page, *plumbeum, obscurum, infelix*. (Annales, A.D. 900.) And Cave, who dubs all his centuries by some epithet, assigns *ferreum*

[a] The writings of Lupus Servatus, Abbot of Ferrières, were published by Baluze; and a good account of them will be found in Ampère's Hist. Litt. (vol. iii. p. 237), as well as in older works. He is a much better writer than Gregory of Tours, but quite as much inferior to Sidonius Apollinaris. I have observed in Lupus quotations from Horace, Virgil, Martial, Cicero, Aulus Gellius, and Trogus Pompeius (meaning probably Justin).

to the tenth. Nevertheless, there was considerably less ignorance in France and Germany during the latter part of this age than before the reign of Charlemagne, or even in it; more glimmerings of acquaintance with the Latin classics appear; and the schools, cathedral and conventual, had acquired a more regular and uninterrupted scheme of instruction. The degraded condition of papal Rome has led many to treat this century rather worse than it deserves; and indeed Italy was sunk very low in ignorance. As to the eleventh century, the upward progress was extremely perceptible. It is commonly reckoned among the dark ages till near its close; but these phrases are of course used comparatively, and because the difference between that and the twelfth was more sensible than we find in any two that are consecutive since the sixth.

The state of literature in England was by no means parallel to what we find on the continent. Our best age was precisely the worst in France; it was the age of the Heptarchy—that of Theodore, Bede, Aldhelm, Cædmon, and Alcuin; to whom, if Ireland will permit us, we may desire to add Scotus, who came a little afterwards, but whose residence in this island at any time appears an unauthenticated tale. But we know how Alfred speaks of the ignorance of the clergy in his own age. Nor was this much better afterwards. Even the eleventh century, especially before the Conquest, is a very blank period in the literary annals of England. No one can have a conception how wretchedly scanty is the list of literary names from Alfred to the Conquest, who does not look to Mr. Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, or to Mr. Wright's Biographia Literaria.

There could be no general truth respecting the past, as it appeared to me, more notorious, or more incapable of being denied with any plausibility, than the characteristic ignorance of Europe during those centuries which we commonly style the Dark Ages. A powerful stream, however, of what, as to the majority at least, I must call prejudice, has been directed of late years in an opposite direction. The mediæval period, in manners, in arts, in literature, and especially in religion, has been regarded with unwonted partiality; and this favorable temper has been extended to those ages which had lain most frequently under the ban of historical and literary censure.

A considerable impression has been made on the predisposed by the Letters on the Dark Ages, which we owe to Dr. Maitland. Nor is this by any means surprising; both because the predisposed are soon convinced, and because the Letters are written with great ability, accurate learning, a spirited and lively pen, and consequently with a success in skirmishing warfare which many readily mistake for the gain of a pitched battle. Dr. Maitland is endowed with another quality, far more rare in historical controversy, especially of the ecclesiastical kind: I believe him to be of scrupulous integrity, minutely exact in all that he asserts; and indeed the wrath and asperity, which sometimes appear rather more than enough, are only called out by what he conceives to be wilful or slovenly misrepresentation. Had I, therefore, the leisure and means of following Dr. Maitland through his quotations, I should probably abstain from doing so from the reliance I should place on his testimony, both in regard to his power of discerning truth and his desire to express it. But I have no call for any examination, could I institute it; since the result of my own reflections is that everything which Dr. M. asserts as matter of fact—I do not say suggests in all his language—may be perfectly true, without affecting the great proposition that the dark ages, those from the sixth to the eleventh, were ages of ignorance. Nor does he, as far as I collect, attempt to deny this evident truth; it is merely his object to prove that they were less ignorant, less dark, and in all points of view less worthy of condemna-

tion than many suppose. I do not gainsay this position; being aware, as I have observed both in this and in another work, that the mere ignorance of these ages, striking as it is in comparison with earlier and later times, has been sometimes exaggerated; and that Europeans, and especially Christians, could not fall back into the absolute barbarism of the Esquimaux. But what a man of profound and accurate learning puts forward with limitations, sometimes expressed, and always present to his own mind, a heady and shallow retailer takes up, and exaggerates in conformity with his own prejudices.

The Letters on the Dark Ages relate principally to the theological attainments of the clergy during that period, which the author assumes, rather singularly, to extend from A.D. 800 to 1200; thus excluding midnight from his definition of darkness, and replacing it by the break of day. And in many respects, especially as to the knowledge of the vulgate Scriptures possessed by the better-informed clergy, he obtains no very difficult victory over those who have imbibed extravagant notions, both as to the ignorance of the Sacred Writings in those times and the desire to keep them away from the people. This latter prejudice is obviously derived from a confusion of the subsequent period, the centuries preceding the Reformation, with those which we have immediately before us. But as the word dark is commonly used, either in reference to the body of the laity or to the general extent of liberal studies in the church, and as it involves a comparison with prior or subsequent ages, it cannot be improper in such a sense, even if the manuscripts of the Bible should have been as common in monasteries as Dr. Maitland supposes; and yet his proofs seem much too doubtful to sustain that hypothesis.

There is a tendency to set aside the verdict of the most approved writers, which gives too much of a polemical character, too much of the tone of an advocate who fights every point, rather than of a calm arbitrator, to the Letters on the Dark Ages. For it is not Henry, or Jortin, or Robertson, who are our usual testimonies, but their immediate masters, Muratori, and Fleury, and Tiraboschi, and Brucker and the Benedictine authors of the Literary History of France, and many others in France, Italy, and Germany. The latest who has gone over this rather barren ground, and not inferior to any in well-applied learning, in candor or good sense, is M. Ampère, in his Histoire Littéraire de la France avant le douzième siècle (3 vols. Paris, 1840). No one will accuse this intelligent writer of unduly depreciating the ages which he thus brings before us; and by the perusal of his volumes, to which Heeren and Eichhorn may be added for Germany, we may obtain a clear and correct outline, which, considering the shortness of life compared with the importance of exact knowledge on such a subject, will suffice for the great majority of readers. I by no means, however, would exclude the Letters on the Dark Ages, as a spirited pleading for those who have often been condemned unheard.

I shall conclude by remarking that one is a little tempted to inquire why so much anxiety is felt by the advocates of the mediæval church to rescue her from the charge of ignorance. For this ignorance she was not, generally speaking, to be blamed. It was no crime of the clergy that the Huns burned their churches, or the Normans pillaged their monasteries. It was not by their means that the Saracens shut up the supply of papyrus, and that sheepskins bore a great price. Europe was altogether decayed in intellectual character, partly in consequence of the barbarian incursions, partly of other sinister influences acting long before. We certainly owe to the church every spark of learning which then glimmered, and which she preserved through that darkness to rekindle the light of a happier age—Σπέρμα πυρὸς σώζουσα Meantime, what better apology than this ignorance can be made by

Protestants, and I presume Dr. Maitland is not among those who abjure the name, for the corruption, the superstition, the tendency to usurpation, which they at least must impute to the church of the dark ages? Not that in these respects it was worse than in a less obscure period; for the reverse is true; but the fabric of popery was raised upon its foundations before the eleventh century, though not displayed in its full proportions till afterwards. And there was so much of lying legend, so much of fraud in the acquisition of property, that ecclesiastical historians have not been loath to acknowledge the general ignorance as a sort of excuse. [1848.]

Note II.

The account of domestic architecture given in the text is very superficial; but the subject still remains, comparatively with other portions of mediæval antiquity, but imperfectly treated. The best sketch that has hitherto been given is in an article with this title in the Glossary of Ancient Architecture (which should be read in an edition not earlier than that of 1845), from the pen of Mr. Twopeny, whose attention has long been directed to the subject. "There is ample evidence yet remaining of the domestic architecture in this country during the twelfth century. The ordinary manor-houses, and even houses of greater consideration, appear to have been generally built in the form of a parallelogram, two stories high,[a] the lower story vaulted, with no internal communication between the two, the upper story approached by a flight of steps on the outside; and in that story was sometimes the only fireplace in the whole building. It is more than probable that this was the usual style of houses in the preceding century." Instances of houses partly remaining are then given. We may add to those mentioned by Mr. Twopeny one, perhaps older than any, and better preserved than some, in his list. At Southampton is a Norman house, perhaps built in the first part of the twelfth century. It is nearly a square, the outer walls tolerably perfect; the principal rooms appear to have been on the first (or upper) floor; it has in this also a fireplace and chimney, and four windows placed so as to indicate a division into two apartments; but there are no lights below, nor any appearance of an interior staircase. The sides are about forty feet in length. Another house of the same age is near to it, but much worse preserved.[b]

a This is rather equivocal, but it is certainly not meant that there were ever two floors above that on the ground. In the review of the "Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs," published in the Archæological Journal (vol. iv. p. 273), we read—"The houses in London, of whatever material, seem never to have exceeded one story in height." P. 282.) But, soon afterwards—"The ground floor of the London houses at this period was aptly enough called a cellar, the upper story a solar." It thus appears that the reviewer does not mean the same thing as Mr. Twopeny by the word story, which the former confines to the floor above that on the ground, while the latter includes both. The use of language, as we know, supports, in some measure, either meaning; but perhaps it is more correct, and more common, to call the first story that which is reached by a staircase from the ground-floor. The solar, or sleeping-room, raised above the cellar, was often of wood.

b See a full description in the Archæological Journal, vol. iv. p. 11. Those who visit Southampton may seek this house near a gate in the west wall. We may add to the contribution of Mr. Twopeny one published in the Proceedings of the Archæological Institute, by Mr. Hudson Turner, Nov. 1847. This is chiefly founded on documents, as that of Mr. Twopeny is on existing remains. These give more light where they can be found; but the number is very small. Upon the whole, it may be here observed, that we are frequently misled by works of fiction as to the domestic condition of our forefathers. The house of Cedric the Saxon in Ivanhoe, with its distinct and numerous apartments, is very unlike any that remain or can be traced. This is by no means to be censured in the romancer, whose aim is to delight by images more splen-

The parallelogram house, seldom containing more than four rooms, with no access frequently to the upper which the family occupied, except on the outside, was gradually replaced by one on a different type:—the entrance was on the ground, the staircase within; a kitchen and other offices, originally detached, were usually connected with the hall by a passage running through the house; one or more apartments on the lower floor extended beyond the hall; there was seldom or never a third floor over the entire house, but detached turrets for sleeping-rooms rose at some of the angles. This was the typical form which lasted, as we know, to the age of Elizabeth, or even later. The superior houses of this class were sometimes quadrangular, that is, including a court-yard, but seldom, perhaps, with more than one side allotted to the main dwelling; offices, stables, or mere walls filled the other three.

Many dwellings erected in the fourteenth century may be found in England; but neither of that nor the next age are there more than a very few, which are still, in their chief rooms, inhabited by gentry. But houses, which by their marks of decoration, or by external proof, are ascertained to have been formerly occupied by good families, though now in the occupation of small farmers, and built apparently from the reign of the second to that of the fourth Edward, are common in many countries. They generally bear the name of court, hall, or grange, sometimes only the surname of some ancient occupant, and very frequently have been the residence of the lord of the manor.

The most striking circumstance in the oldest houses is not so much their precautions for defence in the outside staircase, and when that was disused, the better safeguard against robbery in the moat which frequently environed the walls, the strong gateway, the small window broken by mullions, which are no more than we should expect in the times, as the paucity of apartments, so that both sexes, and that even in high rank, must have occupied the same room. The progress of a regard to decency in domestic architecture has been gradual, and in some respects has been increasing up to our own age. But the mediæval period shows little of it; though in the advance of wealth, a greater division of apartments distinguishes the houses of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries from those of an earlier period.

The French houses of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were probably much of the same arrangement as the English; the middle and lower classes had but one hall and one chamber; those superior to them had the solarium or upper floor, as with us. See Archæological Journal (vol. i. p. 212), where proofs are adduced from the fabliaux of Barbasan. [1848.]

Note III.

The Abbé de Sade, in whose copious memoirs of the life of Petrarch, which illustrate in an agreeable though rather prolix manner the civil and literary history of Provence and Italy in the fourteenth century, endeavored to establish his own descent from Laura, as the wife of Hughes de Sade, and born in the family de Noves. This hypothesis has since been received with general acquiescence by literary men; and Tiraboschi in particular, whose talent lay in these petty biographical researches, and who had a prejudice against everything that came from France, seems to consider it as decisively proved. But it has been called in question in a modern publication by the late Lord

did than truth; but, especially when presented by one who possessed in some respects a considerable knowledge of antiquity, and was rather fond of displaying it, there is some danger lest the reader should believe that he has a faithful picture before him.

Woodhouselee. (Essay on the Life and Character of Petrarch, 1810.) I shall not offer any opinion as to the identity of Petrarch's mistress with Laura de Sade; but the main position of Lord W.'s essay, that Laura was an unmarried woman, and the object of an honorable attachment in her lover, seems irreconcilable with the evidence that his writings supply. 1. There is no passage in Petrarch, whether of poetry or prose, that alludes to the virgin character of Laura, or gives her the usual appellations of unmarried women, puella in Latin, or donzella in Italian; even in the Trionfo della Castità, where so obvious an opportunity occurred. Yet this was naturally to be expected from so ethereal an imagination as that of Petrarch, always inclined to invest her with the halo of celestial purity. We know how Milton took hold of the mystical notions of virginity; notions more congenial to the religion of Petrarch than his own:

> Quod tibi perpetuus pudor, et sine labe juventas
> Pura fuit, quod nulla tori libata voluptas,
> En etiam tibi virginei servantur honores.
> Epitaphium Damonis.

2. The coldness of Laura towards so passionate and deserving a lover, if no insurmountable obstacle intervened during his twenty years of devotion, would be at least a mark that his attachment was misplaced, and show him in rather a ridiculous light. It is not surprising, that persons believing Laura to be unmarried, as seems to have been the case with the Italian commentators, should have thought his passion affected, and little more than poetical. But upon the contrary supposition, a thread runs through the whole of his poetry, and gives it consistency. A love on the one side, instantaneously conceived, and retained by the susceptibility of a tender heart and ardent fancy; nourished by slight encouragement, and seldom presuming to hope for more; a mixture of prudence and coquetry on the other, kept within bounds either by virtue or by the want of mutual attachment, yet not dissatisfied with fame more brilliant and flattery more refined than had ever before been the lot of woman—these are surely pretty natural circumstances, and such as do not render the story less intelligible. Unquestionably such a passion is not innocent. But Lord Woodhouselee, who is so much scandalized at it, knew little, one would think, of the fourteenth century. His standard is taken not from Avignon, but from Edinburgh, a much better place, no doubt, and where the moral barometer stands at a very different altitude. In one passage (p. 188) he carries his strictness to an excess of prudery. From all we know of the age of Petrarch, the only matter of astonishment is the persevering virtue of Laura. The troubadours boast of much better success with Provençal ladies. 3. But the following passage from Petrarch's dialogues with St. Augustin, the work, as is well known, where he most unbosoms himself, will leave no doubt, I think, that his passion could not have been gratified consistently with honor. At mulier ista celebris, quam tibi certissimam ducem fingis, ad superos cur non hæsitantem trepidumque direxerit, et quod cæcis fieri solet, manu apprehensum non tenuit, quò et gradiendum foret admonuit? PETR. Fecit hoc illa quantum potuit. Quid enim aliud egit, cum nullis mota precibus, nullis victa blanditiis, muliebrem tenuit decorem, et adversus suam semel et meam ætatem, adversus multa et varia quæ flectere adamantium spiritum debuissent, inexpugnabilis et firma permansit? Profectò animus iste fœmineus quid virum decuit admonebat, præstabatque ne in sectando pudicitiæ studio, ut verbis utar Senecæ, aut exemplum aut convitium deesset; postremò cum lorifragum ac præcipitem videret, deserere maluit potius quàm sequi. AUGUST. Turpe igitur aliquid interdum voluisti, quod supra negaveras. At iste vulgatus amantium, vel, ut dicam verius, amantium furor est, ut omnibus meritò dici possit:

volo nolo, nolo volo. Vobis ipsis quid velitis, aut nolitis, ignotum est. PET. Invitus in laqueum offendi. Si quid tamen olim aliter forte voluissem, amor ætasque coëgerunt; nunc quid velim et cupiam scio, firmavique jam tandem animum labentem; contra autem illa propositi tenax et semper una permansit, quare constantiam fœmineam quò magis intelligo, magis admiror: idque sibi consilium fuisse, si unquam debuit, gaudeo nunc et gratias ago. AUG. Semel fallenti, non facile rursus fides habenda est: tu prius mores atque habitum, vitamque mutavisti, quàm animum mutâsse persuadeas; mitigatur forte si tuus leniturque ignis, extinctus non est. Tu verò qui tantum dilectioni tribuis, non animadvertis, illam absolvendo, quantam te ipse condemnas; illam fateri libet fuisse sanctissimam dum de insanum scelestumque fateare.—De Contemptu Mundi, Dialog. 3, p. 367, edit. 1581.

NOTE IV.

The progress of our language in proceedings of the legislature is so well described in the preface to the authentic edition of Statutes of the Realm, published by the Record Commission, that I shall transcribe the passage, which I copy from Mr. Cooper's useful account of the Public Records (vol. i. p. 189):—

"The earliest instance recorded of the use of the English language in any parliamentary proceeding is in 36 Edw. III. The style of the roll of that year is in French as usual, but it is expressly stated that the causes of summoning the parliament were declared *en Englois:* and the like circumstance is noted in 37 and 38 Edw. III.[a] In the 5th year of Richard II., the chancellor is stated to have made *un bone collacion en Engleys* (introductory, as was then sometimes the usage, to the commencement of business), though he made use of the common French form for opening the parliament. A petition from the 'Folk of the Mercerye of London,' in the 10th year of the same reign, is in English; and it appears also that in the 17th year the Earl of Arundel asked pardon of the Duke of Lancaster by the award of the King and Lords, in their presence in parliament, in a form of English words. The cession and renunciation of the crown by Richard II. is stated to have been read before the estates of the realm and the people in Westminster Hall, first in Latin and afterwards in English, but it is entered on the parliament roll only in Latin. And the challenge of the crown by Henry IV., with his thanks after the allowance of his title, in the same assembly, are recorded in English, which is termed his maternal tongue. So also is the speech of Lord William Thyrning, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, to the late King Richard, announcing to him the sentence of his deposition, and the yielding up, on the part of the people, of their fealty and allegiance. In the 6th year of the reign of Henry IV. an English answer is given to a petition of the Commons, touching a proposed resumption of certain grants of the crown to the intent the king might live of his own. The English language afterwards appears occasionally, through the reigns of Henry IV. and Henry V. In the first and second and subsequent years of Henry VI., the petitions or bills, and in many cases the answers also, on which the statutes were afterwards framed, are found frequently in English; but the statutes are entered on the roll in French or Latin. From the 23d year of Henry VI. these petitions or bills are almost universally in English, as is also sometimes the form of the royal assent; but the statutes continued to be enrolled in French or Latin. Sometimes Latin

[a] References are given to the Rolls of Parliament throughout this extract.

and French are used in the same statute,[b] as in 8 Hen. VI., 27 Hen. VI., and 39 Hen. VI. The last statute wholly in Latin on record is 33 Hen. VI. c. 2. The statutes of Edward IV. are entirely in French. The statutes of Richard III. are in many manuscripts in French in a complete statute form; and they were so printed in his reign and that of his successor. In the earlier English editions a translation was inserted in the same form; but in several editions, since 1618, they have been printed in English, in a different form, agreeing, so far as relates to the acts printed, with the enrolment in Chancery at the Chapel of the Rolls. The petitions and bills in parliament, during these two reigns, are all in English. The statutes of Henry VII. have always, it is believed, been published in English; but there are manuscripts containing the statutes of the first two parliaments, in his first and third year, in French. From the fourth year to the end of his reign, and from thence to the present time, they are universally in English."

b All the acts passed in the same session are legally one statute; the difference of language was in separate chapters or acts.

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MODERN HISTORY

BY

JULES MICHELET

(Translated from the French by M. C. M. SIMPSON)

WITH A SPECIAL INTRODUCTION BY

WILLIAM MACDONALD, PH.D.

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AND POLITICAL SCIENCE AT BOWDOIN COLLEGE

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SPECIAL INTRODUCTION

TO write the history of modern Europe has been the laudable ambition of many scholars; but to give to the story a form at once concise and illuminating has proved, in most instances, an impossible task. The undertaking, indeed, is not an easy one. From whatever standpoint it may be viewed—whether its chronological extent, or its mass of detail, or its balance of parts—the progress is along a road full of pitfalls for the unwary, and beset with difficulties even for the most cautious and best equipped. Those who have essayed the work have commonly attained one of two results. They have given us either an orderly statement of events, accurate enough, of course, but devoid of literary interest; or else an entertaining treatment of episodes, brilliant, often, and important, but little suggestive of the continuity which is, after all, the great characteristic of history. Any one can write annals; many can write essays; few can make the chief things of an historical period unfold before us with a sure impression of inevitableness. That Michelet should have produced, in his youth, a summary account of European history which is not only better than most of its competitors, but also in itself a work of distinction, is a notable thing in modern historical writing.

Born in Paris, August 21, 1798, Jules Michelet had none of the advantages of social position and pecuniary resource which have often so much aided the development of genius. His parents, natives, the one of the Ardennes, the other of Picardy, came to Paris after the Reign of Terror, and set up, in the choir of an old church, a printing office; and it was here that Michelet was born. The hand of Napoleon, however, bore heavily on newspapers and books, and the family before long came to want. So the young Jules learned, at a tender age, the trade of a printer, supplementing with his youthful efforts the labor of his father

and grandfather, other workmen having been, perforce, discharged. Such surroundings gave scanty opportunity for education. Michelet had lessons from an old bookseller, "of old-fashioned manners, but an ardent revolutionist," and read eagerly a few books, among them the "Imitation of Christ." To the hard conditions and intellectual eagerness of his early years we can trace three characteristics always prominent in him. His humble origin, shown to the last even in the lines of his face, gave him a fundamental sympathy with the people; the old bookseller inspired him with love for the French Revolution, to whose history he was later to devote himself; and Thomas à Kempis made him religious.

Thanks to the devotion and sacrifices of his parents, Michelet was enabled to enter the Lycée Charlemagne, where his abilities soon won him the favorable notice and welcome assistance of Villemain, statesman and critic, and Leclerc. Socially, however, his college life was a round of sadness. His fellow students taunted him on his plebeian birth and his poverty, and sneered at his efforts to raise himself in the world. The harsh treatment drove him to solitude, and made him seek companionship in books; but he seems not to have lost faith in himself, nor to have treasured ill-feeling towards his associates.

In 1821 he passed his examination at the university, and in the same year became professor of history at the college of St. Barbe. Three years later he married, and settled down to the quiet life of a student, writer and teacher. But the time was a stirring one. The reactionary policy of the government, following upon the accession of Charles X. in 1824, was forcing into the liberal party many of the foremost journalists, teachers, and literary men of France. Both within and without France intellectual life was vigorous and productive. The decade from 1820 to 1830 was at once the end of one literary period and the beginning of another. It saw the death of De Maistre, St. Simon, and Pestalozzi, of Hoffman, Jean Paul Richter and Schlegel, of Keats, Byron, Shelley, and Ricardo. It saw also the birth of Renan, George Eliot, Spencer, Tyndall, Matthew Arnold, Buckle, Rossetti, Huxley, and George Meredith. The same years saw the publication of Goethe's "Wilhelm Meister," and the correspondence of Goethe and Schiller; of Heine's

"Gedichte," "Reisebilder," and "Buch der Lieder"; and of the first part of Comte's "Positive Philosophy."

With the political ferment of Paris ever in full view, Michelet could hardly have helped becoming, to some degree, a politician, even had he not been so disposed. But he was so disposed, and the events taking place before him drew a larger and larger share of his enthusiastic attention. Yet he was first of all a literary man, happiest in his study or his lecture room, expressing with his marvellously facile pen his political, philosophical, literary, and religious ideas; and he ceased to write only when he ceased to live.

Michelet's first considerable work, and the one in which his powers were first evident, was the "Summary of Modern History," published in 1827. In the same year he was appointed professor of history and philosophy at the École Normale, a position which he held for ten years. The revolution of 1830 opened the way to further advancement, and he became, by favor of Guizot, an official in the Archives Nationale, and, later, a deputy professor in the university. His "Roman History," begun in 1828, appeared in 1831, as did also his "Introduction to Universal History." The former essayed to awaken, for classical history, the enthusiasm which the works of Thierry and Guizot had aroused for the study of the middle ages. The latter pointed to the revolution of 1830 as the climax of the history of France. Other historical and critical writings, all the fruits of extended research, followed rapidly, including an edition of the select works of Vico, the Italian philosopher; the "Memoirs of Luther," in the form of extracts from his writings; "Les Origines du Droit Français;" and two volumes, under the title of "Les Pièces de Procés des Templiers," for the great "Collection des Documents Inédits relatifs à l'Histoire de France."

In 1837 Michelet left the École Normale, and the next year became professor of history and moral philosophy at the Collège de France. No two positions could have offered more striking contrasts. "Instead of a small number of pupils to whom he had to teach positive facts, and a rigorous method in a simple form, he saw before him an ardent, impressionable, enthusiastic crowd, who demanded no serious scientific instruction, but the momentary excitement awakened by noble and

eloquent words. The duties of his professorship were of a vague, hybrid nature, and seemed to justify a teaching that dealt more with general ideas than with facts, and gave greater prominence to daring syntheses than to the patient processes of criticism." The new atmosphere was congenial. Never consciously distorting facts, and basing even his minor works on unwearied investigation, Michelet, nevertheless, soon came to approach the study of history with certain prepossessions, and an unmistakable expectation of finding what he sought. As the brilliant expounder of a theory of things, accordingly, he was well fitted to arouse enthusiasm and provoke discussion.

Political events, too, were favorable. With the ministry of Guizot, in October, 1840, France ceased to be aggressive, national ideals and aspirations were less regarded, and opposition and reaction took the place of progress. Torn and distracted as France had been, and delicate as were the international relations, men of liberal mind began to think again of revolution. Alarm at the renewed activity of the Jesuits offered an occasion; and upon that order Michelet and his colleague, Quinet, began a violent attack. The effect was profound. Michelet's lecture room, already well filled, was now crowded. The lectures on the Jesuits, published in 1843, were followed in 1846 by "Le Peuple," in which he "proclaimed the sufferings, aspirations, and hopes of the proletaire and the peasant." To teach the youth of France the true significance of the revolution of 1789, he began a history of it, issuing the first of its seven volumes in 1848.

But 1848 was a year of revolution and political upheaval, and the labors of Michelet began to react to his undoing. The poet-historian was also an agitator, and, consequently, a dangerous person. In 1850 he lost his professorship at the Collège de France, and, in 1851, his position in the Archives Nationales. A discussion of the historical bases of morality, under the title of "Le Prêtre, la Femme, et la Famille," appeared in the latter year. In 1853 he finished the "History of the French Revolution." But he refused to take the oaths required by the new empire, and his public career was at an end. He had married a second time, and henceforth divided his time between Italy and France. Living henceforth much in the country, his wife drew him to the

study of nature—a study which bore fruit in a series of small books, published at intervals between 1856 and 1868, in which the phenomena of the external world receive a brilliant poetical and philosophical interpretation at the hands of a devout and mystical pantheist. The most remarkable, perhaps, of his small pieces is "La Sorcière," published in 1862—"a nightmare and nothing more, but a nightmare of the most extraordinary verisimilitude and poetical power."

The great literary work of his life, and the one to which his innumerable other writings were either subordinate or supplementary, was the "History of France." As an official in the public records office, Michelet had early come to know the vast treasures of manuscript and printed sources in which, if anywhere, the history of France was to be found; and to the study of this documentary material he thenceforth devoted himself laboriously and zealously, and with unflagging enthusiasm. The first volume appeared in 1833, the nineteenth and last in 1867. A monument of learning and industry, and one of the most brilliant pieces of historical work ever written, it is, unfortunately, too erratic to be safe, and too picturesque to be true. Yet no Frenchman can read it without a kindling love for the country whose history is capable of such idealistic handling.

Always cheerful rather than despondent, and led by his study of nature to believe in the progress of all nations towards perfection, Michelet looked forward more and more eagerly to the day when France should throw off the burdens which had thus far hindered her, and gain the free and influential place to which her history and her powers entitled her. Shattered by the revolution of 1848, his hopes revived again under the events of 1867 and 1869, only to be blasted by the dreadful awakening of 1870-1871. Unable to risk the hardships of the siege, he withdrew from Paris to Italy, began a history of the Nineteenth Century, and published three volumes of it in as many years. But his hopes were dead, and his feeble body could no longer endure. At Hyères, on the ninth of February, 1874, he died.

A friend, Gabriel Monod, has given us a graceful description of Michelet's daily life and personal characteristics. He says:

"Never was life better regulated than his. He was at work at six in the morning, and remained shut up in his study till twelve

or one, without allowing any one to disturb him. Even when travelling or at the seaside, or in Switzerland, he adhered resolutely to his accustomed hours of work. The afternoon was devoted to social intercourse and exercise. From four to six he was always visible to his friends, and with very rare exceptions retired to rest at ten or half-past, never working at night. He was extremely moderate in his habits, and never took any stimulant but coffee, of which he was passionately fond. He never would accept any dinner or evening engagements. All distractions which might destroy the unity of life and the harmony of thought he systematically avoided. That his mind might be completely free, he preferred that everything about him should remain stationary. He never allowed the cloth that covered his writing-table to be changed, nor the old torn pasteboard boxes which held his papers to be renewed; and his calm, peaceable character perfectly accorded with the regularity of his life. He was simple and affable in his address; and his conversation, a delightful mixture of poetry and wit, never degenerated into monologue. The traditionary old French politeness distinguished his manners. He treated all who came to him, whatever their age or rank, with the same regard, which with him was not mere empty formality, but felt by all to spring from genuine goodness of heart. His dress was always irreproachable. I see him now seated in his armchair at his evening reception, in a close-fitting frock-coat on which no speck of dust was ever visible; his trousers strapped over his patent-leather shoes, and holding a white handkerchief in his hand, which was delicate and nervous and well-tended like a woman's."

Michelet's historical method is, in most respects, as distinctive as his style. History to him is not merely the orderly succession of events; it is rather the unfolding of ideas. Around and within the everyday world is another, a world of intellectual and moral aspiration and conflict, of struggle for self-realization, of poetic vision; and it is this that he loves most to treat. Hence his historical works are no matter-of-fact chronicle, no plain tale of battle and achievement, but brilliant settings forth of significant and striking incidents. Unable to look upon anything without idealizing it, he kindled with his lively imagination the scenes which laborious research revealed to him, until they

shone and sparkled with a many-colored light. His brilliancy was at once his strength and his weakness. He was the first of modern historical writers to make the middle ages picturesque; but he could not help, often, making events seem clearer than they really were, and his later and more elaborate writings, though stimulating to the last degree, have suffered under more prosaic examination.

But with the "Summary of Modern History" the case is different. Here we have Michelet in his earlier manner—a manner brilliant, of course, and extremely effective, but restrained, balanced, and discriminating. The story of European progress, from the fall of Constantinople before the Turks, in 1453, to the outbreak of the French Revolution, in 1789, is told with accuracy and impartiality, and with generally just appraisal of relative worth and importance. There is neither undue emphasis on the history of France, nor development of a particular thesis at the expense of the general view. Written two generations ago, when historical investigation, in the modern sense, had scarcely begun, it is still one of the best accounts of the period it covers, and needs singularly little correction in this day of critical learning; while it has still to be surpassed, in point of literary attractiveness, by any work of similar plan and scope.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

ILLUSTRATIONS

FACING PAGE

JULES MICHELET (Portrait) . . . . . *Frontispiece*
Photogravure from an engraving

ASSASSINATION OF THE DUKE OF GUISE 64
Photogravure from a painting

L'EMINENCE GRISE 160
Photogravure from a painting

MODERN HISTORY.

INTRODUCTION.

In the ancient history of Europe the scene is occupied alternately by two predominant nations or peoples; and for the most part there is a unity both of action and interest. This unity, which is less visible in the middle ages, reappears in modern history and manifests itself chiefly in the revolutions of the balance of power.

The date which separates the history of the middle ages from modern history cannot be assigned with precision. If we consider the history of the middle ages as ending with the last invasion of the barbarians (that of the Turks), modern history will include the three centuries and a half which separate the taking of Constantinople by the Turks from the French Revolution, 1453—1789.

Modern history we may divide into three great periods:

I. From the taking of Constantinople to Luther's Reformation, 1453—1517.

II. From the Reformation to the Treaty of Westphalia, 1517—1648.

III. From the Treaty of Westphalia to the French Revolution, 1648—1789.

The system of the balance of power, which was coming into existence during the first period, took its perfect shape in the second, and was maintained in the third. When viewed relatively to the balance of power, the two latter periods fall into five separate sub-divisions of that system: 1517—1559; 1559—1603; 1603—1648; 1648—1715; 1715—1789.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MODERN HISTORY.

I. The great States which are formed by the successive falling in of fiefs have a continuous tendency to swallow up smaller States, either by way of conquest or by marriage.

1. Republics are absorbed by monarchies; elective States by hereditary States. This tendency to absolute unity is checked by the balance of power.

2. Intermarriages between sovereigns introduce family connections and rivalries into European politics.

II. The tendency of Europe to conquer and civilize the rest of the world. The supremacy of the European States over their colonies was not shaken until the end of the eighteenth century.

1. Importance of the great maritime powers. Commercial communication between every quarter of the globe. (Ancient nations had communicated more often through war than by commerce.)

2. Politics, influenced in the middle ages and up to the end of the sixteenth century by religious interests, became more and more subject in modern times to those of commerce.

III. Opposition between the Southern races (those of a Latin language and civilization) and the Northern races (those of a Teutonic language and civilization).

1. The Western nations developed civilization and carried it to the most distant countries.

2. The Eastern nations (mostly of Sclavonic origin) were for a long time occupied in protecting Europe against the barbarians, and their progress in the arts of peace was consequently slower.

3. The Scandinavian nations of the North, placed as they are at the furthest bounds of European civilization, were in much the same state as the Sclavonic nations of the East.

FIRST PERIOD OF MODERN HISTORY.

FROM THE TAKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE TURKS TO LUTHER'S REFORMATION, 1453—1517.

This period, the border-land of the middle ages and of modern history, is less easily characterized than the two following: the events are more complex in their importance, and more difficult to understand in their relation to each other. Each State was making continual efforts toward internal consolidation before joining itself with neighboring States. The first attempts toward a balance of power date from the end of this period.

The nations already civilized in the middle ages were brought into subjection by those that had preserved the military temper of the age which preceded them; the Provençals by the French, the Moors by the Spaniards, the Greeks by the Turks, the Italians by the Spaniards and the French.

Internal Condition of the Principal States among the Nations of Teutonic Origin.—Among these, the only States which were subject to the feudal system, properly so called, a free burgher middle-class (developed through the advance of well-being and

industry) had risen up, and supported the sovereigns against the nobles.

By the middle of the fifteenth century the feudal system had triumphed throughout the Empire; in Castile it had humiliated the kings; it continued to exist without control in Portugal (which was busily engaged in war and African discoveries); in the three Northern kingdoms (which, since the Union of Calmar, had been the prey of anarchy); in England through the Wars of the Roses; and in Naples during the quarrels of the houses of Aragon and Anjou. But in Scotland and in France it was already the object of attack on the part of the kings. Charles VII., the conqueror of the English, prepared its downfall by his institutions; and before the end of the century, through the reigns of Ferdinand the Catholic and Ferdinand the Bastard, of John II. (of Portugal), of Henry VII., and Louis XI., the royal power rose into supremacy on the ruins of feudalism.

Three States stand apart from this general picture. While other nations tended toward monarchical unity, Italy remained divided; the power of the Dukes of Burgundy reached its height only to crumble away; while the military republic of Switzerland rose into importance.

Internal Condition of the Sclavonic States.—The aspect of the two great Sclavonic nations presents a difference which reveals to us their destiny. Russia became united, and began to emerge from barbarism; Poland, while modifying her constitution, remained faithful to the anarchical forms of government prevalent during the middle ages.

Mutual Relations of the Principal States of East and West.—The European commonwealth no longer possessed the unity of impulse given to it by religion in the time of the Crusades; nor was it yet clearly divided as it became afterward by the Reformation. It was separated into several groups, partly from their geographical and partly from their political connection; England with Scotland and France; Aragon with Castile and Italy; Italy and Germany with every other State (either directly or indirectly). Turkey grouped itself with Hungary; Hungary with Bohemia and Austria; Poland formed the common link between the East and the North, of which she was the preponderating influence.

The three kingdoms of the North and Russia formed two worlds apart.

The Western States, most of them a prey to internal discord, rested from foreign wars. In the North, Sweden, which had been chained for sixty years to Denmark, broke the Union of Calmar; Russia emancipated herself from the Tartars; the Teutonic Order became the vassal of Poland. All the Oriental

States were threatened by the Turks, who, since the taking of Constantinople, had no longer any cause for apprehension from the nations in their rear, and were held in check only by Hungary. The Emperor, engaged in founding the greatness of his dynasty, and Germany, in repairing the disasters of civil and religious wars, seemed oblivious of danger.

We may set aside therefore the history of the North and the East to follow without interruption the revolutions of the Western States. We shall then see both England and Portugal, and in a yet higher degree Spain and France, take an attitude of imposing grandeur, the result of their conquests in recently discovered countries, and of the union of the whole national authority in the hands of their kings. In Italy these new forces were to develop themselves through an obstinate contest. We must observe therefore the means by which Italy was opened to foreigners before we enter upon the struggles of which she became the theatre in this and the next period.[a]

SECOND PERIOD OF MODERN HISTORY.

FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE TREATY OF WESTPHALIA, 1517—1648.

The second period of modern history opened with the rivalry between Francis I., Charles V., and Soliman; above all, it was characterized by the Reformation. The house of Austria, whose colossal power could alone close Europe to the Turks, seemed to have defended only to enslave her. But Charles V. encountered a threefold barrier. Francis I. and Soliman opposed the Emperor from motives of personal ambition, and saved the independence of Europe. When Francis I. was exhausted, Soliman supported him, and Charles met with a new obstacle in the League of the German Protestants. This is the first sub-division of the Reformation and the balance of power, 1517—1559.

1559—1603. Second Sub-division of the Balance of Power and of the Reformation.—The Reformation had already spread throughout Europe, and especially in France, England, Scot-

a The limits of this sketch do not allow us to trace the history of civilization in Europe simultaneously with its political history. We must be satisfied with noting here its starting point in the fifteenth century. Rise of the spirit of invention and discovery.—In literature, enthusiasm for learning stops for some time the development of modern intellect.—Invention of printing [1436—1452].—More frequent use of gunpowder and of the compass.—Discoveries of the Portuguese and of the Spaniards.—Maritime commerce, until now confined to the Baltic (Hanseatic League) and the Mediterranean (Venice, Genoa, Florence, Barcelona, and Marseilles), is extended to all seas by the voyages of Columbus, of Gama, etc., and passes into the hands of the Western nations towards the end of this period.—Commerce by land; merchant towns of Lombardy, the Low Countries, and the Free Towns of Germany, commercial centres for the North and the South.—Manufacturing industry of the same nations, especially in the Netherlands.

land, and the Low Countries. Spain, the only Western country which remained closed to it, declared herself its adversary. Philip II. endeavored to bring Europe back to religious unity, and to extend his dominion over all the Western nations. During the whole of the second period, and especially during this time, foreign and domestic wars went on together in almost every country.

1603—1648. Third Sub-division of the Balance of Power and of the Reformation.—The movement of the Reformation finally brought about two simultaneous but independent results: a revolution which ended in civil war, and a war which assumed the character of a revolution; or, rather, of a Civil War in the European commonwealth. In England the Reformation triumphed only to divide against itself. In Germany it swept every State into the whirlpool of the Thirty Years' War. From this chaos arose the system of the balance of power, which was to continue during the succeeding period.

The Eastern and Northern nations were no longer foreign to the Western system, as in the preceding periods. In the first of the three periods which we have mentioned Turkey entered into the balance of Europe; in the third, Sweden intervened still more decisively in Western affairs. In the second, Livonia brought the Sclavonic States into contact with the Scandinavian, from which they had been completely separated up to that time.

From the commencement of this period the sovereigns held united in their own hands the whole power of the nations they ruled, and offered to their subjects internal peace and distant conquests in exchange for their privileges. Commerce developed itself enormously in spite of the system of monopoly whose organization dates from this time.

THIRD PERIOD OF MODERN HISTORY.

FROM THE TREATY OF WESTPHALIA TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1648—1789.

In this period the principal influence was entirely political; it was the maintenance of the system of the balance of power. The period may be divided into two parts, of about seventy years each: one before the death of Louis XIV., 1648—1715; the other after it, from 1715—1789.

I. 1648—1715. Fourth Sub-division of the Balance of Power.—At the beginning of the third, as at the beginning of the second period, the freedom of Europe was in danger. France occupied among its States the rank previously held by Spain, and wielded besides the influence of a higher civilization.

So long as Louis XIV. had no other adversary than Spain, which was already exhausted, and Holland, which was wholly a maritime power, he gave the law to Europe. At length England, under a second William of Orange, took up once more the part she played in the time of Elizabeth—that of principal antagonist of the power which predominated on the Continent. In concert with Holland she annihilated the pretensions of France to the dominion of the seas. In concert with Austria she drove France back within her natural limits, but was unable to prevent her from establishing in Spain a branch of the house of Bourbon.

Sweden was the first of the Northern powers. Under two victorious sovereigns, she twice changed the face of the North, but she was too weak to obtain a lasting supremacy. Russia checked her, and took a position of superiority which she has never lost. The political system of the North had little connection with the Southern States, save in so far as they were brought together by the ancient alliance of Sweden with France.

II. 1715—1789. Fifth Sub-division of the Balance of Power. —The rise of the new kingdoms of Prussia and Sardinia marked the first years of the eighteenth century. Prussia became with England the arbitress of Europe, while France was enfeebled, and Russia had not yet attained her full strength.

In the eighteenth century there was less disproportion between the different powers than Europe had witnessed before. The preponderating nation, being insular and essentially maritime, had no other interest on the Continent than to maintain the system of balance. It was this consideration which determined her conduct in the three wars between the Western States of the Continent. Austria, already mistress of the greater part of Italy, might have destroyed the balance of power; England, her ally, allowed her to be deprived of Naples, which became an independent kingdom. France tried to annihilate Austria; England saved the existence of Austria, but permitted Russia to weaken her, and to become her rival. Austria and France wanted to annihilate Prussia; England succored her as she succored Austria, directly through subsidies, and indirectly by her maritime war with France.

On the sea and in the colonies the balance of power was disturbed by England. The contest for the possession of colonies, which is one of the characteristics of this century, gave her an opportunity of ruining the navies of France and Spain, and of claiming a vexatious jurisdiction over neutrals.

A wholly unexpected revolution shook this colossal power to its foundations. The most important of her colonies escaped from the grasp of England, but she opposed a bold front to all her enemies, she founded in the East an empire as vast as that

which she had lost in the West, and remained mistress of the seas.

Russia grew stronger, both through her internal development and through the anarchy of her neighbors. She long maintained a perpetual agitation in Sweden; she plundered Turkey, swallowed up Poland, and advanced into Europe. The political system of the Northern States became more and more amalgamated with that of the Southern and Western States, but it was only the revolutions and bloody wars which broke out at the end of the third period which united into one system all the States of Europe.

MODERN HISTORY.

FIRST PERIOD, 1453–1517.

CHAPTER I.

ITALY.

TURKISH WAR, 1453—1494.

In the midst of the rude feudalism which still left its stamp upon the fifteenth century, Italy afforded the spectacle of an ancient civilization. She imposed respect upon foreigners by the time-honored authority of religion and by the splendor of wealth and art. The Frenchman or German who crossed the Alps admired in Lombardy the skillful agriculture and the innumerable canals which turned the valley of the Po into a large garden. He saw Venice rise from the lagoons, a city of wonders, with her marble palaces and her arsenal, which employed 50,000 men. From her ports sailed every year 3,000 or 4,000 vessels, some bound for Oran, Cadiz, and Bruges; others for Egypt and Constantinople. By means of her proveditors Venice ruled in almost every port, from the extremity of the Adriatic to that of the Black Sea. Further on rose the ingenious Florence, which, though really governed by Cosmo or Lorenzo, still believed herself to be a republic. At once princes and citizens, merchants and men of letters, the Medici received by the same vessels tissues from Alexandria and manuscripts from Greece. While the doctrines of Plato were revived by the labors of Ficino, Brunelleschi raised the dome of Santa Maria, in front of which Michael Angelo wished his tomb to be placed. The same enthusiasm for the arts and for letters prevailed in the courts of Milan, Ferrara, Mantua, Urbino, and Bologna. The Spaniards, who had conquered the kingdom of Naples, imitated Italian manners, and, as the price of a reconciliation with Cosmo de' Medici, asked nothing more than a fine manuscript of Livy. Finally, in Rome learning itself, in the persons of Nicholas V. and Pius II., was seated in the chair of St. Peter. This universal literary culture seems to have softened manners. There were not 1,000 men[a] killed in the bloodiest encounter of the fifteenth century. Battles had almost died into tournaments.

An attentive observer, however, might easily perceive symptoms of the decline of Italy. The apparent softness of manners

[a] Machiavelli, "Storie Fiorentine," vol. vii.

proved nothing more than the degeneration of national character. Although less bloody, wars were longer and more ruinous. The condottieri who marched through Italy were bodies of undisciplined troops always ready to fight under their enemy's flag for the least increase of pay; war had become a lucrative game between the Piccinini and Sforzas. Everywhere there were petty tyrants, praised by scholars, and detested by the people. Letters, which were Italy's chief boast, had lost the originality of the fourteenth century; Filelphus and Plotinus had succeeded to Dante and Petrarch. Nowhere had religion more utterly passed out of men's minds. Nepotism was the curse of the Church, and robbed her of the reverence of foreign nations. The usurper of the territories of the Holy See, the Condottiere Sforza, dated his letters in these words: "*e Firmiano nostro invito Petro et Paulo.*"[b]

The expiring genius of Italian liberty still protested by fruitless conspiracies. Porcaro, who believed himself to have been predicted in the verses of Petrarch, endeavored to restore the republican government in Rome. The Pazzi at Florence, and at Milan young Olgiati and two others, stabbed in church, respectively, Guiliano de' Medici and Galeazzo Sforza [1476—1499]. They fancied in their madness that the liberty of their degenerate country hung upon the life of a single man!

Two governments passed for the wisest in Italy, those of Florence and of Venice. Lorenzo de' Medici made the Florentines sing his verses, and himself led through the streets of the town pedantic and sumptuous masquerades. He gave himself up blindly to the regal munificence which won the admiration of men of letters, and prepared the bankruptcy of Florence.[c] At Venice, on the other hand, cold self-interest seemed the only law followed by the Government. Neither favoritism, nor caprice, nor prodigality existed there. But this iron Government could last only by drawing closer and closer together the strings of power. The tyranny of the Council of Ten was no longer sufficient; it was necessary to create in the very bosom of this council Inquisitors of State [1454]. Their dictatorship, if it insured prosperity in the foreign relations of the State, dried up the sources of its internal prosperity. From 1423 to 1453, Venice had added four provinces to her territory, while her revenue had diminished by more than 100,000 ducats. In vain she attempted to retain by sanguinary measures the monopoly which was eluding her grasp; in vain the State-Inquisitors caused any workman who carried abroad any trade which was useful to the republic to be stabbed;[d] the time was not far off when Italy was to lose,

b Machiavelli, book v.
c Ginguéné, "History of Italian Literature," vol. iii.
d Daru, vol. vii. "Pièces justificatives." "Statutes of the Inquisition of State," art. 26.

at once, her commerce, her wealth, and her independence. A new invasion of barbarians was soon to snatch from her the monopoly of commerce and art, and to make them the patrimony of the world.

Who was to be the conqueror of Italy? The Turk, the Frenchman, or the Spaniard? This is what no foresight could determine. The Popes and most of the Italians dreaded the Turks above all. The great Sforza and Alfonso the Magnanimous thought only of closing Italy to the French, who claimed Naples as the heritage of their kings, and might claim Milan.[e] Venice, believing herself in her lagoons to be beyond the reach of a conqueror, treated indifferently with all; sometimes sacrificing to secondary interests her honor and the safety of Italy.

Such was the situation of Venice when she heard the last cry of distress from Constantinople [1453]. Severed already from Europe by schism and by the Turks, this unhappy city saw beneath her walls an army of 300,000 barbarians. At this critical moment the Western nations, accustomed to the complaints of the Greeks, still paid very little attention to her danger. Charles VII. was finishing the expulsion of the English from France; Hungary was torn by civil war; the phlegmatic Frederick III. was busy in raising Austria into an archduchy. The Genoese and the Venetians, the possessors of Pera and Galata, were calculating their probable loss, instead of endeavoring to prevent it. Genoa sent four vessels; Venice deliberated whether she should give up her conquests in Italy in order to preserve her colonies and her commerce.[f] In the midst of this fatal hesitation, Italy saw the fugitives from Constantinople disembarking on all her coasts. Their tale filled Europe with shame and terror; they lamented the change of St. Sophia into a mosque; the sack and desolation of Constantinople; the enslavement of more than 60,000 Christians; they described the prodigious cannons of Mahomet II., and the moment, when on awaking, the Greeks saw the galleys of the unbelievers sailing across dry ground and being lowered into their harbors.[g]

Europe was moved at last; Nicholas V. preached the Crusade; all the Italian States became reconciled at Lodi [1454]. In other countries the cross was taken up by thousands. At Lille the Duke of Burgundy presented at a banquet a figure of the Church in tears, and, in accordance with the rites of chivalry, swore by God, by the Virgin, by the Ladies, and the Pheasant, that he

[e] Sismondi, "Italian Republics," vol. x. p. 28.

[f] Daru, "History of Venice," vol. ii. book 16; and "Pièces justificatives," vol. viii.

[g] It is said that the Sultan conveyed his fleet in one night into the harbor of Constantinople, by sliding the ships along planks which were covered with grease. See Cantimier and Saaduddin, "History of the Ottomans," manuscript translation by Galland, cited by M. Daru in his "History of Venice," second edition. "Pièces justificatives," vol. viii. pp. 194-6.

would go and fight the infidels.[h] But this enthusiasm lasted only a short time. Nine days after signing the Treaty of Lodi the Venetians contracted another with the Turks. Charles VII. would not allow the Crusade to be preached in France; the Duke of Burgundy stayed at home, and the new attempt of John of Calabria on the kingdom of Naples occupied the whole attention of Italy [1460—64].

The only real champions of Christendom were the Hungarian Hunniades and the Albanian Scanderbeg. The latter, whose savage heroism recalled the ages of fable, is said to have struck off with a single blow the head of a wild bull. He had been seen, like Alexander, whose name the Turks bestowed on him, leaping alone upon the walls of a besieged city. Ten years after his death the Turks divided his bones among themselves, believing that they would thus become invincible.[i] To this day the name of Scanderbeg is heard in songs among the mountains of Epirus.

The other Soldier of Christ, Hunniades, the White Knight of Wallachia, the Devil of the Turks, checked their advance, while Scanderbeg made his diversion in their rear.[j] When the Ottomans attacked Belgrade, the bulwark of Hungary, Hunniades broke through the infidel army to throw himself into the town, repulsed during forty days its most vigorous assaults, and was celebrated as the saviour of Christendom.

1456.—His son, Matthias Corvinus, whom the gratitude of the Hungarians raised to the throne, opposed his Black Guard, the first regular infantry this nation ever had, to the janizaries of Mahomet II. The reign of Matthias was the culminating point of Hungarian glory. While he encountered in turn the Turks, Germans, and Poles, he founded in his capital a university, two academies, an observatory, a museum of antiquities, and a library, which was at that time the most considerable in the world.[k] This rival of Mahomet II. spoke, as the Sultan did, several languages; like him, while he preserved the barbarous customs of his people, he loved letters. He is said to have accepted the offer made to him by a man to assassinate his father-in-law, the King of Bohemia; but he rejected with indignation the proposal to poison him. "Against my enemies," he said, "I employ only steel." It is to him that the Hungarians owed their Magna Charta (*Decretum majus*, 1485, see chap. iii.). A Hungarian proverb proclaims his excellence, "Since Corvinus, no more

h Olivier de la Marche, vol. viii. of the "Collection of Memoirs" relating to the "History of France," edited by M. Petitot.

i Barlesio, "de Vita Georgii Castrioti," 1537, *passim*.

j The first was the title always assumed by Scanderbeg; the second was generally the appellation of Hunniades among his contemporaries (Comines, I. vi. chap. xiii.); the third was given him by the Turks, who frightened their children with his name (M. de Say, in the "Biographie Universelle," art. "Hunniade"), as the Saracens had terrified theirs with that of Richard Cœur de Lion.

k Bonfinius, "Rerum Hungaricarum decades," 1568, *passim*.

justice." Pope Pius II. and Venice allied themselves with this great Prince, when their conquest of Servia and Bosnia opened for the Turks the road to Italy. The Pontiff was the soul of the Crusade; he appointed Ancona as the place of muster for all who would go with him to fight the enemies of the faith. The skillful secretary of the Council of Basle, the most polished mind, the most subtle diplomatist of the age, became a hero in the chair of St. Peter. The great conception of the salvation of Christendom seems to have given him a new soul.[l] But his strength was not sufficient. The old man expired on the shore in sight of the Venetian galleys which were to have carried him to Greece [1464].

His successor, Paul II., abandoned the generous policy of Pius. He armed against the heretical Bohemians the son-in-law of their King, the same Matthias Corvinus whose prowess ought to have been exerted only against the Turks. While the Christians weakened themselves in this way by divisions, Mahomet II. swore solemnly, in the mosque which had formerly been St. Sophia, the utter ruin of Christianity. Venice, abandoned by her allies, lost the island of Eubœa, or Negropont, which was conquered by the Turks within sight of her fleet. In vain Paul II. and Venice sought for allies as far off as Persia; the Shah was defeated by the Turks, and the conquest of Caffa and the Crimea closed for a long time all communication between Persia and Europe. The Turkish cavalry spread at last over the Friuli as far as the Piave, burning the crops, woods, villages, and palaces of the Venetian nobles; the flames of this conflagration were even visible in the night from Venice itself.[m] The republic abandoned the unequal struggle, which she had sustained unsupported for fifteen years, sacrificed Scutari, and submitted to a tribute [1479].

Pope Sixtus IV. and Ferdinand King of Naples, who had not succored Venice, accused her of having betrayed the cause of Christendom. After favoring the conspiracy of the Pazzi, and afterward making open war upon the Medici, they turned their restless policy against Venice. Her vengeance was cruel.

During the siege of Rhodes, which had been undertaken by the forces of Mahomet II., it was reported that 100 Turkish vessels, observed or rather escorted by the Venetian fleet, had crossed to the coast of Italy; that Otranto was already taken, and the governor sawn in two. Terror was at its height, and would perhaps have been justified by the result of the invasion, if the death of the Sultan had not put a stop for a time to the course of Mahometan conquest [1480—81].

l "Commentarii Pii Secundi" [1610], pp. 300-400. See also his letters in his collected works.

m Sismondi, "Italian Republics," vol. xi. p. 141; from Sabellico, an ocular witness.

It was in this manner that the Italians admitted strangers into their dissensions. After having brought in the Turks, the Venetian enlisted in their service young René, Duke of Lorraine, and heir to the rights which the house of Anjou asserted to the Kingdom of Naples. As far back as the year 1474, Sixtus IV. had called in the Swiss. These barbarians became accustomed to crossing the Alps, and recounted in their own country on their return the wonders of beautiful Italy; some celebrated her luxury and her riches, while others praised her climate, her wine, and her delicious fruits.[n] It was then that the prophetic voice of the Dominican Savonarola was heard in Florence announcing to Italy the judgments of Babylon and Nineveh. "O Italy! O Rome! saith the Lord, I am about to deliver you into the hands of a nation which shall blot you out from among the peoples. The barbarians are coming hungry as lions. . . . And the deaths will be so many that the gravediggers will run about the streets, crying 'Who hath any dead?' and then one will bring his father and another his son. . . . O Rome, I repeat to thee, Repent! Repent, O Venice! O Milan!"[o]

They persisted. The King of Naples made prisoners of his barons, who fell into the snare of a perfidious treaty. Genoa remained a prey to the factions of the Adorni and the Fregosi. Lorenzo de' Medici on his deathbed refused absolution on the condition attached by Savonarola, that he should affranchise Florence. At Milan, Ludovico the Moor imprisoned his nephew and wanted for the moment to poison him. Roderigo Borgia assumed the tiara under the name of Alexander VI. The inevitable moment had arrived.

[n] See "*La très-joyeuse, plaisante, et récréative histoire,*" composed by the "*loyal serviteur du bon Chevalier sans paour et sans reproche,*" vol. xv. of the "Collection of Mémoires," pp. 306, 334, 385.

[o] Savonarola, "Prediche Quadragesimali" [1544], in 12°. "Predica Vigesima Prima," pp. 211-212. See also "Petri Martyris Anglerii epistol." cxxx., cxxxi., etc. "Woe to thee, Mother of the Arts, beautiful Italy!" [1493].

CHAPTER II.

WESTERN EUROPE.

THE COUNTRIES OF WESTERN EUROPE IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

Before fighting with one another for the possession of Italy, it was necessary that the great powers of the West should emerge from the anarchy of feudalism, and concentrate their whole national strength in the hands of their kings. The triumph of monarchy over feudalism is the subject of this chapter. With feudalism disappeared the privileges and liberties of the middle ages. Their liberties perished, like those of antiquity, because they were privileges. Social equality could only be established by the triumph of monarchy.[a]

The instruments of this revolution were the clergy and the lawyers. The Church, recruited only through election in the midst of the universal system of hereditary succession which was established during the middle ages, had often raised the vanquished above the victors, the sons of citizens, and even of serfs, above nobles. It was from the Church that the Kings obtained ministers in their last struggle against the aristocracy. Duprat, Wolsey and Ximenes, although they were cardinals and prime ministers, sprang from obscure families. Ximenes began by teaching law in his own house.[b] The Churchmen and Legists were imbued with the principles of Roman law, which were far more favorable than feudal customs to the power of the Crown and to civil equality.

This revolution took different forms in different States. In England it was prepared and accelerated by a terrible war which exterminated the nobility: in Spain it was complicated by the struggles of religious belief. But there is one characteristic which it preserved everywhere: the aristocracy, already conquered by the Crown, endeavored to shake its power by over-

a Equality made rapid progress at the very moment when the political liberties of the middle ages disappeared. The liberties of Spain were suppressed by Charles V. in 1521; and in 1523 the Cortes of Castile permitted everyone to wear a sword, "in order that the Burghers may be able to defend themselves against the nobles." See Ferreras, 12th part.

b Gonecius, fol. 2. Giannone remarks that, under Ferdinand the Bastard, Roman law got the better of Lombard law at Naples, through the influence of its Professors, who were at the same time judges and advocates (lxxviii. chap. v.).

turning the royal houses, in order to substitute rival branches for those in possession of the throne. The means employed by both parties were odious and often atrocious. Politics, in their infancy, hesitated between violence and perfidy; as we shall see further on in the deaths of the Earls of Douglas, of the Dukes of Braganza and of Viseu, above all, in those of the Earl of Mar and the Dukes of Clarence and Guienne.

Yet posterity, deceived by success, has exaggerated the talents of the Princes of this period (of Louis XI., Ferdinand the Bastard, Henry VII., Ivan III., etc.). The cleverest of them all, Ferdinand the Catholic, is no better, in the opinion of Machiavelli, than a fortunate trickster. ["Lettres familiéres." April 1513—May 1514.]

Section I.—France, 1452—1494.

When the retirement of the English permitted France to look about her,[c] the laborers, on leaving the castles and fortified towns within which war had confined them, returned to find their fields untilled and their villages in ruins. The disbanded mercenaries continued to infest the roads and levy contributions on the peasants. The feudal lords, who had just assisted Charles VII. in driving out the English, were kings on their own estates; and recognized no law, either human or divine. A Count of Armagnac, styling himself "Count by the grace of god," hanged the officers of the Parliament, married his own sister, and beat his confessor when he refused to absolve him.[d] For three years the brother of the Duke of Brittany was seen begging his bread through the bars of his prison, until his brother caused him to be strangled.

It was toward the King that the hopes of the unhappy people turned; it was from him that some alleviation of their misery was looked for. Feudalism, which in the tenth century had been the salvation of Europe, had now become its scourge. After the wars with England this system seemed to regain its former strength. Besides the Counts of Albret, of Foix, of Armagnac, and many other nobles, the houses of Burgundy, Brittany, and Anjou rivalled the royal house in splendor and power.

The county of Provence, which had fallen by inheritance to the house of Anjou, was a sort of centre for the people of the South, as Flanders was for those of the North; to this rich county its lords added Maine, Lorraine and Anjou, and thus

c Principal Authorities.—Vols. ix., x., xi., xii., xiii., xiv. of the "Collection of Memoirs" edited by Petitot: especially the Memoirs of Comines; the "History of the Dukes of Burgundy," by M. de Barante, vol. vii.; Michelet's "History of France."

d Records of the Trial of John IV., Count of Armagnac, quoted by the authors of "L'Art de Vérifier les Dates." It was John V. who married his sister.

surrounded on all sides the territories immediately subject to the King. The spirit of ancient chivalry seemed to have taken refuge in this heroic family; the world was filled with the exploits and calamities of King René and his children. While his daughter, Margaret of Anjou, maintained in ten battles the rights of the Red Rose, John of Calabria, his son, took and lost the Kingdom of Naples, and died at the moment when the enthusiasm of the Catalans would have lifted him to the throne of Aragon. But its vast hopes and distant wars left the house of Anjou powerless in France itself, and, besides this, the character of its head was little fitted to maintain an obstinate struggle against the power of the Crown. The good René, in his latter years, employed himself only in pastoral poetry, painting, and astrology. When he was told that Louis XI. had deprived him of Anjou, he was painting a beautiful gray pheasant, and did not interrupt his work.

The real head of French feudalism was the Duke of Burgundy. This Prince, richer than any King in Europe, united under his rule French provinces and German States, a numerous nobility, and the most commercial towns in Europe. Ghent and Liége could each bring into the field 40,000 fighting men. But the elements which composed this great power were too discordant to harmonize. The Dutch would not obey the Flemish, nor the Flemish the Burgundians. An implacable hatred subsisted between the nobility in their castles and the citizens of the commercial towns. These proud and opulent cities united with the industrial spirit of modern times the violence of feudal manners. As soon as the slightest attempt was made on the privileges of Ghent, the deans of the trades tolled the bell of Roland, and set up their standards in the market-place. Then the Duke and his nobles mounted their horses, and battles and bloodshed were sure to follow.

The King of France, on the other hand, was supported by the towns. Within his immediate dominions the lower orders were far better protected against the nobles. It was a citizen, Jacques Cœur, who lent him the money for the reconquest of Normandy. Everywhere the King repressed the license of the soldiery. As early as 1411 he had relieved the kingdom from the Free Companies by sending them against the Swiss, who made an end of them at the battle of St. Jacques. At the same time he founded the Parliament of Toulouse, extended the jurisdiction of the Parliament of Paris in spite of the remonstrances of the Duke of Burgundy, and limited everywhere the privileges of private justice claimed by the feudal lords. When they saw an Armagnac exiled, an Alençon imprisoned, and a bastard of the house of Bourbon cast into the river, the nobles understood that no rank placed them above the law. So happy a revolution caused all

the innovations favorable to the power of the monarchy to be received without distrust. Charles VII. created a permanent army of 1,500 lances, instituted a militia of Free Archers, who were to remain at home and train themselves in arms on Sundays; he imposed a perpetual tax on the people without the authorization of the States-General, and nobody murmured [1444].

The nobles themselves contributed to augment the power of the Crown, which they wielded by turns. Those who had no influence over the King intrigued with the Dauphin, and excited him against his father. The face of affairs changed when Charles VII. fell a victim to the anxieties caused by his son, who had retired into Burgundy [1461]. At the King's funeral Dunois proclaimed to the assembled nobles, "The King our master is dead; let each one look to his own interest."

Louis XI. had nothing of the chivalrous temper which won from the French forgiveness for the many weaknesses of Charles VII. He preferred negotiation to war, dressed meanly, and surrounded himself with men of low rank. He chose a footman for his herald, a barber as gentleman of the chamber, and called the Provost-Marshal Tristan his "gossip." In his impatience to humiliate the nobles, he dismissed at its accession all the ministers of Charles VII.; he deprived the nobility of all influence in ecclesiastical elections by abolishing the Pragmatic Sanction; he irritated the Duke of Brittany by endeavoring to take away from him his sovereign rights; and the Count of Charolais, son of the Duke of Burgundy, by repurchasing the towns on the Somme, and attempting to take back from him the gift of Normandy. Finally, he offended all the nobles by paying no regard to their rights of hunting and shooting—the bitterest offence, perhaps, that could be offered to a noble of the time. The wrath of the nobility did not burst out in revolt until the weakness of the Duke of Burgundy had thrown the whole of his power into the hands of his son, the Comte de Charolais, so celebrated afterward under the name of Charles the Bold. Then Duke John of Calabria, the Duke of Bourbon, the Duke of Nemours, the Count of Armagnac, the Lord of Albret, the Count of Dunois, and many other nobles leagued together "for the public weal" with the Duke of Brittany and the Count of Charolais. They arranged their proceedings by means of envoys who met in the church of Notre-Dame in Paris, and took as their rallying signal a knot of red silk. To this almost universal coalition of the nobles the King tried to oppose the towns, and especially Paris. He abolished almost all the arbitrary taxes, called together a council of citizens and members of the Parliament and University; confided the Queen to the charge of the Parisians, and ordered her confine-

ment to take place in the city—"that town which he loved better than any other in the world." There was little unanimity in the attack of the confederates. Louis XI. had time to overpower the Duke of Bourbon. The Duke of Brittany did not join the principal army till after it had encountered the royal forces in the Battle of Montlhéry. War had been so completely forgotten since the expulsion of the English that, with the exception of a few regiments, the armies on both sides fled.[e] The King then commenced insidious negotiations, and the imminent dissolution of the league decided the confederates to treat at Conflans and at St. Maur [1465]. The King granted all their demands; to his brother he surrendered Normandy, a province which in itself yielded a third of the royal revenue; to the Count de Charolais the towns on the Somme; to all the rest, fortresses, lordships, and pensions. In order that the public weal might not be entirely forgotten, it was stipulated, for form's sake, that an Assembly of Notables should see to it. The majority of the other articles were not executed more seriously than this last; the King took advantage of the revolt of Liége and Dinant against the Duke of Burgundy to retake Normandy; he obliged the States-General of the kingdom (at Tours in 1466) to annul the principal articles of the Treaty of Conflans, and forced the Duke of Brittany to renounce the alliance of the Count of Charolais, who now became Duke of Burgundy.

Louis XI., who still hoped to appease even Charles of Burgundy by dexterity, went himself to meet him at Péronne [1468]. He had scarcely arrived when the Duke heard of the revolt of the citizens of Liége, a revolt excited by agents of the King. They had taken prisoner Louis of Bourbon, their bishop, had massacred his archdeacon, and, in horrible merriment, had tossed his limbs from one to the other. The fury of the Duke of Burgundy was so great that for a moment the King feared for his own life. Within the enclosure of the Castle of Péronne he beheld the tower in which the Count of Vermandois had in former times murdered Charles the Simple. He escaped, however, on better terms. The Duke contented himself with forcing him to confirm the Treaty of Conflans, and with bringing him before Liége to witness the destruction of the town. The King on his return did not fail to cause the States-General to annul all that he had sworn.

A more formidable confederation than that of the Public Weal was next formed against him. His brother, on whom he had just bestowed Guienne, and the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany had drawn into it most of the nobles who had before been faithful to the King. They invited the King of Aragon, Juan II., who claimed the province of Roussillon, and the King of England,

[e] Comines, book i. chap. iv.

Edward IV., brother-in-law of the Duke of Burgundy, who felt the necessity of establishing his crown by diverting the restless minds of his subjects to foreign conquests. The Duke of Burgundy did not conceal the views of the confederates. 'I am so fond of the kingdom of France," he said, "that instead of one King, I would have six." Louis XI. could not hope on this occasion for the support of the towns, which he had ground down with taxes. The death of his brother could alone break the League; and his brother died. The King received constant information as to the advance of his brother's malady; he ordered public prayers for the recovery of the Duke of Guienne, and at the same time sent troops to take possession of his appanage. He stifled the law proceedings which began against the monk who was suspected of having poisoned the Prince, and ordered a report to be spread that the devil had strangled him in prison.

Once delivered from his brother, Louis XI. repulsed Juan II. from Roussillon, Charles the Bold from Picardy, and secured all his enemies within the kingdom.[f] But the greatest danger had not yet passed away. The King of England disembarked at Calais, claiming as usual "his kingdom of France." The English nation had made great exertions for this war. "The King," says Comines, "had in his army ten or twelve stout men from London and other towns; they were among the principal commons of England, and had joined in promoting this invasion and in raising this powerful army." Instead of receiving the English on their arrival, and guiding them through a country where all was new to them, the Duke of Burgundy had gone to fight in Germany. The weather, too, proved bad; although Edward "took care to lodge in comfortable tents the commons who had followed him, it was not the sort of life they were used to, and they were soon tired of it; they thought that when once they had crossed the sea they would have had a battle in three days" (Comines, l. iv. ch. xi.). Louis found means to induce the King and his favorites to accept presents and pensions; kept an open table for all the soldiers, and congratulated himself on having got rid of an army which came to conquer France, by spending a little money.

After this time he had nothing more to fear from Charles the Bold. This proud Prince had conceived the design of re-establishing on a vaster scale the ancient kingdom of Burgundy by uniting to his own States, Lorraine, Provence, Dauphiné, and Switzerland. Louis XI. took care not to make him uneasy; he prolonged the truces, and allowed him "to go and knock his

[f] Of the Duke of Alençon by imprisoning him [1472]; of King René by depriving him of Anjou [1474]; of the Duke of Bourbon by bestowing Anne of France upon his brother [1473-74], and by nominating him as his lieutenant in many provinces of the South [1475]; and finally, of the Count of Armagnac and of Charles of Albret [1473], of the Duke of Nemours and of the Constable of St. Pol [1475-77], by causing them all four to be put to death.

head against Germany." In fact, on the Duke's attempt to force the town of Neuss to receive one of two pretenders to the archbishopric of Cologne, all the Princes of the empire came to watch his proceedings with an army of 100,000 men. He stuck to his enterprise obstinately for a whole year, and left this unlucky siege only to turn his army against the Swiss.

This people of citizens and peasants, who had shaken off for the last two centuries the yoke of the house of Austria, had always been detested by princes and nobles. Louis XI., while Dauphin, had experienced the bravery of the Swiss at the battle of St. Jacques, where 1,600 of them had chosen to die rather than retreat before 20,000 men. Nevertheless, the Lord of Hagenbach, the governor appointed by the Duke of Burgundy in the county of Ferrette, tormented their allies, and did not fear insulting the Swiss themselves. "We will flay the Bear of Berne," said he, "and turn his skin into a cloak." The patience of the Swiss was tired out; they allied themselves with their old enemies, the Austrians; cut off Hagenbach's head, and defeated the Burgundians at Héricourt. They endeavored to appease the Duke of Burgundy; and represented to him that he could gain nothing by opposing them. "There is more gold," said they, "in the spurs of your knights, than you would find in all our cantons." The Duke was inflexible. He invaded Lorraine and Switzerland, took Granson and drowned all the garrison, who had surrendered to him on parole. The Swiss army, however, was advancing; the Duke of Burgundy had the imprudence to go to meet it, and thus to lose the advantage which the plain gave to his cavalry. Taking his stand on the hill which still bears his name, he saw them rush down from the mountains, crying "Granson! Granson!" At the same time two horns of monstrous size, given formerly (it was said) to the Swiss by Charles the Great, and which were named the Bull of Uri and the Cow of Unterwalden, resounded through the valley. Nothing could stop the confederates. The Burgundians tried again and again without success to break through the forest of pikes which advanced at a run. The rout was soon complete; the Duke's camp, his guns and his treasures fell into the conquerors' hands. But they were ignorant of the value of their booty. The large diamond of the Duke of Burgundy was sold for a crown; the money contained in his treasury was divided without being counted, and measured out in hatfuls. But Charles the Bold learned nothing by adversity. Three months afterward he again attacked the Swiss at Morat, and experienced a still more bloody defeat. The conquerors gave no quarter, and raised a mound with the bones of the Burgundians. "Pitiless as at Morat," was long a popular saying among the Swiss [1476].

This defeat was the ruin of Charles the Bold. He had drained

his good towns of men and money; he had kept his nobles for two years under arms. He fell into a melancholy which resembled madness; he let his beard grow, and never changed his clothes. He insisted upon driving out of Lorraine the young René, who had just returned thither. This Prince, who had fought for the Swiss, who liked to speak their tongue and sometimes adopted their costume, soon saw them come to his assistance. The Duke of Burgundy, whose force was reduced to 3,000 men, would not flee "before a child;" but he had little hope of success. Just before the battle the Italian Campo Basso, with whom Louis XI. had long been bargaining for the life of Charles the Bold, tore off the red cross, and thus began the defeat of the Burgundians [1477]. Some days afterward the body of the Duke was found, and carried with great pomp to Nancy; René sprinkled it with holy water, and taking the lifeless hand, "Fair cousin," he said, "may God receive your soul! You have caused us much evil and sorrow!" But the people would not believe in the death of a Prince who had so long been renowned. They continue to assert that he would soon come back; and, ten years afterward, merchants were delivering their goods without payment, on condition that they should receive double the amount on the return of the great Duke of Burgundy. The fall of the house of Burgundy established the dynasty of France. The possessors of three great fiefs, Burgundy, Provence, and Brittany, having died without male issue, the French kings dismembered the first [1477], acquired the second by bequest [1481], and the third by means of a marriage [1491].

Louis XI. hoped to obtain the whole inheritance of Charles the Bold by marrying the Dauphin to his daughter, Mary of Burgundy. But the Flemish States, who were tired of obeying Frenchmen, bestowed the hand of their sovereign on Maximilian of Austria, afterward Emperor, and grandfather of Charles V. This was the beginning of the rivalry between the houses of Austria and of France. In spite of the defeat of the French at Guinegate, Louis XI. remained master of Artois and the Franche-Comté, which, by the Treaty of Arras [1461], were to form the dowry of Margaret, the Archduke's daughter, on her betrothal to the Dauphin (Charles VIII.).

When Louis XI. left the kingdom to his son, who was still in infancy [1483], France, which had suffered much in silence, at length raised her voice. The States-General, assembled in 1484 by the regent, Anne of Beaujeu, wished to give its delegates the chief influence in the council of regency, to vote the supplies for only two years, at the end of which they would be again assembled, and themselves to decide on the taxes which should be levied. The six nations into which the States were divided began to draw together, and aimed at forming themselves into "*pays*

d'état" like Languedoc and Normandy, when the dissolution of the Assembly was proclaimed. The regent continued the system of Louis XI. by her firmness with regard to the nobles. She overpowered the Duke of Orleans, who disputed with her the regency; and annexed Brittany to the Crown by marrying her brother to the heiress of that Duchy [1491].

The humiliation to the nobles was thus accomplished. France attained the unity which was to render her formidable to all Europe. To the old servants of Louis XI. succeeded another generation, young and ardent as their new King. Impatient to make good the claims which he had inherited from the house of Anjou to the kingdom of Naples, Charles VIII. bought peace of the King of England, restored Roussillon to Ferdinand the Catholic, Artois and the Franche-Comté to Maximilian; and thus without hesitation sacrificed three of the strongest barriers of France. The loss of a few provinces signified little to a sovereign who looked on himself as the future conqueror of the kingdom of Naples, and of the empire of the East.

Section II.—England and Scotland, 1452—1513.

After having been constantly beaten for a century by the English, the French, at last, had their turn. In every campaign the English, driven from town after town by Dunois or Richemont, returned to their country covered with shame, and indignantly accusing their generals and their ministers; at one time it was the quarrels between the King's uncles, at another the recall of the Duke of York, which caused their defeat. To the conqueror of Agincourt had succeeded Henry VI., a boy whose innocence and gentleness were little fitted for those troublous times, and whose feeble reason was completely put to flight at the beginning of the civil wars. While the annual revenue of the Crown had fallen to £5,000 sterling,[g] many great families had accumulated royal fortunes by marriage and inheritance. The Earl of Warwick alone, the last and most illustrious example of feudal hospitality, maintained thousands of retainers in his household. When he kept house in London his vassals and friends consumed six oxen at a meal. This colossal fortune was backed by all the talents of a party leader. His courage had no relation to the chivalrous ideas of honor; for this man, who had been seen to attack a fleet double in numbers to his own, often fled without blushing when he saw his men giving way. Pitiless to the nobles, he spared the people in battle. How can we be surprised therefore at his earning the surname of King-maker?

[g] See Hume and Lingard, for this time, and especially Comines, book iii., chap. iv.

The Court, already feeble against men like these, seemed to take pleasure in aggravating the discontent of the people. When the hatred of the English against the French was embittered by so many reverses, they were given a French Queen. The beautiful Margaret of Anjou, a daughter of King René of Provence, carried to England the heroism, but none of the gentle virtues, of her family. Henry purchased her hand by the cession of Maine and Anjou; instead of receiving a dower, he bestowed one. Scarcely a year passed after this marriage when the King's uncle, "the Good Duke of Gloucester," whom the nation adored because he was always wishing for war, was found dead in his bed. Tidings of one misfortune after another arrived from France: while still indignant at the loss of Maine and Anjou, the English heard that Rouen and the whole of Normandy had been taken by the French; their army found no resistance in Guienne. Hardly a single soldier was sent from England, not one Governor attempted resistance, and, in August, 1451, England's sole possession on the Continent was the town of Calais.

The national pride, so cruelly humiliated, began to seek an avenger. All eyes were turned toward Richard of York, whose rights, though long proscribed, were superior to those of the house of Lancaster. The Nevilles and great numbers of the nobility rallied round him. The Earl of Suffolk, the Queen's favorite, was their first victim. Then an impostor stirred up the men of Kent, always ready for revolt, led them to London, and cut off the head of Lord Saye, another of Henry's ministers. The partisans of Richard himself then came in arms to St. Albans, demanding the surrender of Somerset, who, after having lost Normandy, had become the chief minister. This was the first blood shed in a war which was to last thirty years, and which cost the lives of eighty nobles and exterminated the ancient baronage of the kingdom. The Duke of York took his King prisoner, carried him in triumph back to London, and contented himself with the title of Protector [1455]. Margaret of Anjou, however, armed the Northern counties, the constant enemies of innovation. She was beaten at Northampton. Henry fell once more into the hands of his enemies; and the conqueror, no longer concealing his pretensions, made the Parliament declare him presumptive heir to the throne. He was thus close to the object of his ambition, when he encountered near Wakefield an army which the indefatigable Margaret had again assembled. He accepted battle in spite of the inferiority of his forces, was defeated and slain, and his head, with a paper crown upon it, was placed upon the wall of York. His son, hardly twelve years old, was flying with his preceptor, when he was stopped on the bridge at Wakefield. The child fell on his knees, incapable of speaking, and the tutor having named him, "Thy father killed mine," cried

Lord Clifford, "and thou must die likewise, thou and thine," and he stabbed him. This barbarous action seems to have opened an abyss between the two parties: and from this time every victory was followed by the execution of the nobles who were taken prisoners.

Then began in a more regular manner the struggle between the White and Red Roses—the rallying signs of the houses of York and Lancaster. Warwick made the London populace proclaim the son of the Duke of York King, under the name of Edward IV. [1461]. Edward, the offspring of civil war, was willing enough to shed blood, but he interested the people on account of the misfortunes of his father and brother; he was only twenty years old, he loved pleasure, and he was the handsomest man of his day. The Lancastrian party had in its favor only its long possession of the throne and the oaths of the people. When the Queen drew the excited rabble of Northern peasants, who lived only by plunder, into the South, London and the rich adjacent counties attached themselves to Edward as a protector.

Warwick soon led his young King to meet Margaret at the village of Towton. It was there that during a whole day, in a heavy fall of snow, the two parties fought with a fury which was remarkable even in civil war. Warwick, seeing his troops giving way, killed his horse, and, kissing the cross formed by the handle of his sword, swore that he would share the fate of the meanest of his soldiers. The Lancastrians were precipitated into the waters of the Cock. Edward forbade quarter to be given, and 38,000 men were drowned or massacred. The Queen turned recklessly to foreign nations—to the French; she had already delivered Berwick to the Scotch; she now passed into France, and promised Louis XI. to give him Calais as a pledge in exchange for his feeble and odious assistance. But the fleet which brought the French supplies was destroyed by a storm; she lost the battle of Hexham, and with it her last hope [1463]. The unfortunate Henry soon fell once more into the hands of his enemies, and the Queen, after passing through great dangers, at length reached France with her son.

After the victory the spoil had to be divided. Warwick and the other Nevilles had the principal share. But they soon saw succeeding to their favor the relations of Elizabeth Woodville, a lady whom the imprudent passion of Edward IV. had raised to the throne.[h] The King-maker then thought only of destroying his work; he negotiated with France, stirred up the North of England, drew into his party even the brother of the King, the

[h] A generally accepted tradition says that Warwick was negotiating in France the marriage of the King of England with Bonne of Savoy, sister-in-law of Louis XI., at the time when Edward married Elizabeth Woodville. This tradition is not confirmed by the testimony of the three principal contemporary historians.

Duke of Clarence; and became master of Edward's person. At one time there were two Kings prisoners in England. But Warwick soon found himself obliged to fly with Clarence, and to cross over to the Continent.

York could be overthrown only by the forces of Lancaster. Warwick therefore made friends with the very Margaret of Anjou who had beheaded his father, and crossed back into England in the ships of the King of France. In vain Charles the Bold had warned the indolent Edward, in vain the people chanted in its ballads the name of the banished Earl, and alluded in the rude plays of that time to his virtues and misfortunes. Edward did not awake until he heard that Warwick was marching upon him with upward of 60,000 men. Betrayed by his own troops at Nottingham, he fled so precipitately that he landed almost alone in the States of the Duke of Burgundy [1470].

While Henry VI. issued from the Tower of London, and the King of France was celebrating by public rejoicings the re-establishment of his ally, Clarence, who repented of having labored for the house of Lancaster, recalled his brother to England. Edward left Burgundy with supplies secretly furnished to him by the Duke, and disembarked at Ravenspur on the very spot on which in former times Henry IV. had landed to overthrow Richard II. He advanced without impediment, and declared by the way that he demanded only the inheritance of his father, the duchy of York. He adopted the ostrich plume[i] and made his followers cry "Long live King Henry!"

But as soon as his army was strong enough he threw down the mask and disputed the throne with the Lancastrians in the field of Barnet. The treachery of Clarence, who passed over to his brother with 12,000 men, and an error which confounded the sun borne on that day as its badge by Edward's party with the star borne by the opposite side, caused the loss of the battle and the death of the Earl of Warwick. Margaret, attacked before she could gather round her her remaining forces, was conquered and taken prisoner with her son at Tewkesbury. The young Prince was led to the King's tent. "Who made you so bold as to enter my kingdom?" asked Edward. "I have come," replied the Prince, undauntedly, "to defend my father's crown and my own inheritance." Edward struck him angrily in the face with his gauntlet, and his brothers Clarence and Gloucester, or perhaps their followers, fell upon him and dispatched him with their daggers.

On the same day that Edward entered London, Henry VI. is said to have perished in the Tower by the hand of Gloucester himself [1471]. From that moment the triumph of the White Rose was assured—Edward had only his own brothers to fear.

[i] Borne by the followers of the Prince of Wales, son of Henry IV.

He anticipated Clarence by putting him to death on some frivolous pretext; but Edward himself was poisoned by Gloucester, if a report current at the time [1483] may be believed.

Edward had hardly left the throne to his little son, Edward V., when the Duke of Gloucester caused himself to be appointed Protector. The Queen-mother, who knew too well the sort of protection which she might expect from this man, whose aspect alone filled her with horror, had taken sanctuary at Westminster. Richard was not stopped by the sacred character of the place, and she trembled while she confided to him her two sons. But he could undertake nothing against them until he had put to death their natural defenders, especially Lord Hastings, the personal friend of Edward. Richard one day entered the council chamber with an easy jovial air, then suddenly changing countenance, he asked: "What punishment do those deserve who plot against the life of the Protector? See to what a condition my brother's wife and Jane Shore, his mistress, have reduced me by their incantations and witchcraft," and he laid bare his arm, which had been shrivelled up from infancy. Then, addressing Hastings, he said: "You are the chief abettor of these people: I swear by St. Paul that I will not dine before your head be brought me!" He struck the table with his hand: armed men rushed in at the signal, seized Hastings, hurried him away, and instantly beheaded him on a timber log which lay in the court of the Tower. The Parliament next declared the young Princes bastards and sons of a bastard. A Doctor Shaw preached to the people from his text, "Bastards' slips shall not thrive;"*j* a dozen workmen threw their bonnets into the air, crying: "God save King Richard!" and he accepted the crown "in accordance with the voice of the people."

His nephews were smothered in the Tower, and long afterward the skeletons of two children were found under the staircase of the prison. Richard, however, was not firmly seated on his throne. In the depths of Brittany there lived a descendant of the house of Lancaster, Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, whose right to the crown was more than doubtful. Through his grandfather, Owen Tudor, he was of Welsh origin, and the Welsh accordingly supported his claim.*k* And with the exception of the Northern counties, where Richard had many partisans,*l* all England was waiting for Richmond's coming to declare itself in his favor. Richard, not knowing whom to trust, hastened the catastrophe by advancing on Bosworth. The two armies were hardly in front of each other when he recognized in

j Most of this is taken from Hume, whose words I have used when possible.—Tr.

k Thierry, "Histoire de la Conquête d'Angleterre par les Normands," vol. iv. p. 153.

l An error. The Northern counties were the stronghold of the House of Lancaster.—Tr.

the oposite ranks the Stanleys, whom he thought were on his own side. He immediately dashed forward, crown on head, and crying "Treachery! Treachery!" killed two knights with his own hand, overthrew the enemy's standard, and cut his way to his rival's presence; but he was overpowered by numbers. Lord Stanley tore off his crown and placed it on the head of Henry. The naked body of Richard was thrown behind a horseman and thus carried to Leicester, the head hanging on one side and the feet on the other [1485].

Henry united the rights of both houses by his marriage with Elizabeth, the daughter of Edward IV. But his reign was long troubled by the intrigues of Edward's widow and of his sister, the Dowager-Duchess of Burgundy. In the first place they set up against him a young baker who passed himself off as the Earl of Warwick, son of the Duke of Clarence. Henry, having defeated the partisans of the impostor at the battle of Stoke, employed him as a turnspit in his kitchen, and soon afterward, as a reward for his good conduct, gave him the post of royal falconer.

A more formidable rival next rose up. This mysterious personage, who resembled Edward IV., assumed the name of that Prince's second son. After a solemn examination, the Duchess of Burgundy recognized him as her nephew, and named him publicly "The White Rose of England." Charles VIII. treated him as King; James III. of Scotland gave him one of his relations in marriage; but his attempts were not fortunate. He invaded successively Ireland, the North of England, and Cornwall, but was always repulsed. The inhabitants of Cornwall, deceived in the expectations which they had formed from the accession of a Prince of Welsh extraction, refused to pay taxes, and swore that they would die for the pretender. He was nevertheless taken prisoner, and forced to read, in Westminster Hall, a confession signed by his own hand. In it he acknowledged that he was born at Tournay, of Jewish parents, and that his name was Perkin Warbeck. Another impostor having taken the name of the Earl of Warwick, Henry VII. resolved to terminate their pretensions by putting to death the real Earl, the King-maker's grandson, who had been confined in the Tower of London from his earliest years, and whose birth was his only crime.

Such was the end of the troubles which had cost England so much blood. Who was vanquished in this long struggle? Neither York nor Lancaster, but the English aristocracy, which had been decimated in battle and despoiled by proscriptions. If Fortescue is to be believed, nearly a fifth of the land of the kingdom fell by confiscation into the hands of Henry VII. What was still more fatal to the power of the nobles, was the law which permitted them to alienate their estates by cutting off the entails.

The growing demands of a luxury hitherto unknown made them take advantage greedily of this permission to ruin themselves. In order to live at the Court, they quitted the ancient castles in which they had reigned as sovereigns ever since the Conquest. They gave up the sumptuous hospitality by which they had so long secured the fidelity of their vassals. The followers of the barons found their banqueting halls and the courts of justice deserted; they abandoned those who had abandoned them, and returned home King's men. The first care of Henry VII. throughout his reign was to accumulate a treasure. Little confidence could be placed in the future after so many revolutions. Exaction of feudal dues, redemption of feudal services, fines, confiscations—every means seemed good to him for attaining his ends. He obtained money from his Parliament to make war in France, he obtained subsidies from France not to make it, and thus "gained from his subjects by war, and from his enemies by peace" (Bacon). He endeavored also to support himself by alliances with more firmly established dynasties: he gave his daughter to the King of Scotland, and obtained the hand of the Infanta of Spain for his son [1502—1503]. In his reign navigation and manufactures made their first great start. It was he who equipped the Venetian Sebastian Cabot, who discovered North America in 1498. He granted to several towns exemption from the law which forbade a father to apprentice his son unless he owned land to the amount of twenty shillings a year. Thus at the same moment when Henry VII. founded the absolute power of the Tudors through the abasement of the nobles, we see the beginning of the elevation of the Commons, who were destined a century and a half afterwards to overthrow the Stuarts.

The other kingdom of Great Britain did not attain equal order and regularity until long afterwards. Scotland contained many more elements of disorder than England. In the first place the mountainous character of the country had given greater advantages to the resistance of the conquered races. The sovereignty of the Lowlanders over the Highlanders, of the Saxons[m] over the Celts, was purely nominal. The latter acknowledged no sovereign but the hereditary chiefs of their clans. The most powerful of these chiefs, the Lord of the Isles, or Earl of Ross, was, in relation to the Kings of Scotland, more upon the footing of a tributary ruler than on that of a subject; he was the secret or declared friend of all the King's enemies, the ally of England against Scotland, of the Douglases against the Stuarts. The first Princes of this dynasty humored the mountaineers, as they were unable to conquer them; James I. expressly exempted them from obedience to one of his laws, "because," as he said, "it is

[m] The Highlanders called the other inhabitants of Scotland Saxons.

their custom to pillage and kill each other."[a] Thus the civilization of England, which was gradually penetrating into Scotland, stopped short at the Grampians.

Even to the south of these mountains the royal authority found indefatigable adversaries in the lords and barons, especially in the Douglases; that heroic house, which from the accession of the Stuarts had disputed with them the crown, which afterwards had gone to fight the English in France, and had brought back as a trophy the title of Counts of Touraine. Even in their own family of the Stuarts the Kings of Scotland found rivals; their brothers or their cousins, the Dukes of Albany, governed in their name or disturbed them by their ambitious pretensions. To these causes of trouble may be added the unusual occurrence of a succession of six minorities [1437—1578], and we shall understand why Scotland was the last kingdom to emerge from the anarchy of the middle ages.

After their retirement from the war in France the struggle with the Douglases became more severe. The Kings exhibited more violence than skill. Under James II. William Douglas, enticed by the Chancellor Crichton into the Castle of Edinburgh, was put to death there with a mere mockery of justice [1440]. Another William Douglas, the most insolent of all who had borne that name, having been summoned by the same Prince to Stirling, exasperated him by insulting language and was stabbed by his hand [1452]. His brother, James Douglas, marched against the King at the head of 40,000 men, forced him to fly to the North, and would have defeated him had he not insulted the Hamiltons, who until that time had been attached to his family. Abandoned by his followers, Douglas was obliged to take refuge in England, and the Wars of the Roses, at that time just beginning, prevented the English from making use of this dangerous exile to disturb Scotland. The Earls of Angus, a branch of the house of Douglas, received their possessions, but were little less formidable to the Kings. Soon afterwards the Hamiltons also rose, and became, with the Campbells (Earls of Argyle), the most powerful of the Scottish nobles in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Under James III. [1460] Scotland extended herself to the North and South by the acquisition of the Orkneys and Berwick; while the union of the county of Ross to the Crown annihilated forever the power of the Lord of the Isles. No reign, however, had been more disgraceful than that of James III. No Prince ever shocked as James did the ideas and habits of his people. What Scotch laird would deign to obey a King who was always shut up in a fortress, caring for none of the warlike sports of the

[a] Pinkerton's "History of Scotland, from the Accession of the House of Stuart to that of Mary" [1797], vol. i. p. 155.

nobles, surrounded by English artists, and deciding questions of peace and war by the advice of a music-master, a mason, or a tailor? He even forbade the nobles to appear in arms at his Court, as if he feared to look upon a sword.

He might indeed have used the affection of the Commons or of the clergy against the nobles, but he alienated both by depriving the cities of the election of their aldermen, and the clergy of the nomination of their dignitaries.

James III., whose estimate of himself was accurate enough, feared that his two brothers, the Duke of Albany and the Earl of Mar, might try to supplant so despicable a King. The predictions of an astrologer decided him on confining them in the Castle of Edinburgh. Albany escaped, and the cowardly King thought to secure his own safety by opening the veins of his younger brother. The favorites triumphed; the mason or architect Cochrane ventured to accept his victim's inheritance, and took the title of Earl of Mar. Such was his confidence in the future that, on issuing some false money for circulation, he exclaimed, "Before this money is withdrawn I shall be hanged;" and so in fact he was. The nobles seized the favorites under the eyes of the King and hanged them on Lauder Bridge. Some time afterwards they attacked the King himself, and formed the most extensive league which had ever threatened the throne of Scotland [1488]. James had still on his side the barons of the North and the West, but he fled at the first encounter, and fell off his horse into a stream. Carried into a neighboring mill, he asked for a confessor: the priest who presented himself belonged to the enemy's party; he received his confession and stabbed him.*o*

James IV., whom the nobles raised to the throne of his father, had a more successful reign. The barons obeyed him less as their sovereign than as the most brilliant knight in the kingdom. He completed the ruin of the Lord of the Isles by uniting the Hebrides to the Crown; he established royal courts of justice throughout the North of the kingdom. Neglected by France, James IV. allied himself with Henry VII., King of England. When Henry VIII. invaded France, Louis XII. called upon Scotland for assistance; and Anne of Brittany sent her ring to the King, naming him her knight. James would have thought himself wanting in chivalry if he had not assisted a suppliant Queen. All the nobles and barons of Scotland followed him on this romantic expedition. But he wasted precious time near Flodden in the castle of Lady Heron, where he remained as if spell-bound. Roused by the arrival of the English army, he was conquered in spite of his bravery, and all his nobles were killed with him [1513]. The loss of twelve Earls, thirteen lords, five

o Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 335.

eldest sons of peers, many barons, and 10,000 soldiers left the exhausted nation for the remainder of the century a prey to the intrigues of France and England.

Section III.—Spain and Portugal, 1454—1521

Spain was the battle-field of the barbarians of the North and South, of the Goths and the Arabs. Confined by the ocean in the Spanish Peninsula, they fought as if in the lists throughout the middle ages. Thus the spirit of the Crusades, which agitated for a time all the other nations in Europe, became the very basis of the Spanish character, with its fierce intolerance and chivalrous pride heightened by the violence of African passions. For Spain has much in common with the barbarism of the Moors, in spite of the Strait which parts them. The races, the productions, and even the deserts of Africa are to be found on the other side of the Strait of Gibraltar.[p] A single battle gave Spain to the Moors, and it took eight hundred years to rescue her from them.

From the thirteenth century the Christians had got the upper hand; in the fifteenth the Mussulman population, concentrated in the kingdom of Granada, and with the sea in their rear, could draw back no further; but it was already easy to see which of the two races would attain mastery over Spain. On the Moorish side of the border was a nation of merchants collected in rich cities rendered effeminate by the bath and the climate,[q] and of peaceable agriculturists occupied in their delicious valleys with the cultivation of mulberry trees and silkworms;[r] a lively and ingenious people whose passion was for music and dancing, who loved splendid dresses, and adorned even their tombs. On the other side was a silent people, attired in brown or black, caring only for war, and loving bloodshed; a people who left to the Jews both commerce and science; a race haughty and independent, terrible in love and in religion. Every one considered himself noble; the citizen boasted that his privilege came by birth and not by purchase; and even the peasant who drew his sword against the Moors felt his rank as a Christian.

These men were no less formidable to their kings than to their enemies. For a long time their sovereigns had been only, as it were, the first of the barons; the King of Aragon sometimes went to law with his subjects before the tribunal of the Justiza, or Chief Justiciar of the Kingdom.[s] The spirit of resistance

[p] In some parts of Old Castile there is a proverb, "The lark who would fly across country must carry her food with her." (Bory de St. Vincent, "Itinéraire," p. 281.) For the sterility and depopulated state of Aragon, even in the middle ages, see Blancas, quoted by Hallam, vol. i.

[q] Curita, "Secunda parte de los Annales de la corone de Aragon" [1610], vol. iv. book xx.

[r] Ibid, vol. iv. book xx. folio 354. Gomecius, "de Rebus gestis a F. Ximenes" [1569], in folio, p. 60.

[s] Hallam.

peculiar to the Aragonese had, like the Castilian pride, passed into a proverb: "Give a nail to an Aragonese and he will drive it in with his head instead of a hammer." Their oath of obedience was haughty and threatening: "We, who individually are as great as you, and who united are more powerful, make you our King on condition that you secure our privileges, and if not, not."

The Kings of Spain, therefore, preferred to surround themselves with the new Christians, as converted Jews and their children were called. They found in them more intelligence and obedience. The tolerance of the Moors had formerly attracted them to Spain, and, since the year 1400, more than 100,000 Jewish families had been converted. They made themselves necessary to the Kings by their skill in business, and by their learning in medicine and astrology: it was a Jew who, in 1460, operated on the King of Aragon for cataract. Commerce was in their hands; they had drawn, by means of usury, all the money in the kingdom into their hands. They were entrusted by the Kings with the levy of taxes. These were so many titles to the hatred of the people. It burst out several times in a frightful manner in the populous cities of Toledo, Segovia, and Cordova.[t]

The grandees, who saw themselves gradually set aside by the new Christians, and generally by men of inferior rank, became the enemies of the royal authority, which they could not turn to their own advantage. Those of Castile armed the Infant Don Henry against his father, Juan II., and succeeded in causing the King's favorite, Alvaro de Luna, to be beheaded. His immense possessions were confiscated, and, during three days, a basin placed on the scaffold by the side of his corpse received the alms of those who were willing to contribute to the expense of his burial.[u]

When Henry IV. ascended the throne [1454] he attempted to shake off the grandees who had supported him while Infant; but, at the same time, he irritated the towns by raising taxes on his own authority, and venturing himself to name the deputies for the Cortes.[v] He was, besides, degraded by his connivance in the gallantries of the Queen, and by his cowardice; the Castilians would not obey a Prince who left his army at the moment of battle. The chief grandees, Carillo, Archbishop of Toledo, Don Juan de Pacheco, Marquis of Villena, and his brother, who was Grand Master of the Orders of Santiago and Calatrava, set up against the King his brother Don Alonzo, who was still under age; declared illegitimate the Infanta, Donna Juana, supposed to be the child of Bertrand de la Cueva, the Queen's lover; exposed upon a throne the effigy of Henry in the plain of Avila,

[t] Mariana, liv. xxii., xxiii., A.D. 1446, 1463, 1473.

[u] *Ibid.*, liv. xxii., A.D. 1451.

[v] *Ibid*, "Teoria de la Cortes," quoted by Hallam.

and, having stripped it of the insignia of royalty, overthrew it and put Don Alonzo in its place. After an indecisive battle [Medina del Campo, 1465], the unfortunate King, abandoned by every one, wandered aimlessly about his kingdom, past castles and cities which closed their gates against him, no one even caring to arrest him. One night, after a ride of eighteen leagues, he ventured to enter Toledo; the tocsin was sounded, he was forced to retire, and one of the knights who had escorted him refused even to lend him a horse.

Aragon and Navarre were not more tranquil. On the succession of Juan II. to his brother Alfonso the Magnanimous in the kingdoms of Aragon and Sicily, he retained for his own son, Don Carlos of Viana, the crown of Navarre, which the young Prince inherited from his mother [1441]. A stepmother excited the father against his son on behalf of his two children by a second marriage, Ferdinand the Catholic and Leonora Countess of Foix. The eternal factions of Navarre, the Beaumonts and Grammonts, carried on their private feuds under the names of the two Princes. Twice the party which had right on its side was beaten in pitched battle; twice the indignation of Don Juan's subjects forced him to set free the son he had cast into prison. Don Carlos died of poison or grief [1461], and his sister, Donna Bianca, inherited his right. Her father gave her up to her younger sister, Leonora, who poisoned her in the castle of Orthez. Catalonia had already risen; horror of this double murder excited men's minds; as the Catalans could not have Don Carlos for a King, they invoked him as a saint,[w] called successively to their aid the King of Castile, the Infant of Portugal, and John of Calabria, and did not submit till after ten years of fighting [1472].

While Juan II. was in danger of losing Catalonia, his son Ferdinand was winning Castile. The brother of Henry IV. being dead, the grandees held that the right of succession devolved on his sister Isabella. To support her against the King, they married her to Ferdinand, who after her was the next heir to the throne [1469]. Henry IV. died soon after having partaken of a banquet given to him by his reconciled enemies [1474]. But, in dying, he declared that Donna Juana was his legitimate child. Galicia and the whole country from Toledo to Murcia declared in her favor.[x] Her uncle, Alfonso the African, King of Portugal, had affianced her, and came with the knights who had conquered Arzilla and Tangiers to support her cause. The Portuguese and Castilians encountered each other at Toro [1476]. The former were defeated, and the arms of Almayda, which they bore on their standard, were hung up in the cathedral of Toledo. This check was sufficient to discourage the Portuguese; all the

[w] Curita, vol. iv. book xx. folio 97. [x] Mariana, book xxiv.

Castilian nobles ranged themselves on the side of Ferdinand and Isabella; the crown of Castile was firmly settled on the head of the first, and the death of Juan II., who bequeathed Aragon to the latter [1479], enabled them to turn the whole force of Christian Spain against the Moors of Granada.

1481—1492. A report was circulated among the Moors that the fated termination of their dominion in Spain had arrived.[y] A fakir disturbed Granada with mournful predictions, which were sufficiently justified by the state of the kingdom. Already under Henry IV. they had lost Gibraltar. Cities, strongly placed, but without ditches or external fortifications, and protected only by a thin wall; a brilliant cavalry skilled in throwing the javelin, eager to charge and willing to fly; these were the resources of the people of Granada. Africa could not be depended upon for help. The time was past when the hordes of the Almohades and Almoravides could flood the Peninsula. The Sultan of Egypt thought it enough to send to Ferdinand the guardian of the Holy Sepulchre to plead for them: and the fear of the Ottomans soon diverted his thoughts from these distant affairs.

Although every year the Christians and Moors ravaged alternately each other's territories, burning the vines, olive and orange trees, a singular agreement existed between them; the peace was not considered to be broken even if one of the two parties had taken a town, provided it was taken without declaration of war, without banners or trumpets, and in less than three days.[z] The capture of Zahara in this way by the Moors was the pretext for war. The Spaniards invaded the kingdom of Granada, encouraged by their Queen, whom alone the Castilians would obey. In this army were already engaged the future conquerors of Barbary and Naples, Pedro of Navarre and Gonsalvo of Cordova. In the course of eleven years the Christians possessed themselves of Alhama, the bulwark of Granada;[a] took Malaga, the emporium of commerce between Spain and Africa; captured Baca, which was supposed to contain 150,000 inhabitants; and finally, with 80,000 men, besieged Granada herself.

The capital was a prey to the most furious dissensions. Son took arms against father, and brother against brother. Boabdil and his uncle had shared the remains of this expiring sovereignty, and the latter sold his share to the Spaniards in exchange for a rich province. There remained Boabdil, who had acknowledged himself as the vassal of Ferdinand, and who followed, rather than directed, the stubborn fury of the people. The siege lasted nine months; a Moor attempted to assassinate Ferdinand and Isabella; a fire destroyed the whole camp; the Queen, whom nothing could dismay, ordered a town to be constructed in its

[y] Curita, vol. iv. book xx. p. 332. [a] *Ibid*, p. 314.
[z] *Ibid*, p. 314; Mariana, book xxv.

place, and Santa-Fé, built in eighty days, showed the Mussulmans that the siege would never be raised.[b] At last the Moors opened the gates, on the pledge that they should retain judges of their own nation and the free exercise of their religion [1492].

In the same year Christopher Columbus gave a new world to Spain.[c]

The kingdoms of Spain were now united, with the exception of Navarre, which was certain to become sooner or later the prey of the two great monarchies, between which Nature herself appeared to destine her to be divided. But these kingdoms, united only by force, were not yet blended into a single body. The Castilians watched the Aragonese with jealous eyes; both of them regarded as enemies the Moors and Jews who lived among them. Every city had its franchises, every grandee his privileges. All these antipathies had to be overcome, all these heterogeneous forces harmonized before fresh conquests could be undertaken. In spite of the skill of Ferdinand, in spite of the enthusiasm inspired by Isabella, they did not succeed in doing this until after thirty years of continual effort. The means they employed were as ruthless as the temper of the people they ruled; but their reward was the empire of the two worlds in the sixteenth century.

The Spanish Cortes, which alone could legally resist the aggressions of the monarchy, were the most ancient assemblies in Europe; but these institutions, formed amidst the anarchy of the middle ages, had not the organization which could make them lasting. In 1480 only seventeen towns in Castile were represented; in 1520 not one deputy was sent by the whole of Galicia to the Cortes.[d] Those of Guadalaxara alone represented 400 boroughs or towns. In Aragon it was nearly the same. The rivalry between the towns perpetuated this abuse; in 1506 and in 1512 the towns in Castile which possessed the privilege of representation rejected the claims of the rest.[e] Thus, in order to become master, Ferdinand had only to leave the field open for rival pretensions. He obtained through the Holy Hermandad of the cities, and the revolt of the vassals, the submission of the grandees;[f] through the grandees that of the cities; through the Inquisition the subjection of both. The violence of the grandees induced Saragossa to allow him to change her ancient municipal constitutions which she had always defended. The organization of the Holy Hermandad, or fraternity of the cities of Aragon, was impeded by the nobles whose private wars it would have put an end to [1488], and the King was obliged in the Cortes of 1495

b "Petri Martyris Anglerii epistolæ," 73, 91, etc. The author was an eye-witness of these events.
c Epitaph of Christopher Columbus.
d Sepulveda, vol. i., book ii., p. 59.
e Hallam, vol. i., from Mariana.
f In Galicia alone he pulled down forty-six castles. (Hernando de Pulgar.)

to suspend its action for ten years; but the people of Saragossa were so irritated that for a long time the Justiza of Aragon, who refused to swear to the Hermandad, dared not enter the town.[g] From this time the Crown inherited a large share of the people's attachment to this magistracy, which had long been considered as the bulwark of public liberty against the encroachment of Kings.

Nevertheless, Ferdinand and Isabella would never have acquired absolute power if the poverty of the Crown had left them at the mercy of the Cortes. They revoked on two occasions the grants of Henry IV., and those by which they had themselves purchased the obedience of the grandees [1480—1506]. The union of the three Great Masterships of Alcantara, Calatrava, and Santiago, which they had the address to induce the knights to present to them, gave them at the same time an army and a very large revenue [1493—1494]. Later on, the kings of Spain, having obtained from the Pope the sale of bulls for the Crusades and the presentation to bishoprics [1508—1522], became the richest sovereigns in Europe, even before they drew any considerable sum from America.

The Kings of Portugal established their power by similar means. They possessed themselves of the Masterships of the Orders of Avis, of Santiago, and of Christ, in order to make the nobles dependent on them. In one Diet (at Evora, 1482) Juan II., successor of Alfonso the African, revoked the grants of his predecessors, deprived the nobles of the power of life and death, and placed their domains under royal jurisdiction. The indignant nobles chose as their chief the Duke of Braganza, who called in the aid of the Castilians; the King had him tried by a commission, and his head struck off. The Duke of Viseu, cousin-german and brother-in-law of Juan, conspired against him, and the King stabbed him with his own hand.

But what really secured the triumph of absolute power in Spain was the fact that it rested on the religious zeal which was the national characteristic of Spain. The Kings leagued themselves with the Inquisition, that vast and powerful hierarchy, all the more terrible because it united the steady force of political authority with the violence of religious passions. The establishment of the Inquisition encountered the greatest obstacles on the part of the Aragonese. Less in contact with the Moors than the Castilians, they were less embittered against them: the greater number of the members of the Government of Aragon were descended from Jewish families. They protested strongly against secret trials, and against confiscations; things contrary, as they said, to the "*fueros*" of the kingdom. They even assassinated one Inquisitor in the hope of frightening the rest. But

[g] Curita, vol. iv., book xx., pp. 251-356.

the new institution was too much in harmony with the religious ideas of the majority of Spaniards not to resist these attacks. The title of Familiar of the Inquisition, which carried with it exemption from municipal charges, was so much sought after that in some towns these privileged persons surpassed in number the other inhabitants, and the Cortes were obliged to interfere.[h]

After the conquest of Granada the Inquisition was no longer satisfied with the persecution of individuals. All the Jews were ordered to be converted or to leave Spain in four months, and forbidden to carry away gold or silver [1492]. One hundred and seventy thousand families, forming a population of 800,000 souls, sold their property in a hurry, fled to Portugal, Italy, Africa, and even to the Levant. At that time a house was given in exchange for an ass, a vineyard for a piece of linen or cloth. A contemporary tells us that he saw a crowd of these miserable beings disembark in Italy, and die of hunger near the Mole of Genoa, the only quarter of the town in which they were allowed to repose for a few days.

The Jews who took refuge in Portugal were received there only on payment of eight golden crowns per head; besides which, they were ordered to leave the kingdom within a certain time on pain of being made slaves, an edict which was rigorously enforced. In spite of this, it is said that the first who arrived wrote to their brothers in Spain: "The land is good, the people are idiots; we have fair chances here; you may come, for everything will soon belong to us." Don Manuel, Don Juan's successor, set free those who had been enslaved; but, in 1496, he ordered them to quit the kingdom, leaving behind all their children under the age of fourteen. The greater number preferred to receive baptism, and in 1507 Don Manuel abolished the distinction between the old and new Christians. The Inquisition was established at Lisbon in 1526, and from thence it spread to India, where the Portuguese had landed in 1498.

Seven years after the expulsion of the Jews [1499—1501] the King of Spain attempted in an equally violent manner to convert

[h] The following inscription was put up, shortly after the foundation of the Inquisition in the Castle of Triana, in a faubourg of Seville:—"*Sanctum Inquisitionis officium contra hæreticorum pravitatem in Hispaniæ regnis initiatum est Hispali anno MCCCCLXXXI, etc. Generalis inquisitor primus fuit Fr. Thomas de Torquemada. Faxit Deus ut in augmentum fidei usque sæculi permaneat, etc. Exsurge, Domine: judica causam tuam. Capite nobis vulpes.*" Another inscription, put up in 1524 by the Inquisitors on their house in Seville, runs:—"*Anno Domini MCCCCLXXXI sacrum Inquisitionis officium contra hæreticos Judaizantes ad fidei exaltationem hic exordium sumpsit; ubi, post Judæorum ac Saracenorum expulsionem ad annum usque MDXXIV, Divo Carolo, etc.; regnante, etc., viginti millia hæreticorum et ultra nefandum hæreseos crimen abjurarunt; nec non hominum fere millia in suis hæresibus obstinatorum postea jure prævio ignibus tradita sunt et combusta. Domini nostri imperatoris jussu et impensis licenciatus, de la Cueva poni jussit, A.D. MDXXIV.*" It is worthy of remark that several Popes, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, blamed the severity of the Spanish Inquisition. The Court of Rome was at that time interested and mercenary, rather than fanatical.

the Moors of Granada, who by the terms of capitulation had been guaranteed the free exercise of their religion. Those of the Albaycin (the most mountainous district of Granada) were the first to revolt, and were followed by the savage inhabitants of the Alpuxarras. The Gandules of Africa came to their assistance, and the King, having experienced the difficulty of reducing them, furnished vessels to those who wished to cross over into Africa; but the greater number remained, and pretended to become Christians.*i*

The reduction of the Moors was followed by the conquest of Naples [1501—1503] and by the death of Isabella [1504]. This Queen was adored by the people of Castile,*j* whose character she so well represented, and whose independence she protected against her husband. After her death the Castilians had only the choice between foreign rulers. They were obliged to obey either the King of Aragon, or the Archduke of Austria—Philip the Fair, sovereign of the Netherlands, who had married Donna Juana, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, heiress of the kingdom of Castile. Such was their antipathy for the Aragonese, and particularly for Ferdinand, that, in spite of all the intrigues of the latter to obtain the regency, they rallied around the Archduke as soon as he arrived in Spain. At first the behavior of Philip was popular: he put a stop to the violence of the Inquisition, which was on the point of exciting a general insurrection; but he dismissed all the corregidors and governors of the towns to give their places to his Flemish followers, and at last he wanted to shut up as a maniac Donna Juana, whose feeble reason had gone astray through jealousy. Philip soon died [1506]. Nevertheless, Ferdinand would not even yet have been able to govern Castile if he had not been supported by the confessor and minister of Isabella, the celebrated Ximenès of Cisneros, Archbishop of Toledo.

The Castilians, finding in Ximenès the heroic spirit of their great Queen, forgot that they were obeying Ferdinand; and the latter years of this Prince were marked by the conquests of Barbary and Navarre. The war with the Moors did not seem at an end so long as those in Africa, strengthened by a number of fugitives, infested the coasts of Spain, and found a safe refuge in the port of Oran, at Penon de Velez, and many other fastnesses. Ximenès proposed, equipped, and personally conducted an ex-

i Mariana, book xxvii.

j Isabella exhibited the utmost courage in the vicissitudes of her youth. When Ferdinand fled from Segovia she chose to remain (Mariana, book xxiv.); she insisted on holding Alhama, at the gates of Granada, when her bravest officers counselled retreat (Curita, book xx.). She consented with regret to the establishment of the Inquisition. She loved and protected letters; she understood Latin, while Ferdinand could scarcely sign his own name (Mariana, book xxiii., xxv.). She equipped, in spite of his opposition, the fleet which discovered America; she defended Columbus when accused, consoled Gonsalvo of Cordova in his disgrace, and ordered the unfortunate natives of America to be free.

pedition against Oran. The taking of this town, which was carried under his eyes by Pedro of Navarre, led to the fall of Tripoli and the submission of Algiers, Tunis, and Tremecen [1509—1510].

Two years afterwards, the seizure of Navarre, which was taken by Ferdinand from Jean d'Albret, completed the union of all the kingdoms of Spain [1512]. The Countess of Foix, Leonora, had enjoyed only for a month this throne, which she had bought with her sister's blood. After the death of her son Phœbus, the hand of her daughter Catherine, which had been demanded in vain for the Infant of Spain, was given by the French party to Jean d'Albret, who was invariably allied to France through his own dominions of Foix, Périgord, and Limoges. As soon as the two great powers which were struggling in Italy began, as it were, to fight hand-to-hand, Navarre found herself, by the necessities of her geographical position, shared between Ferdinand and Louis XII. Ximenès was eighty years old when the King, whose death was approaching, designated him as regent until the arrival of his grandson, Charles of Austria [1516]. In spite of his age he withstood foreign and domestic enemies with the same vigor. He prevented the French from conquering Navarre by an expedient which was as new as it was bold: it was by dismantling all the strong places except Pampeluna, and thus preventing all connivance with the invaders. At the same time he formed a national militia, and secured the towns by granting them permission to raise their own taxes (Gomecius, f. 25). He revoked the concessions which the late King had made to the grandees. When they came to expostulate, and expressed doubts as to the power which had been conferred on him, Ximenès, showing them from a balcony a formidable train of artillery, "Behold," he said, "my power!"

The Flemish disgusted the Spaniards as soon as they arrived. First, they disgraced the expiring Ximenès, and appointed a stranger, a young man of twenty, to replace him in the highest see in the kingdom. They established a tariff of places, and, as it were, put Spain up to auction. Charles took the title of King without waiting for the consent of the Cortes. He convoked those of Castile in a remote corner of Galicia, and, asking for a second subsidy before the first had been paid, seized it by force or corruption, and set out to take possession of the imperial crown without caring whether he left a revolution behind him. Toledo refused to attend his Cortès, Segovia and Zamora put their deputies to death, and such was the horror that the deputies inspired that no one was willing to pillage their houses or to soil their hands with the wealth of the traitors. Discontent spread throughout Spain. The whole of Castile, Galicia, Murcia, and most of the towns in Leon and Estramadura, rose in arms.

The revolt was no less furious in Valencia, but its character was different: the inhabitants had sworn a "Hermandad" against the nobility, and Charles, discontented with the nobles, was imprudent enough to support it. Majorca imitated the example of Valencia, and even wished to deliver herself to the French. In both kingdoms the clothworkers were at the head of the "Hermandad."

At the outset the *communeros* of Castile took possession of Tordesillas, where the mother of Charles V. resided, and issued their edicts in the name of the Princess. But their success lasted only a short time. They had demanded in their remonstrances, that the lands of the nobles might be subjected to taxation. The nobles abandoned a party whose victory would have been prejudicial to their interests. The towns did not even agree among themselves. The old rivalry between Burgos and Toledo awoke; and the former submitted to the King, who granted her a free market.[k] The *communeros*, thus divided, had no longer any hope except in the assistance of a French army, which had invaded Navarre; but before they could effect a junction with it they fell in with the *leales*, and were entirely routed [1521]. Don Juan de Padilla, the hero of the revolution, sought death in the enemy's ranks, but he was unhorsed, wounded, taken prisoner, and beheaded on the next day. Before his death he sent to his wife, Donna Maria de Pacheco, the relics he wore round his neck, and wrote his famous letter to the town of Toledo: "To thee, the crown of Spain and the light of the world; to thee, who wert free from the time of the Goths, and who hast shed thy blood to insure thy liberty and that of the neighboring cities; to thee, thy lawful son, Juan of Padilla, makes known that by the blood of his body thy ancient victories are about to be refreshed and renewed," etc.

The reduction of Castile brought with it that of the kingdom of Valencia and of all the revolted provinces. But Charles V., profiting by this lesson, respected henceforth the pride of the Spaniards, affected to speak their language, and resided chiefly among them, treating with consideration this heroic people as the instrument with which he intended to subjugate the world.

[k] Sepulveda, vol. i., p. 53.
[l] Sandoval, in fol. 1681, book ix., sec. 22, p. 356.

CHAPTER III.

THE EAST AND THE NORTH.

GERMANIC AND SCANDINAVIAN STATES IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

If we regard similarity of habits and language, we must class among the Germanic States the Empire, Switzerland, the Low Countries, and the three kingdoms of the North, even England in many respects; but the political relations of the Netherlands and England with France have forced us to relate the history of these powers in the preceding chapter.

Germany is not only the centre of the Teutonic system; it is a little Europe in the midst of the greater, in which the same varieties of country and population are represented, though with less striking contrast. In the fifteenth century it included every form of government, from the hereditary or elective principalities of Saxony and Cologne to the democracies of Uri and Unterwalden; from the commercial oligarchy of Lubeck to the military aristocracy of the Teutonic Order.

This singular body of the Empire, whose members were so heterogeneous and unequal, and whose head had so little power, seemed always on the point of dissolution. The cities, the nobles, the majority even of the Princes, were almost strangers to an Emperor who was chosen only by the Electors. And yet community of origin and language maintained for centuries the unity of the Germanic body: though we must add to these causes the necessity for self-defence, the fear of the Turks, of Charles V., and of Louis XIV.

The Empire always remembered that it had ruled over Europe, and recalled its rights from time to time in vain proclamations. The most powerful Prince in the fifteenth century, Charles the Bold, seemed to recognize them by soliciting the royal dignity from the Emperor Frederick III. These pretensions, though their day had gone by, might have become formidable after the imperial crown fell permanently into the hands of the house of Austria [1438]. Situated between Germany, Italy, and Hungary, in the most central part of Europe, Austria was destined to become mistress of the two latter countries, at least

by her consistency and obstinacy. To these qualities she added a policy, more distinguished by ability than heroism, which, by means of a succession of marriages, placed in the hands of Austria prizes for which other nations had in vain shed their blood, and which made her mistress of the conquerors as well as of their conquests. She thus acquired on one side Hungary and Bohemia [1526], on the other the Low Countries [1481]; by means of the Low Countries, Spain, Naples, and America [1506—1516], and through Spain, Portugal and the East Indies [1581].

Towards the end of the fifteenth century the imperial power had fallen so low that the Princes of the house of Austria generally forgot that they were Emperors in order to occupy themselves exclusively with the interests of their hereditary States. Nothing diverted them from this policy, which, sooner or later, was destined to restore the dignity of the imperial sceptre in their hands. Thus Frederick III., continually beaten by the Electors Palatine and the King of Hungary, shut his ears to the cries of Europe, which was alarmed by the progress of the Turks. But he raised Austria into an archduchy; he linked the interests of his house with those of the Papacy by sacrificing the Pragmatic Sanction of Augsburg to Nicholas V.; he married his son Maximilian to the heiress of the Low Countries [1481]. Maximilian himself became by his caprices and poverty the laughing stock of Europe, as it saw him hurrying perpetually from Switzerland to the Low Countries, from Italy to Germany, imprisoned by the citizens of Bruges, beaten by the Venetians, and setting down regularly his affronts in his red book. But he added to his dominions by right of inheritance the Tyrol, Goritz, and part of Bavaria. His son, Philip the Fair, sovereign of the Low Countries, married the heiress of Spain [1496]; and one of his grandsons (by the treaty of 1515) was enabled to marry the sister of the King of Bohemia and Hungary.

While the house of Austria was thus preparing her future greatness, the Empire tried to give fresh form to its constitution. Its tribunal, which was in future to be permanent—the Imperial Chamber [1495]—was to put an end to private wars and substitute a state of law for the state of nature which seemed still to exist among the members of the Germanic body. The division into Circles was intended to facilitate the exercise of this jurisdiction. A council of regency was created to control and replace the Emperor [1500]. The Electors long refused to enter into this new organization. The Emperor opposed the Aulic Council to the Imperial Chambers [1501], and these salutary institutions were consequently weakened from their birth.

This absence of order, this want of protection, had successively obliged the most distant portions of the Empire to form

more or less independent confederations or to look for foreign support. Such was the condition of the Swiss, of the Teutonic Order, of the leagues of the Rhine and of Swabia, and of the Hanseatic League.

The same period saw the elevation of Switzerland and the decline of the Teutonic Order. The second of these two military powers, a species of vanguard which the warlike spirit of Germany had pushed on into the midst of the Sclavonic peoples, was forced to give up Prussia, which the Teutonic knights had conquered and converted two centuries earlier, to the King of Poland—(Treaty of Thorn, 1466).

Switzerland, separated from the Empire by the victory of Morgarten and the league of Brunnen, had consolidated her liberty by the defeat of Charles the Bold, which taught feudal Europe to appreciate the power of infantry. The alliance of the Grisons, the accession of five new cantons (Fribourg, Soleure, Basle, Schaffhausen and Appenzell, 1481—1513), had carried Switzerland to the summit of greatness. The citizens of Berne, the shepherds of Uri, found themselves caressed by Popes and courted by Kings. Louis XI. substituted Swiss for the free-archers [1480]. In the wars with Italy the best part of the infantry of Charles VIII. and of Louis XII. was composed of them. As soon as they had crossed the Alps, in the train of the French, they were welcomed by the Pope, who opposed them to the French themselves, and for a short time they reigned over Northern Italy in the name of Maximilian Sforza. After their defeat at Marignan [1515] religious discords armed them against each other, and confined them within their mountains.

The two commercial powers of Germany were not a sufficiently compact body to imitate the example of Switzerland, and become independent.

The league of the Swedish and Swabian towns was composed of rich cities, among which Nuremburg, Ratisbon, Augsburg and Spires held the first rank. They it was who carried on the principal commerce by land between the North and the South. When it reached Cologne, the merchandise they imported fell into the hands of the Hanseatic towns, by whom it was distributed throughout the North.

The Hanseatic League, consisting of eighty towns, occupied the whole northern coast of Germany, and extended to the Low Countries. Until the sixteenth century it was the ruling power in the North. The immense hall at Lubeck, where the Hanseatic general assemblies were held, still attests the power of these merchant princes. They had united by means of innumerable canals the ocean, the Baltic, and most of the rivers of Northern Germany. But their chief commerce was maritime. The Hanseatic establishments at London, Bruges, Bergen, and Novogorod were

analogous in many respects to the factories of the Venetians and Genoese in the Levant; they were a sort of fortresses. The clerks were not allowed to marry in foreign countries for fear of their teaching commerce and the arts to the inhabitants.[a] In some counting-houses they were received only after cruel trials which tested their courage. Commerce was still almost everywhere carried on sword in hand. If the Hanse traders brought into Novogorod or London Flanders cloth which was too coarse, too narrow, or too dear, the people rose, and often put some of them to death. Then the merchants threatened to leave the town, and the inhabitants in their alarm were willing to submit to anything. The citizens of Bruges having killed some Hanse traders, the league, before re-establishing its counting-houses in the town, insisted that some of the citizens should make an ample apology, and that others should undertake a pilgrimage to Compostella or Jerusalem. In truth, the most terrible punishment which the Hanseatic traders could inflict upon a town was—to abandon it forever. A cessation of their visits to Holland left its inhabitants without cloth, moss, salt, and herrings; and in all revolutions the Swedish peasant was on the side of those who furnished him with salt and herrings. For this reason the league exacted extraordinary privileges; the greater number of the maritime towns in Sweden allowed at least half of their magistrates to be Hanseatic traders.

Great as their power was, however, it rested on no solid foundation. The long line of the Hanseatic towns, from Livonia to the Low Countries, was everywhere narrow and broken by foreign or hostile States. The towns composing it had different interests and unequal rights: some were allies of the league, some protected by it, others its subjects. Even the commerce on which their existence depended was precarious. As they had neither agriculture nor manufactures, and could only transport and exchange foreign merchandise, they depended upon a thousand natural or political accidents which no sagacity could foresee. Thus the herring, which towards the fourteenth century had quitted the coasts of Pomerania for those of Scandinavia, began in the middle of the fifteenth century to leave the shores of the Baltic for those of the Northern ocean. In the same way the submission of Novogorod and Plescow to the Czar Ivan III. [1477], and the reduction of Bruges by the army of the Empire (towards 1489), closed to the Hanse Towns the two chief sources of their wealth. At the same time the progress of public order rendered the protection of the Hanseatics unnecessary to many of the continental towns, especially after the constitution of the Empire consolidated itself, towards 1495. The Rhenish cities had never chosen to join the league; Cologne, which had entered

a See Sartorius and Mallet's "History of the Hanseatic League."

into it, left it and demanded the protection of Flanders. The Dutch, whose commerce and industry had grown up under the protection of the Hanse, no longer required it when they became the subjects of the powerful houses of Burgundy and Austria, and began to dispute with it the monopoly of the Baltic trade. At once agriculturists, merchants, and manufacturers, they had the advantage over a purely commercial power. To defend the interests of their traffic against these dangerous rivals, the Hanseatic merchants were obliged to intervene in all the revolutions of the North.

Its priority in Christianity and civilization, which had passed from Germany to Denmark and thence to Sweden and Norway, long gave Denmark the preponderance over the other two States. The Swedish and Norwegian bishops were the most powerful nobles in these countries; and they were equally devoted to Denmark. But the Danish Kings could only maintain this preponderance by continued efforts, which made them dependent upon their nobles and obliged them to make frequent concessions. These concessions could be made only at the expense of the royal prerogative and of the freedom of the peasantry, who gradually fell into slavery. In Sweden, on the contrary, the peasants lost little of the ancient liberty of the Scandinavian nations, and even formed an order in the State. This difference in the constitution explains the vigor with which Sweden shook off the yoke of the Danes. The Norwegians, either because the clergy had more influence there than in Sweden, or that they feared becoming subjects to Sweden, exhibited generally less repugnance towards the Danish supremacy.

The famous Union of Calmar, which appeared to promise so much glory and power to the three Northern kingdoms, had only established the yoke of the Danish Princes, and of the Germans with whom they surrounded themselves, over Sweden and Norway. Both the revolution of 1433, and that of 1521, began with the peasants of Dalecarlia; Engelbrecht played the part of Gustavus Vasa; and the latter as well as the former was sustained by the Hanse towns, whose trade monopoly was opposed by the King of Denmark (Eric the Pomeranian, nephew of Margaret of Waldemar) in favor of the Dutch. The union was restored some time afterwards by Christopher, the Bavarian, the Bark King, as the Swedes, who were forced under his reign to live upon the bark of trees, called him. But after his death [1448] they turned out the Danes and the Germans, elected as their King Charles Canutson, marshal of the kingdom, and refused to recognize the new King of Denmark and Norway, Christian the First of the house of Oldenburgh (the ancestor, through the branch of Holstein-Gottorp, of the last Swedish dynasty and the reigning imperial house of Russia). The Danes,

strengthened by the acquisition of Schleswig and Holstein [1459], thrice restored their dominion over Sweden, by the help of the Archbishop of Upsala [1457—1465], and were twice driven from it by the party of the nobility and the people.

On the death of Charles Canutson in 1470 Sweden adopted successively as administrators three nobles of the name of Sture (Sten, Swante, and Sten). They rested their power on the peasants, and called them into the senate. They beat the Danes before Stockholm [1471], and took from them the famous standard of Danebrog, which was, as it were, the palladium of the monarchy. They founded the University of Upsala at the same time that the King of Denmark founded that of Copenhagen [1477—1478]. In fact, if we except only a short period, during which Sweden was obliged to recognize John II., successor of Christian I., they maintained her independence until 1520.

CHAPTER IV.

THE EAST AND THE NORTH.

TURKISH AND SCLAVONIC STATES IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

The conquest of the Greek Empire by the Ottoman-Turks may be considered as the last invasion of the barbarians, and the close of the middle ages. It was the destiny of the nations of Sclavonic origin, who lay in the road of the Asiatic barbarians, to close Europe against them, or, at least, to check their advance by powerful diversions. Russia, on which the rage of the Tartars had spent itself in the fourteenth century, again became formidable under Ivan III. [1462]. A league of Hungarians, Wallachians and Moldavians covered Germany and Poland, which formed as it were the reserve of the Christian army against the invasion of the Turks. Poland, stronger than ever, had no longer any enemies in her rear; she had just conquered Prussia, and penetrated as far as the Baltic [1454—1466].

I. The rapid progress of Ottoman conquest during the fifteenth century is explained by the following causes:—

1. The fanatical and military spirit of the Turks.

2. Their use of regular troops, as opposed to the feudal militias of the Europeans and to the cavalry of the Persians and Mamelukes; their institution of the janizaries.

3. The peculiar position of the enemies of Turkey; in the East the religious and political discords of Persia, and the feeble foundations of the power of the Mamelukes; in the West the dissensions of Christendom; Hungary was its bulwark on the land side, Venice by sea; but they were enfeebled, the one by the ambition of the house of Austria, the other by the jealousy of Italy and of all Europe. The resistance of the Knights of Rhodes, and of the the Princes of Albania was heroic,but power less.

We saw in our first chapter Mahomet II., after succeeding in the conquest of the Greek Empire, fail against Hungary, but become master of the sea and inspire all Christendom with terror. On the accession of Bajazet II. [1481], the parts changed, and fear crossed over to the side of the Sultan. His brother Zizim,

who had disputed the throne with him, having taken refuge with the Knights of Rhodes, became in the hands of the King of France, and afterwards of the Pope, a pledge for the safety of the West. Bajazet paid Innocent VIII. and Alexander VI. considerable sums to keep him prisoner. This unpopular Prince, who had begun his reign by putting to death the Vizier Achmet, the idol of the janizaries, and the old general of Mahomet II., was carried away in spite of himself by the military ardor of the nation. The Turks turned their arms first against the Mamelukes and Persians. Defeated by the former, at Issus, they prepared the ruin of their conquerors by depopulating Circassia, whence the Mamelukes recruited their numbers. After the death of Zizim, no longer fearing any internal war, they attacked the Venetians in the Peloponnesus, and threatened Italy [1499—1503]; but Hungary, Bohemia and Poland came to the rescue, and the accession of the Sophis renewed and gave formal shape to the political rivalry between the Persians and Turks [1501]. After this war Bajazet estranged the Turks by a peace of eight years, desired to abdicate in favor of his son Achmet, and was dethroned and put to death by his second son, Selim. The accession of this new sovereign, the most cruel and warlike of all the Sultans, struck terror into both the East and West [1512]; it was doubtful whether he would fall first upon Persia, Egypt, or Italy.

II. Europe would have had nothing to fear from the Barbarians, if Hungary had been permanently united to Bohemia, and had held them in check. But Hungary interfered both with the independence and the religion of Bohemia. In this way they weakened each other, and in the fifteenth century wavered between the two Sclavonic and German powers on their borders (Poland and Austria). United under a German Prince from 1455 to 1458, separated for a time under national sovereigns (Bohemia until 1471, Hungary until 1490), they were once more united under Polish Princes until 1526, at which period they passed definitively into the hands of Austria.

After the reign of Ladislas of Austria, who won so much glory by the exploits of John Hunniades, George Podiebrad obtained the crown of Bohemia, and Matthias Corvinus, the son of Hunniades, was elected King of Hungary [1458]. These two Princes opposed successfully the chimerical pretensions of the Emperor Frederick III. Podiebrad protected the Hussites and incurred the enmity of the Popes. Matthias victoriously encountered the Turks and obtained the favor of Paul II., who offered him the crown of Podiebrad, his father-in-law. The latter opposed to the hostility of Matthias the alliance of the King of Poland, whose eldest son, Ladislas, he designated as his successor. At the same time, Casimir, the brother of Ladislas, endeavored to take from

Matthias the crown of Hungary. Matthias, thus pressed on all sides, was obliged to renounce the conquest of Bohemia, and content himself with the provinces of Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia, which were to return to Ladislas if Matthias died first [1475—1478].

The King of Hungary compensated himself at the expense of Austria. On the pretext that Frederick III. had refused to give him his daughter, he twice invaded his States and retained them in his possession. With this great Prince Christendom lost its chief defender, Hungary her conquests and her political preponderance [1490]. The civilization which he had tried to introduce into his kingdom was deferred for many centuries. We have already related what he did for letters and the arts. By his *Decretum majus*, he regulated military discipline, abolished judicial combat, forbade his subjects to appear in arms at fair or market, decreed that punishment should no longer be extended to the relations of culprits, nor their possessions in future be confiscated, that the King would no longer seize all mines of gold,[a] salt, etc., without compensating the proprietor. Ladislas (of Poland) King of Bohemia, having been elected King of Hungary, was attacked by his brother John Albert, and by Maximilian of Austria, who both pretended to that crown. He appeased his brother by the cession of Silesia [1491], and Maximilian by vesting in the house of Austria the right of succession to the throne of Hungary, in case he himself should die without male issue. Under Ladislas, and under his son Louis II., who succeeded him while still a child, in 1516, Hungary was ravaged with impunity by the Turks.

III. Poland, united since 1386 to Lithuania by Ladislas Jagellon, the first Prince of this dynasty, became in the fifteenth century the preponderating power among the Sclavonic States. Protected on the side of the Turks by Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania, the rival of Russia in Lithuania, of Austria in Hungary and Bohemia, she disputed the possession of Prussia and Livonia with the Teutonic Order. The secret of her weakness was the jealousy of the two nations, speaking different languages, which composed the main body in the State. The Jagellons, who were Lithuanian Princes, wished their country not to depend upon Polish laws, and to recover Podolia. The Poles reproached Casimir IV. with passing the autumn, winter, and spring in Lithuania.[b]

Under Casimir, the second son of Ladislas Jagellon (fifth of the name), the Poles protected the Sclavonians of Prussia against the tyranny of the Teutonic Knights and forced the latter to submit to the Treaty of Thorn [1466], by means of which they lost

a Bonfinius, "Rerum Hungaricarum Decades," 1568, in fol., p. 649.

b Dlugossi, sive Longini, "Historiæ Polonicæ," vol. ii. 1712, p. 114-160.

Western Prussia, and became vassals of Poland for Eastern Prussia. Who would then have thought that Prussia would one day dismember Poland? At the same time the Poles gave a King to Bohemia and to Hungary [1471—1490]. The three brothers of Ladislas, John Albert, Alexander and Sigismund I., were successively elected Kings of Poland [1492, 1501, 1506], made war upon the Wallachians and Turks, and gained brilliant victories over the Russians. Lithuania, separated from Poland on the accession of John Albert, was definitively united to her by Alexander.

Towards 1466, the continual wars necessarily introduced a representative government into Poland, but the pride of the nobles, who alone were represented by their Nuncios, maintained the anarchical forms of barbarous ages; and they continued to exact a unanimous consent in their deliberations for the enactment of a law. Even on important occasions the Poles remained faithful to established usage, and, as in the middle ages, the numerous *pospolite* were seen deliberating in the field sword in hand.

IV. In the fifteenth century the Russian population was divided into three classes: the Boyards, descendants of the conquerors; the free peasants, who farmed for the former and whose state was approaching more and more to slavery; and lastly the serfs.

The Grand Duchy of Moscow was continually threatened by enemies: on the west it had the Lithuanians and Livonians, on the east the Tartars of the Golden Horde from Kasan and Astrakan; it was hemmed in by the commercial republics of Novogorod and Plescow, and by the principalities of Tver, Vereia and Rezan. To the north of it were savage and heathen countries. The Muscovite nation, still barbarous, but attached at least to a fixed abode, was destined to absorb in time the nomadic tribes of the Tartars. As an hereditary State, the Grand Duchy could not fail to prevail, sooner or later, over the elective States of Poland and Livonia.

1462—1505, Ivan III. He opposed to the attacks of the Golden Horde an alliance with the Crimean Tartars, to those of Lithuania a league with the Prince of Moldavia and Wallachia, and again with Matthias Corvinus and Maximilian. He separated Plescow and Novogorod, which could only resist him by making common cause with each other, gradually weakened the latter republic, took possession of it in 1477, and drained it of its strength by carrying off its chief citizens. Strengthened by his alliance with the Khan of the Crimea, he imposed a tribute on the inhabitants of Kasan, and refused that which his predecessors paid to the Golden Horde, which soon afterwards was destroyed by the Tartars [1480]. Ivan united to his dominions

Tver, Vereia, Rostow and Yaroslaw. He made war for a long time on the Lithuanians; but Alexander, having united Lithuania to Poland, allied himself with the Knights of Livonia; and the Czar, who, after the destruction of the Golden Horde, had treated his allies in Moldavia and the Crimea with less consideration, lost his ascendancy. He was beaten at Plescow by Plettemberg, the Master of the Knights of Livonia [1501], and in the very year of his death [1505] Kasan revolted against Russia.

Ivan was the first to take the title of Czar. Having obtained from the Pope the hand of Sophia Palæologus, who had taken refuge in Rome, he inserted in his arms the double eagle of the Greek Empire. He invited and retained by force Greek and Italian artists. He was the first to assign fiefs to the Boyards on condition of military service; he introduced order into the finances, established posts, formed into a code [1497] the ancient judicial customs, and desired, though ineffectually, to distribute the lands of the Church among the Boyards. In 1492 Ivan founded Ivangorod (on the spot where St. Petersburg was afterwards built), but the victories of Plettemberg shut against Russia for two centuries all access to the Baltic.

CHAPTER V.

EARLY ITALIAN WARS.

ITALY AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

When in the present day we cross the Siennese Maremma and find there and in other parts of Italy traces of wars of the sixteenth century, we are seized by an inexpressible sadness, and we curse the barbarians who caused all this desolation.[a] This desert of the Maremma was made by a general of Charles V.; those ruins of burnt palaces are the work of Francis I.'s Landsknechts. The damaged pictures of Giulio Romano attest to this day that the soldiers of the Constable of Bourbon stabled their horses in the Vatican. Let us not, however, blame our fathers too hastily. The wars in Italy were the effect neither of a King's nor a nation's caprice. During more than half a century an irresistible impulse carried all the western, as it had formerly carried all the northern, nations over the Alps. The calamities were almost as great, but the result was the same; the conquerors were raised to the civilization of the conquered.

Louis the Moor, alarmed by the threats of the King of Naples, whose grand-daughter had married his nephew, John Galeas (see Chapter I.), determined to support his usurped authority by the assistance of the French, but he little knew what a power he was bringing into Italy. He was seized with astonishment and terror when he saw trooping down Mount Ginevra, in September, 1494, their formidable army, which, from the variety of costume, arms, and language, seemed to comprise within its ranks every nation in Europe—French, Basques, Bretons, Swiss, Germans, and even Scotch; the invincible gendarmes, as well as those formidable bronze cannons which the French had learned to move as easily as their soldiers. It introduced a new mode of warfare into Italy. The old tactics, which sent one squadron after another into battle were superseded at once by the French impetuosity and by the cool bravery of the Swiss. War was no longer a system of tactics. It was to be terrible, inexorable. The con-

[a] "Commentaries of Blaise de Montluc," vol. xxi. of the collection, p. 267-8. See also several books of travel and especially a "Voyage au Montamiata et dans le Siennois," by Santi, translated into French by Bodard. Lyons, 1802, 2 vols. in 8vo. vol. 1, *passim*.

queror did not even understand the prayers of the conquered. The soldiers of Charles VIII., full of fear and hatred against a country where they expected to be poisoned at every meal, invariably massacred all their prisoners.*b*

At the approach of the French the old governments of Italy crumbled away of themselves. Pisa shook off the yoke of the Florentines; Florence that of the Medicis; Savonarola received Charles VIII. as "The Scourge of God" sent to punish the sins of Italy. Alexander VI., who till that moment had been negotiating at the same time with the French, the Aragonese, and the Turks, heard with terror the words "council" and "deposition," and hid himself in the castle of St. Angelo. He gave up in terror the brother of Bajazet II., whom Charles VIII. wanted to use for conquering the Empire of the East, but before yielding him up, he poisoned him. The new King of Naples, Alphonso II., had in the meantime taken refuge in a convent in Sicily, leaving his kingdom to be defended by a King of eighteen years old. This young sovereign, Ferdinand II., was abandoned at San Germano, and saw his palace pillaged by the populace of Naples, who always rise against those who are beaten. The French soldiers, no longer fatiguing themselves by wearing armor, continued their pacific conquests in morning-dress, the only trouble they took was to send their quartermasters on before to mark out their lodgings.*c* The Turks soon beheld the standard of the fleur-de-lis floating at Otranto, and the Greeks purchased arms.*d*

The partisans of the house of Anjou, after having been despoiled and banished for sixty years, had expected to share in the profit of the conquest under Charles VIII. But this Prince, caring little for the services which they had rendered to the Kings of the house of Provence, exacted no restitution from the opposite party. He disgusted all the nobility by announcing his intention of restricting the feudal jurisdiction in the same manner as in France.*e* He appointed French governors to all the towns and fortresses, and thus induced several towns to resume the standard of Aragon. At the end of three months the Neapolitans were tired of the French and the French of Naples; they forgot their designs upon the East, and were impatient to return and relate their brilliant adventures to their ladies.

But an almost universal league had formed itself against Charles VIII. He was obliged to leave Italy in haste to escape being imprisoned in the kingdom which he had come to conquer. While recrossing the Apennines he encountered at Fornovo the army of the confederates, which was 40,000 strong,

b At Montefortino, at Mont St. Jean, at Rappallo, Sarzano, Toscanella, Fornovo, and Gaeta.

c Comines, book vii. chap. xiv.
d *Ibid*, chap. xvii.
e Giannine, book xxx. chap. i.

while the French numbered only 9,000. After in vain demanding a passage, they forced one, and the enemy's army, which tried to stop them, was put to flight by a few charges of cavalry. The King then returned triumphantly to France, having justified all his imprudence by a single victory.

The Italians, believing themselves delivered, took Savonarola to task for his unlucky predictions. His party, that of the *Piagnoni* (penitents) which had freed and reformed Florence, found itself discredited. The friends of the Medicis, whom they had violently attacked, Pope Alexander VI., whose excesses Savonarola had exposed with extreme boldness, seized the opportunity for destroying a faction which had wearied out the capricious enthusiasm of the Florentines. A Franciscan monk, wishing, as he said, to prove that Savonarola was an impostor, and that he had neither the gift of prophecy nor that of miracles, offered to pass with him through a burning fire. On the day fixed, when the scaffold was raised for this purpose and the spectators waiting, both parties made difficulties, and a heavy storm which ensued exasperated the people.

Savonarola was arrested, judged by the delegates of the Pope, and burnt alive. When the sentence was read to him dismissing him from the Church, "from the Church militant," he replied, hoping in future to belong to the Church triumphant [1498].

Italy perceived only too soon the truth of his prophecies.

On the very day of the trial by fire Charles VIII. expired at Amboise and left his throne to the Duke of Orleans, Louis XII., who joined to the claims of his predecessor on Naples those of his grandmother, Valentina Visconti, on Milan. As soon as his marriage with the widow of Charles VIII. had secured for him the possession of Brittany, Louis invaded the Milanese in concert with the Venetians. Both the hostile armies were partly composed of Swiss; those who belonged to the troops of Milan would not fight against the flag of their canton, which they saw in the army of the King of France, and abandoned Duke Ludovico. But on their way back to their mountains they took possession of Bellinzona, which Louis XII. was obliged to give up to them, and it became in their hands the key of Lombardy. Having subdued the Milanese, Louis XII., who could not hope to conquer the kingdom of Naples against the will of the Spaniards, shared it with them by means of a secret treaty. The unhappy Don Frederick, who reigned at that time, called Spain to his assistance, and, when he had opened his principal fortresses to Gonsalvo of Cordova, the treaty of partition was disclosed to him [1501]. This odious conquest was productive only of war. The two nations quarrelled for the proceeds of the tax raised on the flocks and herds that traveled in the spring from Apulia to

the Abruzzi; which was the most certain portion of the Neapolitan revenue. Ferdinand amused Louis XII. by a treaty until he had sent sufficient reinforcements to Gonsalvo, who was blockaded in Barletta. The skill of the great captain and the discipline of the Spanish infantry everywhere got the better of the brilliant courage of the French gendarmes. The valor of Louis d'Ars and of D'Aubigny, the exploits of Bayard, who was said to have defended a bridge single-handed against an army, could not prevent the French from being beaten at Seminara and Cerignola, and from being turned a second time out of the kingdom of Naples by their defeat at the Garigliano [December, 1503].

Louis XII., however, was still master of a large portion of Italy; sovereign of the Milanese and lord of Genoa, the ally and mainstay of Florence and of Pope Alexander VI.,*f* his influence spread over Tuscany, the Romagna and the Roman States. The death of Alexander VI. and the ruin of his son were as fatal to him as the defeat of the Garigliano. The Italian power of the Borgias which came between the possessions of France and of Spain was a sort of vanguard for the Milanese.

Cæsar Borgia deserved to be the ideal of Machiavelli, not because he was more perfidious than the other Princes of his time —Ferdinand the Catholic might have disputed the palm of faithlessness—not for having been the assassin of his father and the lover of his sister—for he could not surpass his father in cruelty and depravity—but for having made crime into a science, for having set up a school of crime and given lessons in it.*g* However, even the hero of this system gave a splendid proof of his futility by his want of success. Ally as he was of Louis XII. and gonfaloniere of the Church, he exhausted, during six years, every sort of dissimulation and audacity. He thought that he was working for himself; he told Machiavelli that he had foreseen everything; on his father's death he hoped to nominate a Pope by means of eighteen Spanish cardinals appointed by Alexander VI.; in the Roman States he had gained over the smaller nobles and crushed the higher; he had exterminated the tyrants of Romagna and attached to himself the inhabitants of that province, which breathed freely under his firm and skilful administration. He had foreseen everything except the possibility of his being incapacitated by illness at the death of his father, and this was precisely what happened. The father and son who had, it is said, invited a cardinal to their table in order to murder him, drank the poison which was intended for him.

f Cæsar Borgia of France, by the grace of God, Duke of Romagna and Valentinois, etc. (safe conduct of Oct. 16, 1502). He said to the French Ambassador: "The King of France, our common master. . . ." (Jan. 10, 1503, Legation of Machiavelli to Cæsar Borgia).

g Machiavelli says somewhere: "He sent one of his scholars. . . ." De Moncada, a general of Charles V., was proud of having studied in this school.

"This man, who used to be so prudent, seems to have lost his head," wrote Machiavelli [Nov. 14, 1503]. He allowed the new Pope Julius to wrest from him the surrender of all the fortresses in his occupation, and afterwards gave himself up to Gonsalvo of Cordova, believing that the word of others was worth more than his own (letter of the fourth of November). But Ferdinand the Catholic's general, who said "that the cloth of honor must be of a loose tissue," sent him to Spain, where he was confined in the citadel of Medina del Campo.

Julius II. continued the conquests of Borgia with less personal views. He wished to make the Pontifical State the dominating state of Italy, to deliver the whole peninsula from the barbarians and to make the Swiss the guardians of Italian liberty. Employing spiritual and temporal arms by turns, the intrepid Pontiff spent his life in the execution of these inconsistent projects; for the barbarians could be driven out only by means of Venice: and Venice had to be lowered to raise the Church to the rank of the preponderating power in Italy.

In the first place Julius II. wanted to set free his fellow-countrymen, the Genoese, and he encouraged them to revolt against Louis XII. The nobles, favored by the French governor, were continually insulting the people; they went about armed with daggers on which they had engraved the words *castiga villano*. The people revolted and set up a dyer as Doge. Louis XII. soon appeared under their walls with a brilliant army; the Chevalier Bayard scaled without difficulty the mountains which cover Genoa and cried out to them: "Listen, merchants, defend yourselves with your yardarms and let alone pikes and staves to which you are not accustomed."[h] The King, who did not like to destroy such a splendid city, only hanged the Doge and a few others, burnt the charters of the town and built at the Lanterna a fortress which commanded the entrance into the harbor [1507].

The same jealousy between the monarchies and republics, as well as between nations which were still poor and opulent industry, soon armed most of the Princes of the West against the ancient rival of Genoa. The government of Venice had known how to turn to its own advantage the blunders and misfortunes of every other power; it had profited by the fall of Ludovico il Moro, by the expulsion of the French from Naples, by the ruin of Cæsar Borgia. So much excess excited the fear and the jealousy of the Italian powers themselves, which ought to have desired the importance of Venice. "Your lordships," Machiavelli wrote to the Florentines, "have always told me that it was the Venetians who threatened the liberty of Italy."[i] As early

[h] Champier, "Les Gestes, ensemble la Vie du preux Chevalier Bayard."

[i] Embassy to the Emperor, February, 1508. See also his Embassy to the Court of France, Feb. 13, 1503.

as the year 1503, M. de Chaumont, viceroy of the Milanese, said to the same ambassador: "We shall contrive that the Venetians shall have nothing to do in future but busy themselves in their fishing; as for the Swiss, we are sure of them" [Jan. 22nd]. This conspiracy against Venice, which had existed since 1504 (Treaty of Blois), was rewarded in 1508 (League of Cambray, Dec. 10th) by the imprudence of Julius II., who was determined to recover at all costs some of the towns in the Romagna. The Pope, the Emperor and the King of France bribed the King of Hungary to enter into their confederation by the promise of restoring to him Dalmatia and Sclavonia. Every sovereign, even the Dukes of Savoy and Ferrara and the Marquis of Mantua, was eager to strike those whom they had feared so long. The Venetians were defeated by Louis XII. in the bloody battle of Aignadel [1509], and the balls from the French batteries reached the Lagoons. In this danger the Venetian senate did not belie its reputation for sagacity. It declared that it wished to spare its provinces the evils of war, it released them from the oath of fealty, and promised to indemnify them for their losses as soon as peace was restored. Either from attachment to the republic or from hatred of the Germans, the peasants round Verona preferred to die rather than to abjure St. Mark and cry "Long live the Emperor!" The Venetians beat the Marquis of Mantua, retook Padua and defended it against Maximilian, who laid siege to it with 100,000 men. The King of Naples and the Pope, whose pretensions were satisfied, made peace with Venice, and Julius II., who was now only bent upon driving out the barbarians from Italy, turned his impetuous policy against the French.

The projects of the Pope were only too well served by the ill-conceived economy of Louis XII., who had reduced the pensions of the Swiss, and who no longer permitted them to provision themselves in Burgundy and in the Milanese. The effects of the blunder committed by Louis XI., who, by substituting a mercenary Swiss infantry for the free archers, had placed France at the mercy of foreigners, were now felt. The Swiss had to be replaced by German Landsknechts, who were recalled by the Emperor on the eve of the battle of Ravenna. The Pope, however, had begun the war; he invited the Swiss into Italy and induced Ferdinand, Venice, Henry VIII., and Maximilian to enter the Holy League against France [1511—1512]. While Louis XII., not knowing whether he might without sin defend himself against the Pope, was consulting learned doctors and assembling a council at Pisa, Julius II. besieged the Mirandola in person, planted himself, surrounded by his trembling cardinals, under the fire of the fortress and entered it by the breach.

The brilliant courage of Julius II., and the policy of his allies were for an instant disconcerted by the appearance of Louis

XII.'s nephew, Gaston de Foix, at the head of the French army. This young man, of twenty-two years of age, arrived in Lombardy, won three victories in three months and died, leaving the memory of the most impetuous general whom Italy had ever beheld. First he intimidated or gained over the Swiss and drove them back into their mountains; he raised the siege of Bologna and penetrated into the town with his army, favored by a violent snow-storm [Feb. 7th]; on the eighteenth he was before Brescia, which had been retaken by the Venetians; on the nineteenth he had carried the town and on the eleventh of April he died in the hour of victory at Ravenna. In the terrible rapidity of his successes he spared neither his own troops nor those he vanquished. Brescia was abandoned for seven days to the fury of the soldiers; the conquerors massacred 15,000 persons—men, women, and children. The Chevalier Bayard had few imitators.

Gaston on his return to the Romagna attacked Ravenna to force the army of Spain and the Pope to give battle.*j* As soon as the cannonade had begun, Pedro of Navarre, who had formed the Spanish infantry and who counted on it for victory, made the men lie on their faces and wait with patience until the balls had destroyed the cavalry on both sides. The Italian horse lost patience, charged, and were broken by the French. The Spanish infantry, after sustaining the battle with obstinate courage, slowly retired. Gaston, indignant, charged it with about twenty men-at-arms at his back, pierced its ranks, and met his death [1512].

Henceforth nothing succeeded with Louis XII. The Sforzas were re-established in Milan, the Medicis in Florence. The King's army was beaten by the Swiss at Novara and by the English at Guinegate. France, attacked in front by the Spaniards and Swiss, in the rear by the English, saw her two allies, Scotland and Navarre, beaten or despoiled (see Chapter II.). The war had no longer an object; the Swiss reigned at Milan in the name of Maximilian Sforza; France and Venice were humiliated, the Emperor exhausted, Henry VIII. discouraged, and Ferdinand satisfied by the conquest of Navarre, which laid bare the frontier of France. Louis XII. concluded a truce with Ferdinand, abjured the Council of Pisa, left the Milanese to Maximilian Sforza and married the sister of Henry VIII. [1514].

While Europe believed France to be exhausted, and, as it were, to have grown old with Louis XII., she suddenly displayed unexpected resources under the young Francis I., who succeeded him [Jan. 1, 1515]. The Swiss, who thought that they held all the passes of the Alps, heard with astonishment that the French army had defiled through the valley of the Argentière. Two thousand five hundred lances, 10,000 Basques, and 22,000 Lands-

j See Bayard's letter to his uncle, vol. xvi. of the "Collection of Memoirs."

knechts passed through a defile which had never before been penetrated except by chamois-hunters. The French army advanced as far as Marignan, negotiating as they marched; there, the Swiss, whom they thought they had won over, fell upon the French with their pikes, eighteen feet long, and their two-handed swords, without either artillery or cavalry, employing no military skill, but mere strength of body, marching right up to the batteries, whose discharges swept away whole files, and sustaining more than thirty charges of the great war horses, which were covered with steel like the men who sat on them. By the evening they had succeeded in separating the divisions of the French army. The King, who had fought valiantly, saw round him only a handful of horsemen.[k] But during the night the French rallied and the battle recommenced at daybreak more furiously than ever. At length the Swiss heard the war-cry of the Venetians, who were allies of France, "Marco! Marco!" Believing that the whole of the Italian army was coming, they closed their ranks and fell back with such an air of defiance that the enemy durst not pursue them.[l] Having obtained from Francis I. more money than Sforza could give them, they reappeared no more in Italy. The Pope also treated with the conqueror and obtained from him the concordat which abolished the Pragmatic Sanction. His alliance with the Pope and Venice seemed to open to Francis I. the road to Naples. Young Charles of Austria, sovereign of the Netherlands, who had just succeeded in Spain to his grandfather, Ferdinand the Catholic, was in need of peace to consolidate this vast inheritance. But Francis I. enjoyed his victory, instead of pursuing it. The Treaty of Noyon restored for a short time peace to Europe, and gave the two rivals time to prepare for a still more terrible war [1516].

[k] Fleuranges, vol. xvi. of the "Collection of Memoirs."

[l] Letter of Francis I. to his mother: "All night we sat on our horses lance in hand, helmet on head, and as I was the nearest to the enemy, it was my duty to watch, that they might not surprise us in the morning . . . and believe me, madam, that we were 28 hours on horseback, without eating or drinking . . . So obstinate and cruel a battle has not been seen for 2,000 years . . . and it can no longer be said that the gendarmes are hares in armor, for . . . Written at the camp of St. Brigida, on Friday the 14th Sept., 1515," vol. xvii. of the "Collection of Memoirs."

MODERN HISTORY.

SECOND PERIOD, 1517—1648.

ASSASSINATION OF THE DUKE OF GUISE.

(*At Blois on the 23d of December, 1588.*)

Photogravure from an engraving by Manigaud.

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CHARACTERISTICS OF SECOND PERIOD.

If we consider only the succession of wars and political events, the sixteenth century is an age of blood and devastation. It opens with the laying waste of Italy by the mercenary troops of Francis I. and Charles V., with the frightful ravages of Soliman, who year after year ravaged Hungary. Then come those terrible religious struggles when war is no longer waged between nation and nation, but between town and town, man and man, when it extends to the domestic hearth and rages even between father and son. If we left off reading history at this crisis we should think that Europe was about to fall into profound barbarism. Far from this, however, the delicate flower of art and of civilization was growing and developing amid the violent shocks which threatened to destroy it. Michael Angelo painted the Sistine Chapel in the year of the battle of Ravenna. Young Tartaglia escaped mutilated from the sack of Brescia to restore the science of mathematics.[a] The period when the study of law revived—the age of L'Hôpital and Cujas—was that of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

The character of the sixteenth century, that which distinguishes it fundamentally from the middle ages, is the power of opinion, which at this period became the true ruler of the world. Henry VIII. dared not divorce Catherine of Aragon until he had consulted the principal universities in Europe. Charles V. endeavored to prove his faith by the persecution of the Moors while his armies seized and exacted ransom from the Pope. Francis I. raised the first scaffold on which the French Protestants suffered, to excuse, in the eyes of his subjects and in his own, his alliance with Soliman and the German Lutherans. Even these acts of intolerance were so much homage offered to opinion. Princes courted at that time the most unworthy ministers of fame. The Kings of France and Spain bid one against another for the favor of Paulus Jovius and of Aretino.

While France followed Italy, though at a distance, in the path of intellectual and artistic development, two other nations of profoundly serious character put aside arts and letters as frivolous playthings or profane amusements. The Spaniards, a conquering and political people, occupied in conquering and governing

[a] Daru, "History of Venice," vol. iii. p. 558.

Europe, rested in all speculative matters on the authority of the Church. While Spain inclined more and more to political and religious unity, Germany, with her anarchical constitution, gave herself up to the wildest license of opinion. France, placed between them both, became in the sixteenth century the principal field of battle for these two opposite tempers, and the even balance between their powers rendered the struggle all the more violent and protracted.

CHAPTER VI.

LEO X., FRANCIS I., AND CHARLES V.

THE PERIOD OF 1516—1547.

However severely we may judge Francis I. and Leo X., they are men of a nobler stamp than the Princes of the preceding age (Alexander VI., James III., etc.); even in their faults there is something great and glorious. It is true that they did not make their century what it was, but they showed themselves to be worthy of it. They loved the arts and the arts still plead for them and ask our forgiveness for their memory. The price of the indulgences, whose sale excited the indignation of Germany, paid for the paintings in the Vatican and the building of St. Peter's. The exactions of Duprat are forgotten. The Imprimerie Royale and the Collége de France remain.

Charles V. presents himself to us under a severer aspect, surrounded by his generals and statesmen, among whom were Lannoy, Pescaro, Antonio de Leyva and many other illustrious captains. We see him constantly traversing Europe to visit all the scattered portions of his empire, speaking to each nation its own language, encountering in turn Francis I. and the Protestants in Germany, Soliman and the inhabitants of Barbary; he is the real successor of Charlemagne, the defender of the Christian world. Nevertheless, the statesman predominated in him over the soldier. He presents the first instance of a modern sovereign; Francis I. is little more than a hero of the middle ages.

When the empire became vacant by the death of Maximilian I. [1519], and the Kings of France, Spain, and England demanded the imperial crown, the Electors, fearing to impose on themselves a master, offered it to one of their own body—Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony. This Prince, however, showed himself worthy of his name by inducing them to choose the King of Spain. Of the three candidates Charles was the most dangerous for German freedom, but he also was the most capable of defending Germany against the Turks. Selim and Soliman revived at that time the fear which had been experienced by Europe in the days of Mahomet II. The ruler of Spain, Naples, and Austria could alone close the civilized world against the barbarians of Africa and Asia.

With their candidature for the imperial crown, burst forth the inextinguishable rivalry between Francis I. and Charles V. The former claimed Naples for himself and Navarre for Henri d'Albret; the Emperor demanded the Milanese as a fief of the empire, and the duchy of Burgundy. Their resources were about equal. If the empire of Charles were more extensive the kingdom of France was more compact. The Emperor's subjects were richer, but his authority more circumscribed. The reputation of the French cavalry was not inferior to that of the Spanish infantry. Victory would belong to the one who should win over the King of England to his side. Henry VIII. had reason to adopt as his device: "Whom I defend is master." Both gave pensions to his Prime Minister, Cardinal Wolsey; they each asked the hand of his daughter Mary, one for the Dauphin, the other for himself. Francis I. obtained from him an interview at Calais, and, forgetting that he wished to gain his favor, eclipsed him by his elegance and magnificence.[a] Charles V., more adroit, had anticipated this interview by visiting Henry VIII. in England. He had secured Wolsey by giving him hopes of the tiara. The negotiation was much easier, indeed, for him than for Francis I. Henry VIII. already owed the French King a grudge for governing Scotland by means of the Duke of Albany, his *protégé* and subject,[b] to the detriment of Margaret, widow of James IV. and sister of the King of England. By uniting with Charles V. he stood a chance of recovering some of the dominions which his ancestors had formerly possessed in France.

Everything succeeded with the Emperor. He gained Leo X. to his side, and thus obtained sufficient influence to raise his tutor, Adrian of Utrecht, to the papacy. The French penetrated into Spain, but arrived too late to aid the rising there [1521]. The governor of the Milanese, Lautrec, who is said to have exiled from Milan nearly half its inhabitants, was driven out of Lombardy. He met with the same fate again in the following year; the Swiss, who were ill-paid, asked either for dismissal or battle, and allowed themselves to be beaten at La Bicoque. The money intended for the troops had been used for other purposes by the Queen-mother, who hated Lautrec.

At the moment when Francis I. was thinking of re-entering Italy, an internal enemy threw France into the utmost danger. Francis had given mortal offence to the Constable of Bourbon, one of those who had most contributed to the victory of Marignan. Charles, Count of Montpensier and Dauphin of Auvergne, held by virtue of his wife, a grand-daughter of Louis XI., the

a This assembly was called the Field of the Cloth of Gold . . . in so much that many carried their mills, their forests, and their fields on their shoulders. Martin du Bellay, vol. xvii. p. 285.

b Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 135. The regent himself, in his dispatches called the King of France "my master." He set far more value on his great possessions in France than on the regency of Scotland.

duchy of Bourbon, and the counties of Clermont, La Marche and other domains, which made him the first noble in the kingdom. On the death of his wife, the Queen-mother Louise of Savoy, who had wanted to marry the Constable and had been refused by him, resolved to ruin him. She disputed with him this rich inheritance and obtained from her son that the property should be provisionally sequestered.[c] Bourbon, exasperated, resolved to pass over to the Emperor [1523]. Half a century earlier, revolt did not mean disloyalty. The most accomplished knights in France, Dunois and John of Calabria, had joined the League for the Public Weal. Even recently Don Pedro de Giron, displeased with Charles V., had declared to his face that he renounced his service and should take the command of the *Comuneros.*[d] But now it was no question of a revolt against the King, such a thing was impossible in France at this time. It was a conspiracy against the very existence of France that Bourbon was plotting with foreigners. He promised Charles V. to attack Burgundy as soon as Francis I. had crossed the Alps, and to rouse into revolt five provinces of which he believed himself master; the kingdom of Provence was to be re-established in his favor, and France, partitioned between Spain and England, would have ceased to exist as a nation. He was soon able to enjoy the reverses of his country. Having become general of the imperial army, he saw the French fly before him at La Biagrasse; he saw the Chevalier Bayard mortally wounded and lying at the foot of a tree, his face turned toward the enemy, and he said to the said Bayard that he had great compassion for him seeing him in this state, in that he had been such a virtuous knight. The Captain Bayard made him this answer: "Sir, you need have no pity for me, for I die an honest man; but I have pity on you, seeing you serve against your Prince, your country and your oath."[e]

Bourbon had thought that on his first appearance in France his vassals would flock to serve with him under the foreign standard. But not one came. The Imperialists were driven back from the walls of Marseilles, and they saved their exhausted army only by a retreat which resembled a flight. Instead of overpowering them in Provence, the King chose to anticipate them in Italy.

In a period of military science and tactics Francis I. always fancied himself in the age of chivalry. His point of honor was not to draw back even in order to conquer. He maintained obstinately the siege of Pavia [1525]. He gave no time to the Imperialists who were ill-paid to disperse of themselves. He weakened himself by detaching 12,000 men against the kingdom of

[c] See the Constable's letter to Francis I. in the "Memoirs of Du Bellay," vol. xvii. p. 413.

[d] Sepulveda, vol. i. p. 79.

[e] Du Bellay, vol. xvii. p. 451.

Naples. His superiority lay in artillery; he chose to decide the victory, as at Marignan, by his cavalry, whose charge in front of the artillery rendered it useless. The Swiss fled, the Landsknechts, with their colonel, the White Rose,[f] were crushed. The whole weight of the battle then fell upon the King and his cavalry. The old heroes of the Italian wars, La Palisse and La Trémouille, were struck down; the King of Navarre, Montmorency, *l'Aventureux*,[g] and many others were taken prisoners. Francis I. defended himself on foot; his horse had been killed under him; his armor, which we still possess, was riddled by balls and thrusts of pike. Happily one of the French nobles who had followed Bourbon caught sight of him and saved him; but he would not yield to a traitor; he called the Viceroy of Naples, who received his sword on his knees. At night he wrote these words to his mother: "Madam, all is lost except honor."[h]

Charles V. was well aware that all was not lost; he did not exaggerate his success; he felt that France was strong and entire, although she had lost an army. He endeavored only to obtain from his prisoner an advantageous treaty. Francis I. arrived in Spain believing, from the movements of his own heart, that it would be enough for him to meet his "good brother" to be sent back honorably to his kingdom. Such was not the case. The Emperor ill-treated his prisoner to obtain a larger ransom. Europe, however, manifested deep interest in the soldier-king.[i] Erasmus, who was a subject of Charles V., ventured to write to him in favor of his captive. The Spanish nobles asked that he might be a prisoner on parole, offering themselves as sureties. It was only at the end of a year, when Charles V. feared to lose his prisoner through death, and Francis I. had abdicated in favor of the Dauphin, that the Emperor made up his mind to release him, after forcing him to sign a shameful treaty. The King of France renounced his pretensions in Italy, promised to acknowledge the rights of Bourbon, to give up Burgundy, to yield his two sons as hostages, and to ally himself by a double marriage to the family of Charles V. [1526].

At this price he was free. But he did not come out whole from this fatal prison. He left behind the good faith, the heroic trust which, till then, had been his glory. Already at Madrid he entered a secret protest against the treaty. Once more King, it was easy for him to elude it. Henry VIII., alarmed by the victory of Charles V., allied himself with France. The Pope,

[f] The Duke of Suffolk.

[g] The Maréchal de Fleuranges.

[h] See the letter in which Charles V. acquaints the Marquis of Denia with the captivity of Francis I. (Sandoval, vol. i. book xiii. sec. ii., p. 487, in fol., Antwerp 1581) that which he wrote to the Emperor in her son's behalf; that of Francis I. to the different orders in the state, and the Act of Abdication; vol. xxii. of the "Collection of Memoirs," pp. 69, 71, and 84.

[i] Expression used by Montluc when speaking to Francis I. himself, vol. xxi. p. 6.

Venice, Florence, Genoa, even the Duke of Milan, who, since the battle of Pavia found himself at the mercy of the imperial armies, saw only liberators in the French. Francis I. caused the states of Burgundy to declare that he had no right to give up any portion of the French territory, and, when Charles V. claimed the execution of the treaty, accusing him of breach of faith, he replied that the Emperor lied in his throat, summoned him to mark out the field, and left him the choice of arms.*j*

While Europe was expecting a terrible war, Francis I. was thinking only of compromising his allies in order to frighten Charles V. and soften the conditions of the treaty of Madrid. Italy continued a prey to the most hideous war which ever disfigured humanity; it was less a war than a long torture inflicted by a ferocious soldiery on an unarmed people. The ill-paid troops of Charles V. belonged neither to him nor to any one else—they commanded their own generals. For full two months Milan was abandoned to the cold barbarity of the Spaniards. As soon as it was known in Germany that Italy was thus delivered to pillage, 13,000 or 14,000 Germans crossed the Alps under George Freundsberg, a furious Lutheran, who wore round his neck a gold chain, with which he intended, he said, to strangle the Pope. Bourbon and Leyva led, or rather followed, this army of robbers. It was swelled on the road by numbers of Italians, who imitated the vices of the barbarians, as they could not emulate their courage. The army marched by way of Ferrara and Bologna; it was on the point of entering Tuscany, and the Spaniards swore by the glorious sack of Florence,*k* but a stronger impulse drew the Germans towards Rome, as in former times it drew the Goths, their ancestors. Clement VII., who had treated with the Viceroy of Naples, and who nevertheless saw the army of Bourbon approaching, endeavored to blind himself, and seems to have been fascinated by the very extremity of the danger. He dismissed his best troops on the approach of the Imperialists, fancying, perhaps, that Rome unarmed would inspire them with respect. On the morning of May 6, 1527, Bourbon commenced the assault. He wore a white shirt over his armor, to be more conspicuous, both to his own troops and to those of the enemy. In such an odious enterprise success alone could justify him in his own eyes; perceiving that his German infantry supported him feebly, he seized a ladder, and was scaling it when a ball struck him in the back; he felt that it was his death blow, and ordered his men to cover his body with his cloak, and thus conceal his fall. His soldiers avenged him only too amply. Seven or eight thousand Romans were massacred on the first day, nothing was spared, neither convents nor churches, nor even St.

j Du Bellay, vol. xviii. p. 38.

k Sismondi, vol. xv., from the "Lettere de' principi," vol. ii. fol. 47.

Peter's itself; the streets were filled with relics and ornaments from the altars, which the Germans threw away after having torn off the gold and silver. The Spaniards, still more covetous and cruel, renewed every day, for more than a year, the most frightful abuses of victory; the cries were constantly heard of the unhappy victims who were made to perish in tortures in order to force them to own where they had hidden their money. The soldiers left them bound in their own houses, in order to find them when they wanted to recommence torturing them.

Indignation reached its height in Europe when the sack of Rome and the captivity of the Pontiff became known. Charles V. ordered prayers for the deliverance of the Pope, who was more the prisoner of the imperial army than of the Emperor. Francis I. thought the moment favorable for dispatching to Italy the troops which, a few months earlier, would have saved Rome and Milan. Lautrec marched upon Naples while the imperial generals negotiated with their troops to induce them to leave Rome; but Lautrec, as in the first wars, was not supplied with money. Pestilence consumed his army. However, nothing was lost as long as the communication by sea with France was preserved. Francis I. had the imprudence to displease Doria, the Genoese, the first sailor of the time. "It seemed," says Montluc, "as if the sea were afraid of that man."[l] The ransom of the Prince of Orange had been withheld from him, his ships were not paid, an admiral of the Levant had been named to supersede him. Francis I. irritated him still more by not respecting the privileges of Genoa and proposing to remove the commerce of the town to Savona. Instead of redressing these grievances, Francis ordered his arrest. Doria, whose engagement with France had just expired, passed over to the Emperor on condition that his country should be independent and once more rule over Liguria. Charles V. offered to acknowledge him as the sovereign of Genoa, but he preferred to be the first citizen of a free town.

Both parties, however, wished for peace. Charles V. was alarmed by the progress of the Reformation and the invasion of the terrible Soliman, who sat down before Vienna; Francis I., exhausted, sought only to secure his own interests at the expense of his allies. He wanted to get back his children and to retain Burgundy. Until the eve of the treaty he protested to his Italian allies that he would not separate his interests from theirs. He refused permission to the Florentines to make a separate treaty with the Emperor,[m] and he signed the Peace of Cambray, by which he abandoned them and the Venetians and all his partisans to the vengeance of Charles V. [1529]. This odious treaty forever banished the French from Italy. Henceforth the chief

[l] Montluc, vol. xx. p. 370. [m] Guicciardini, book xix.

theatre of war was elsewhere; in Savoy, in Picardy, in the Low Countries, and in Lorraine.

While Christendom was hoping for some repose, a scourge unknown till then was ravaging the shores of Italy and Spain. About this time the Barbarenes introduced the practice of white slavery. The Turks first laid waste the countries which they wanted to invade; it is thus that they turned almost into a desert Southern Hungary and the western provinces of the old Greek Empire. The Tartars and the Barbarenes, the forlorn hope of the Ottoman Empire, seconded her in the east and south in this system of depopulation. The Knights of Rhodes whom Charles V. had established in the island of Malta, were not powerful enough to sweep from the sea the innumerable vessels commanded by Barbarossa, who was the Dey of Tunis and Soliman's admiral. Charles V. resolved to attack the pirate in his lair [1535]. Five hundred ships bore into Africa an army of 30,000 men, consisting in great part of the veteran bands who had been engaged in the Italian wars. The Pope and the King of Portugal had contributed vessels to this fleet. Doria sent his galleys, and the Emperor joined in person with the *élite* of the Spanish nobility. The fleet of Barbarossa was not strong enough to resist the most formidable armament which Christendom had directed against the infidels since the Crusades. The port of Tunis was taken by assault, Tunis itself yielded, and 20,000 Christians delivered from slavery and brought back to their homes at the expense of the Emperor, caused the name of Charles V. to be blessed throughout Europe.

The conduct of Francis I. presented a sad contrast. He had just declared his alliance with Soliman [1534]. He negotiated with the German Protestants and with Henry VIII., who had divorced the aunt of Charles V. and abandoned the Church. He obtained from neither the assistance which he expected. Soliman marched his janizaries to destruction in the boundless deserts of Asia. Henry VIII. was too much engaged at home in the religious revolution which he was effecting with so much violence. The German confederates of Smalkeld could not trust a Prince who caressed the Protestants in Dresden and burnt them in Paris. Nevertheless, Francis I. renewed the war by invading Savoy and threatening the Milanese [1535]. The Duke of Savoy, alarmed by the pretensions of the mother of the King of France (Louise of Savoy), had married the sister-in-law of Charles V. The Duke of Milan, accused by the Emperor of treating with the French, had tried to exculpate himself by beheading on some foolish pretext the ambassador of Francis I. Charles V. announced in Rome, in presence of the envoys of all Christendom, that he was sure of victory, and declared that "if he had no more resources than his rival he should go at once,

with his arms tied and a rope round his neck, to throw himself at his enemy's feet and ask for mercy." Before entering upon the campaign, he shared between his officers the estates and principal charges belonging to the Crown of France.

In truth, the whole world thought that Francis I. was lost. They were not aware of the resources which France contained. In the year 1533 the King had at length decided on making a national infantry the main force in the French army. He remembered that the Swiss had caused the loss of the battle of Bicoque, and perhaps that of Pavia; that the Landsknechts had been recalled by the Emperor on the eve of the battle of Ravenna. But thus to put arms into the hands of the people was considered a great risk.[n] In an edict respecting field sports proclaimed in 1517, Francis I. had forbidden the people to carry arms on pain of severe punishment. Yet he resolved to create seven provincial legions, each 6,000 strong and taken from the provinces on the frontiers. These troops had not been much disciplined when the armies of Charles V. entered simultaneously Provence, Champagne, and Picardy. Francis I., therefore, not trusting to their steadiness, determined to stop the enemy by opposing to him a desert. All Provence, from the Alps to Marseilles and from the sea to Dauphiné was laid waste with inflexible severity by Marshal Montmorency; villages, farms, and mills were burnt, and every appearance of culture destroyed. The marshal, established in an impregnable camp between the Rhone and the Durance, waited patiently until the Emperor's army had melted away before Marseilles. Charles V. was forced to retire and to consent to a truce in which the Pope became the intermediary. [Truce of Nice, 1538.] A month afterwards Charles and Francis met at Aigues-Mortes, and these Princes, who had insulted each other so grossly, one of whom accused the other of having poisoned the Dauphin, gave each other every assurance of fraternal affection.

The exhaustion of the two rivals was the only real motive for the truce. Although Charles V. had endeavored to gain over the Cortes of Castile by authorizing constant sessions, after the manner of Aragon, and by a renewal of the laws excluding foreigners from employment, he had not been able to obtain any supplies in 1527, 1533, or 1538. Ghent had taken up arms rather than pay a new tax. The administration of Mexico was not yet organized; Peru still belonged only to the conquerors, who ravaged it by their civil wars. The Emperor had been obliged to sell a great part of the royal domains, he had contracted a debt of seven

[n] "On the first symptom of war King Francis equipped legionaries, which was a fine invention, if it had been well carried out; for it is the true way to have always a good army afoot, as the Romans did; and to keep the nation in the practice of war; though I do not know if this be a good thing or not. It gives rise to no small disputes; and yet for my part I should prefer trusting to my own troops rather than to strangers."—Montluc, vol. xx. p. 385.

million ducats, and could no longer borrow from any bank, even at thirteen or fourteen per cent. This penury excited, about the year 1539, an almost universal mutiny in the armies of Charles V. They mutinied in Sicily, plundered Lombardy, and threatened to give up the Goletta to Barbarossa. It was necessary at any price to give them the arrears of their pay and to disband the greater number.

The King of France was equally embarrassed. Since the accession of Charles VIII. the national resources had developed rapidly in consequence of internal tranquillity, but the expenses were greatly in excess of the resources. Charles VII. had had 1,700 men-at-arms. Francis I. had as many as 3,000, without counting 6,000 light horse and often 12,000 or 15,000 Swiss. Charles VII. raised less than two million francs by taxes; Louis XI. raised five, Francis I. nearly nine. After 1484 the Kings left off assembling the States-General to meet their expenses.[o] They substituted for them assemblies of the notables [1526] and generally raised money by decrees (*ordonnances*), which they obliged the Parliament of Paris to register.

Louis XII., the Father of the People, at first diminished the taxes and put up for sale the financial offices [1499]; but he was obliged, towards the end of his reign, to increase the taxes, to raise loans, and to alienate the royal domains [1511—1514]. Francis I. established new taxes [especially in 1523], sold and multiplied judicial places [1515, 1522, 1524], founded the first perpetual annuities upon the Hôtel de Ville, alienated the royal domains [1532—1544], and finally established the royal lottery [1539].

He had a sort of advantage over Charles V. in being able to ruin himself easily. He profited by it when the Emperor failed in his great expedition against Algiers [1541—1542]. Two years before, Charles V., when passing through France to repress the revolt of Ghent, had amused the King by promising the investiture of the Milanese to the Duke of Orleans, his second son. The Duchess of Etampes, who governed the King, perceiving that his health was failing, and fearing the hatred of Diana of Poitiers, the Dauphin's mistress, tried to procure for the Duke of Orleans an independent position which might afford her an asylum on the death of Francis I. To this principal cause of the war must be added the assassination of two French envoys, who in crossing through Italy on their way to the Court of Soliman were killed in the Milanese by order of the imperial government, who wanted to seize their papers. Francis I. counted upon the alliance with the Turks and on his friendship with the Protestant Princes of Germany, Denmark, and Sweden; he had especially attached to his side William Duke of Cleves, by promising him

o Only once at Tours, in 1506, and then only to annul the treaty of Blois.

the hand of his niece, Jeanne d'Albret, afterwards the mother of Henri IV. He invaded almost at the same time Roussillon, Piedmont, Luxemburg, Brabant, and Flanders. Soliman joined his fleet to that of Francis; they bombarded in vain the castle of Nice. But the sight of the crescent united with the fleur-de-lis set all Christendom against the King of France. Even those who hitherto had favored him shut their eyes to the interests of Europe and joined Charles V. The empire declared itself against the ally of Turkey. The King of England, reconciled to Charles V. since the death of Catherine of Aragon, took part against Francis I., who had given his daughter to the King of Scotland. Henry VIII. defeated James V. [1543]. Charles V. overpowered the Duke of Cleves [1453], and the two sovereigns, having nothing to fear in their rear, united to invade the kingdom of Francis I. France, alone against all, displayed unexpected vigor; she fought with five armies, and surprised the confederates by the brilliant victory of Cérisoles (the infantry gained this battle after the defeat of the cavalry).[p] Charles V., ill-supported by Henry VIII., and recalled by the progress of Soliman in Hungary, signed, at thirteen leagues from Paris, a treaty by which Francis resigned his claim to Naples, and Charles to Burgundy; while the Duke of Orleans was promised the Milanese [1545]. The Kings of France and England soon afterwards made peace, and both died in the same year [1547].

The long struggle between the two great European powers was far from over, but it now became complicated with religious interests, which cannot be understood without comprehending the progress of the Reformation in Germany. We will stop here to look back and examine the internal state of France and Spain during the rivalry between Francis I. and Charles V.

In Spain, monarchy was advancing rapidly towards the absolute power which it had attained in France. Charles V. followed the example of his father, and made several laws without the authorization of the Cortes. In 1538 the nobles and prelates of Castile, having rejected the general tax called *Sisa*, which would have affected the sale of commodities in detail, the King of Spain ceased to convoke them, alleging that they had no right to vote taxes which they did not pay. The Cortes were henceforth composed only of the thirty-six deputies sent by the eighteen towns which alone were represented. The nobles repented too late having joined the King to oppress the *communeros* in 1521.

The progress made by the power of the Inquisition in Spain was all the more rapid as Charles V. became more alarmed by the agitation in Germany, as to the political consequences of the religious innovations. The Inquisition was introduced into the Low Countries in 1522; and if it had not been for the obstinate

[p] Montluc, book xxi. p. 31.

resistance of the inhabitants it would have been established in Naples in 1546. The right of exercising royal jurisdiction was for some time withdrawn from the tribunals of the Inquisition (in Spain 1535—1545, in Sicily 1535—1550), but was at length restored to them. From 1539, the Chief Inquisitor Tabera governed Spain in the absence of the Emperor, in the name of the Infant, afterwards Philip II.

The reign of Francis I. was the culminating point of royalty in France, until the ministry of Cardinal Richelieu. Francis began by concentrating in his own hands the powers of the clergy by the Treaty of the Concordat [1515], he limited ecclesiastical jurisdictions [1539], organized a system of police,[q] and silenced the Parliaments. That of Paris had already been weakened under Charles VII. and Louis XI. by the creation of the Parliaments of Grenoble, Bordeaux, and Dijon [1451, 1462, 1477]; under Louis XII. by that of the Parliaments of Rouen and Aix [1499—1501]. During the captivity of Francis I. it endeavored to regain some importance and commenced proceedings against Chancellor Duprat. But the King, on his return, forbade the Parliament to interfere henceforth in politics and deprived it further of influence by multiplying and selling parliamentary employments.

Francis I. boasted of having set the King for the future above the law (*hors de page*). But the growing agitation of men's minds, which had been remarkable in this reign, foretold new troubles. The spirit of liberty was animating religion: one day it was to return with double vigor, and reanimate the political institutions of the country. At first the reformers restricted themselves to attacks against the morals of the clergy. Of the Colloquies of Erasmus, 24,000 copies were printed, but the edition was quickly exhausted. The Psalms translated by Marot were soon sung to the same airs as the songs of the day, by the nobles and ladies, while the decree by which the laws were in future to be written in French, enabled the public to understand and discuss political affairs [1523—1524]. The Courts of Marguerite of Navarre, and of the Duchess of Ferrara, Renée of France, were the rendezvous of all who shared the new opinions. The utmost frivolity and the most profound fanaticism met together at Nérac in Marot and Calvin. Francis I. at first saw without uneasiness this intellectual agitation. He had protected the first French Protestants against the clergy [1523—1524]. In 1534, when he drew closer his alliance with the Protestants in Germany, he invited Melanchthon to present a conciliatory profession of faith. He had favored the Revolution of Geneva, which became the hotbed of Calvinism [1535]. After his return from Madrid, however, he treated the Protestants in France with

[q] Instructions of Catherine de Medicis to her son.

greater severity. In 1527 and 1534 the ferment caused by the new doctrines having manifested itself by outrages inflicted on the holy images, and by placards on the walls of the Louvre, several Protestants were burnt over a slow fire in presence of the King and the whole Court. In 1535 he ordered the suppression of printing presses on pain of the gallows, and on the remonstrance of Parliament he revoked this edict in the same year to establish in its place the censorship.[r]

The end of the reign of Francis I. was marked by a frightful event. The Vaudois, inhabitants of some inaccessible valleys in Provence and Dauphiné, had preserved Arian doctrines, and had just adopted those of Calvin. The strong position which they occupied among the Alps gave rise to some uneasiness. In 1540 the Parliament of Aix ordered Cabrières and Mérindol, their chief places of meeting, to be burnt. After the retreat of Charles V. [1545] the decree was enforced, in spite of the representations of Sadolet, Bishop of Carpentras. The President d'Oppède, Guérin, the King's advocate, and Captain Paulin, formerly envoy from the King in Turkey, penetrated into the valleys, exterminated the inhabitants with unheard of cruelty, and laid waste the whole country. This atrocious deed may be considered as one of the principal causes of the civil wars which afterwards took place.

[r] MSS. Registers of the Parliaments of Paris.

CHAPTER VII.

LUTHER.

REFORMATION IN GERMANY—WAR WITH THE TURKS, 1517—1555.

All the European States had attained monarchical unity, the balance of power was beginning to be established, when the ancient religious unity of the West was broken by the Reformation. This event, the greatest in modern times, except the French Revolution, separated half Europe from the Roman Catholic Church, and occasioned most of the revolutions and wars which occurred up to the Peace of Westphalia. Since the Reformation Europe has been divided so as to coincide with the division of race. The nations of Latin origin have remained Catholic. Protestantism prevails among the Teutonic, and the Greek Church among the Sclavonic races.

In the first period of the Reformation Luther and Zwinglius were opposed to each other; in the second Calvin and Socinus. Luther and Calvin preserved some portion of the ancient dogma and hierarchy. Zwinglius and Socinus gradually reduced religion to deism. Pontifical monarchy having been overthrown by the aristocratic system of Luther, the latter was attacked by the democratic system of Calvin; it was a reform within a reform. During the first two periods some old anarchical sects, partly composed of apocalyptical visionaries, revived and gave to the Reformation the formidable aspect of a war against society; they were the Anabaptists in the first period, the Independents and Levelers in the second.

The principle of the Reformation was essentially changing and progressive. Divided even in its cradle, it spread throughout Europe under a hundred different forms. Repulsed in Italy, Spain and Portugal [1526], in Poland [1523], it established itself in Bohemia by means of the privileges of the Calixtons; it was supported in England by the memory of Wycliffe. It proportioned itself to every degree of civilization, and conformed to the political needs of each country. Democratic in Switzerland [1523], aristocratic in Denmark [1527], it identified itself in Sweden with the elevation of the royal power [1529], in the empire with the cause of German liberty.

Section I.—Origin of the Reformation.

In the memorable year 1517, whence the beginning of the Reformation is generally dated, neither Europe, nor the Pope, nor even Luther, anticipated this great event. The Christian Princes were in league against the Turks. Leo X. invaded the duchy of Urbino and carried to its highest point the temporal power of the Holy See. In spite of the embarrassment of his finances, which obliged him to sell indulgences in Germany, and to create thirty-one cardinals at one time, he lavished the revenues of the Church with profusion on artists and learned men. He even sent to Denmark and Sweden for memorials of Northern history. He authorized by a bull the sale of the "Orlando Furioso,"[a] and accepted Raphael's eloquent letter on the "Restoration of Antiquities in Rome." In the midst of these occupations, he heard that a professor of the new University of Wittenberg, called Martin Luther, already known as having, in the preceding year, hazarded very bold opinions on matters of faith, had just attacked the sale of indulgences.

Leo X., who corresponded with Erasmus, was not alarmed by these novelties; he replied to the accusers that Luther was a man of talent, and that the whole dispute was only a monkish quarrel.[b]

The University of Wittenberg, recently founded by Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony, was one of the first in Germany in which Platonism had triumphed over scholastic philosophy, and in which letters were taught as well as law, theology, and philosophy. Luther himself had first studied law; then having adopted the monk's cowl in a fit of religious enthusiasm, he resolved to search for philosophy in Plato, and for religion in the Bible. But his chief distinction was not so much his vast knowledge, as his vivid and ardent eloquence, and the ease (a power unusual at that time) with which he discussed religious and philosophical subjects in his mother-tongue.[c] His impetuous temper, when once excited, went further than he intended.[d] He at-

a Published in 1516.

b *Che Fra Martino aveva bellissimo ingegno, e che coteste erano invidie fratesche.*

c Bossuet.

d Luther, preface to the "Captivity of Babylon." "Whether I will or not, I am forced to become every day more learned since such celebrated doctors attack me, sometimes together, sometimes separately. Two years ago I wrote upon indulgences, but I now repent very much having published that little work. I was still irresolute, from a superstitious reverence for the tyranny of Rome: I thought then that indulgences were not to be condemned; but, since that time, thanks to Sylvester and the other defender of indulgences, I have understood that it was only an invention of the Papal court to make men lose their faith in God and their money. Then came Eccius and Emser with their band, to teach me the supremacy and omnipotence of the Pope. I must own, not to appear ungrateful to such learned men, that I profited greatly by their writings. I had denied that the Papacy was by Divine right, but I conceded that it was by human right. After having heard and read the subtleties by means of which these poor creatures wished to elevate their idol, I convinced myself that the Papacy is the kingdom of Babylon and the power of Nimrod, the mighty hunter.

tacked first the abuse and next the principle of indulgences, then intercession of saints, auricular confession, purgatory, the celibacy of priests, transubstantiation, and finally the authority of the Church and the character of her visible head. Pressed in vain by the legate Caietano to retract, he appealed from the legate to the Pope, and from the Pope to a general council; and when the Pope had condemned him he dared to retaliate and solemnly burned in the public place of Wittenberg the bull of condemnation and the volumes of canon law [June 15, 1520].

So bold a stroke filled Europe with astonishment. The greater number of sects and heresies had grown up in the shade and would have been happy to remain ignored. Zwinglius himself, whose sermons at this time were estranging half Switzerland from the authority of the Holy See, had not proclaimed himself with this audacity.[e] Something still grander was looked for in the man who constituted himself judge of the head of the Church. Luther proclaimed his courage and success to be miraculous.

It was, however, easy to see how many favorable circumstances encouraged the Reformer. The pontifical monarchy, which at first had brought the chaos of the middle ages in some measure into order, had been weakened, first by the increased power of the Crown, and secondly by that of the civil government. The scandals with which many priests afflicted the Church mined every day an edifice which was already shaken by the spirit of doubt and contradiction. Two circumstances coincided in determining its ruin. First, the invention of printing gave to the innovators of the fifteenth century a means of communication and propagation, the want of which had prevented those of the middle ages from combining to resist a power as strongly organized as that of the Church. Secondly, the financial embarrassments of many of the Princes convinced them beforehand of any doctrine which placed the riches of the clergy at their disposal. Europe presented at that time a remarkable phenomenon—a disproportion between its requirements and its resources—resulting from the recent elevation of a central power in each State. The Church paid the deficit. Several Catholic sovereigns had already obtained leave from the Holy See to ex-

[e] Zwinglius, minister of Zürich, began to preach in 1516; the cantons of Zürich, Basle, Schaffhausen, Berne, and the allied towns of St. Gall and Mulhausen embraced his doctrine. Those of Lucerne, Uri, Schweitz, Unterwalden, Zug, Fribourg, Soleure, and the Valais, remained faithful to the Catholic religion. Glarus and Appenzell were divided. The inhabitants of the Catholic cantons, democratically governed and almost all living out of towns, held to their ancient usages, and continued to receive pensions from the King of France. Francis I. in vain offered himself as mediator to the Swiss; the Catholic cantons would not accept the proposed pacification, those of Zürich and Berne cut off their supplies. The Catholics invaded the territory of Zürich and defeated the Protestants in a battle in which Zwinglius was killed fighting at the head of his flock (battle of Capel, 1531). The Catholics, ruder, more warlike, and less rich, were victorious in the beginning, but could not sustain the war as long as the Protestant cantons.—Sleidan, Müller, "Hist. Univ.," vol. 4 (see for Geneva the following chapter).

ercise a portion of its rights. The Princes of Northern Germany, whose independence was threatened by the sovereign of Mexico and Peru, found in the secularization of the ecclesiastical revenues an equivalent for the wealth of the Indies.

The Reformation had already been several times attempted: in Italy by Arnold of Brescia, by Waldo in France, and by Wycliffe in England. It was in Germany that it was to plant firmly its roots. The German clergy were the richest, and, therefore, the most envied. The episcopal sovereignties of the empire were given to cadets of great families, who carried the fierce and scandalous manners of the lay world into the ecclesiastical order. But the most violent hatred was that inspired by the Court of Rome—by the Italian clergy—whose fiscal ingenuity was exhausting Germany. From the time of the Roman empire the eternal opposition between the North and the South was, as it were, personified in Germany and Italy. In the middle ages the struggle became organized; strength and dexterity, violence and policy, feudal order and the Catholic hierarchy, hereditary succession and the principle of election, were engaged in the quarrels of the empire and the priesthood; the spirit of criticism, on its first appearance, preluded by personal attacks its aggressions on opinion. In the fifteenth century the Hussites snatched some concessions by the Thirty Years' War. In the sixteenth the relations between the Italians and Germans only increased the old antipathy. Continually led into Italy by war, the men of the North were scandalized when they beheld the magnificence of the Popes, and the pomp with which religion loves to surround herself in southern countries. Their ignorance increased their intolerance; they considered as profane all that they did not understand, and when they recrossed the Alps they filled their fellow-countrymen with horror by describing the idolatrous festivals of the new Babylon.

The state of the public mind was well known to Luther. When he was summoned by the Emperor before the Diet of Worms he did not hesitate to appear. His friends reminded him of the fate of John Huss. "I am legally summoned," he replied, "before the Diet of Worms; I will go thither in the name of the Lord, should I see conspiring against me as many devils as there are tiles on the roofs." Many of his followers were determined at least to accompany him, and he entered the town escorted by one hundred knights in full armor. Having refused to retract, in spite of the public entreaty and private solicitations of the Princes and Electors, he was placed under the ban of the empire a few days after his departure. By this Charles V. declared himself against the Reformation. He was King of Spain; he needed the Pope in his dealings with Italy; in fact, his title of Emperor seemed to constitute him Defender of the Ancient

Faith. Similar motives worked upon Francis I.; the new heresy was condemned by the University of Paris. Finally the young King of England, Henry VIII., who prided himself upon his theological proficiency, wrote a book against Luther. But he found ardent defenders in the Princes of Germany, especially in the Elector of Saxony, who seems to have even urged him on. This Prince had been Vicar of the empire in the interregnum, and it was during this period that Luther had ventured on burning the Papal bull. After the Diet of Worms, the Elector believing that matters were not yet ripe, resolved to preserve Luther from the results of his own vehemence. As he was riding through the Thuringian forest on his way home from the Diet some knights in masks carried him off and concealed him in the castle of Wartburg. Confined for nearly a year in this fortress, which appears to command all Germany, the Reformer began his translation of the Bible into the vulgar tongue and flooded Europe with his writings.

These theological pamphlets, printed as soon as written, penetrated into the most distant provinces; they were read at night by every fireside, and the invisible preacher was heard all over the empire. No writer had ever so warmly sympathized with the people. His violence, his buffoonery, his apostrophes to the powers that be, to the bishops, to the Pope, and to the King of England, whom he treated with "a magnificent contempt for them and for Satan," charmed and inflamed Germany, and the burlesque part of this popular drama made its effect all the surer. Erasmus and Melanchthon, and most of the other divines forgave Luther his intemperance and coarseness, for the sake of the violence with which he attacked scholastic theology. Princes applauded a reformation by which they were the gainers. Luther, however, while he stirred up the people, forbade the employment of any other arm than that of speech. "It was the 'Word,'" he said, "that whilst I was quietly sleeping, or drinking my beer with my dear Melanchthon, so shook the Papacy as never Prince or Emperor had done before."

But in vain he flattered himself that he would be able to restrain passions, which had once been excited, within the bounds of abstract discussion. Very soon more rigorous deductions were made from his principles than he intended. The Princes laid their hands upon ecclesiastical property. Albert of Brandenburg, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, secularized a whole State; he married the daughter of the new King of Denmark, and declared himself hereditary Duke of Prussia, to be held as a fief of Poland—a contagious example in an empire which was full of ecclesiastical Princes who might be tempted by the bait of a similar usurpation [1525].

And yet this was not the greatest danger. The lower classes,

the peasants who had so long been slumbering under the weight of feudal oppression, heard the scholars and Princes talking of liberty and enfranchisement, and applied to themselves what was not meant for them. The memorial of the poor peasants of Swabia will always remain, in its rude simplicity, a model of courageous moderation.[f] Gradually the perpetual hatred of the poor against the rich woke up blind and furious, as in the Jacquerie, but already affecting form and system, as in the time of the Levelers. It became complicated with all the germs of religious democracy which were supposed to have been stifled in the middle ages. Lollards, Beghards, numbers of apocalyptical visionaries arose. Their rallying cry was the necessity for a second baptism, their aim a terrible war against established order, against every species of order. War against property was proclaimed—it was robbery of the poor—and war against science, for it disturbed natural equality and tempted God, who revealed everything to His saints; books and pictures were inventions of the devil. The fiery Carlostadt had already set the example; he ran from church to church, breaking images and overthrowing altars. At Wittenberg, the students burnt their books under the very eyes of Luther. The peasants of Thuringia, imitating those of Swabia, followed the enthusiast Muncer, threw Mulhausen into confusion, called the miners from Mansfeld to take arms, and tried to join their comrades in Franconia [1524]. On the Rhine, in Alsace and Lorraine, in the Tyrol, in Carinthia and Styria, the people everywhere took up arms. Everywhere they deposed the magistrates, seized the estates of the nobles, made them relinquish their names and dresses, and gave them similar ones to their own. All the Princes, Catholic and Protestant, opposed them in arms; they could not stand a moment against the heavy cavalry of the nobles, and they were treated like wild beasts.

Section II.—Struggles of the Reformation.

The secularization of Prussia, and above all the revolt of the Anabaptists, gave an extremely threatening political character to the Reformtion. The two awakened opinions became two parties, two leagues (the Catholic at Ratisbon, 1524, and at Dessau; the Protestant at Torgau, 1526). The Emperor watched for the moment to overwhelm the one by the other, and subjugate at the same time the Catholics and Protestants. He thought that it had come when the victory of Pavia placed his rival in his hands. But in the following year a universal league was formed against him in the West. The Pope and all Italy,

[f] "Die Zwoelf Artikel der Bauerschaft." See the end of Sartorius, Bauerkrieg, and the German works of Luther, Wittenberg, 1569, vol. i. fol. 64.

and Henry VIII., his ally, declared war against him. At the same time the election of Ferdinand to the throne of Bohemia and Hungary, drew the house of Austria into the civil wars of this kingdom, laid bare, so to speak, Germany, and brought her face to face with Soliman.

The progress of Ottoman barbarism, which drew nearer every day, complicated alarmingly the affairs of the empire. Sultan Selim, that rapid conqueror, whose ferocity caused even the Turks to tremble, had just doubled the extent of the dominion of the Osmanlis. In three springs the tiger had seized Syria, Egypt, and Arabia. The brilliant cavalry of the Mamelukes had perished at the foot of his throne in the enormous massacre at Cairo. He had sworn to conquer the "red-heads,"[g] and afterwards to turn against the Christians the whole strength of the Mahometan nations. A cancer dispensed him from keeping his oath. "In the year 926 of the Hegira [1521], Sultan Selim passed into the eternal kingdom, leaving the empire of the world to Soliman."[h] Soliman the Magnificent buckled on his scimitar at Stamboul in the same year that Charles V. received the imperial crown at Aix-la-Chapelle. He began his reign by the conquests of Belgrade and of Rhodes, on which the power of Mahomet II. had twice been shipwrecked [1521—1522]. The latter victory secured to the Turks the empire of the sea in the eastern part of the Mediterranean; the former opened Hungary to them. When they invaded that kingdom, in 1526, the young King Louis had not been able to assemble more than 25,000 men against 150,000. The Hungarians, who, according to ancient usage, had struck off the spurs of the bearer of the Virgin's standard,[i] were nevertheless defeated at Mohacz. In the confusion, Louis was killed with his general, Paul Tomorri, Bishop of Colocza, and many bishops who bore arms during the continual dangers of Hungary. Two Kings were elected at the same time, Ferdinand of Austria and John Zapoly Waiwode of Transylvania. Zapoly, obtaining no assistance from Poland, applied to the Turks themselves. Ferdinand's ambassador, the gigantic Hobordansc, celebrated for having vanquished, in single combat, one of the most valiant pashas, had dared to brave the Sultan, and Soliman had sworn that if he did not find Ferdinand before Buda, he would seek him out in Vienna. In the month of September, 1529, the black line of an innumerable army encircled the capital of Austria. Happily a number of brave men, Germans and Spaniards, had thrown themselves into it. Among them were noticed Don Pedro of Navarre, and the Count of Salm, who, if the Germans may be believed, took Francis I. prisoner at Pavia. After twenty assaults, in as many days,

[g] The Persians are so called by the Turks.

[h] Epitaph of Selim.

[i] Istuanfi, p. 124-7.

Soliman pronounced an anathema against any Sultan who should again attack that fatal town. He left it in the night, destroying the bridges behind him and killing the prisoners, and on the fifth day he had returned to Buda. His pride found some consolation in crowning Zapoly, who at the same time beheld from the windows of the citadel of Pesth 10,000 Hungarians carried off by the Tartars in Soliman's service, who had been surprised in the celebration of Christmas festivities, and whom the Tartars drove before them like sheep.[i] What was Germany doing while the Turks were crossing all the old border lines, and Soliman was scattering his Tartars beyond Vienna? She was disputing about transubstantiation and freewill. Her most illustrious warriors were sitting in the Diet and interrogating doctors. Such was the phlegmatic character of this great nation, and such was its confidence in its strength and its weight.

The war with the Turks and that with the French, the siege of Rome and the defence of Vienna occupied Charles V. and his brother so fully that the Protestants obtained tolerance until the approaching council. But after the Peace of Cambray, Charles V.—now that France was humbled, Italy enslaved, and Soliman repulsed—determined to sit in judgment in the great case of the Reformation. The two parties confronted each other at Augsburg. The followers of Luther, designated by the general name of Protestants, since they protested against the decree forbidding innovations [at Spire, 1529], wished to be distinguished from all the other enemies of Rome, whose excesses would have damaged their cause; from the republican Zwinglians of Switzerland, odious both to Princes and nobles; and, above all, from the Anabaptists, proscribed as enemies of order and society. Their confession, softened by the learned and conciliatory Melanchthon, who threw himself with tears in his eyes betwen the two parties, was nevertheless rejected as heretical. They were summoned to renounce their errors on pain of being placed under the ban of the empire [Augsburg, 1530]. Charles V. seemed even ready to use violence, and for a short time ordered the gates of Augsburg to be closed. The Diet had scarcely been dissolved when the Protestant Princes assembled at Smalkeld and there concluded a defensive league by means of which they were to form a single body [1531]. They protested against the election of Ferdinand to the dignity of King of the Romans. They settled their contingents; they applied to the Kings of France, England, and Denmark, and they held themselves ready for battle.

The Turks seemed charged with the task of again bringing the Germans together. The Emperor heard that Soliman had just entered Hungary at the head of 300,000 men, while the pirate, Khair-Eddyn (Barbarossa), who had become Capitan

[i] Istuanfi.

Pasha, was joining the kingdom of Tunis to that of Algiers, and was keeping the whole of the Mediterranean in alarm. He hastened to offer to the Protestants to grant all their demands—tolerance, the preservation of secularized possessions until the approaching council, and admission into the Imperial Chamber.

While this negotiation was pending, Soliman was stopped for a month by the Dalmatian Juritzi before a ruined fort. He attempted to make up for the time he had lost by traversing the impracticable roads of Styria, where snow and ice had already blocked the mountains, but the formidable aspect of Charles V.'s army decided him on retiring. Germany, reunited by the promises of the Emperor, had made enormous efforts. Italian, Flemish, Burgundian, Bohemian and Hungarian troops, joining with those of the empire, had carried his army to 90,000 foot and 30,000 horse, of whom a great number were cased in steel.[k] Never had an army been so drawn from all Europe since that of Godfrey or Bouillon. The light cavalry of the Turks was surrounded and cut to pieces. The Sultan was not reassured until, leaving the narrow gorges of the Murr and the Drave, he reentered the plain of Waradin.

Francis I. and Soliman took turns in giving occupation to Charles V. The Sultan, after invading Persia, went to be crowned at Bagdad; and the Emperor was beginning to breathe (see the expedition to Tunis in the preceding chapter), when the King of France attacked him by attacking his ally, Savoy. This new war postponed for twelve years the final rupture between the Catholics and Protestants of Germany. Nevertheless, the interval did not amount to a peace. In the first place, Anabaptism broke out again in Munster under a more alarming form. From the same anarchical disturbances as before, a strange government emerged, a monstrous mixture of demagogy and tyranny. The Anabaptists of Munster followed exclusively the Old Testament; as Jesus Christ was of the race of David, His kingdom was bound to assume the Judaic form. They recognized two prophets sent by God: David, and John of Leyden, their chief; and two prophets sent by the devil, the Pope and Luther. John of Leyden was a tailor's apprentice, a brave and cruel young man whom they had taken for their King, and who was to spread the kingdom of Christ all over the world. The Princes prevented him.

The Catholics and Protestants, united for an instant against the Anabaptists, became afterwards only the more bitter against each other. A general council was constantly talked of, but neither party seriously wished for it. The Pope feared it, the Protestants rejected it beforehand. The council (assembled at Trent in 1545) might draw together the links of the Catholic

[k] P. Jovius, an ocular witness.

hierarchy, but could never restore the unity of the Church. The question could be decided only by arms. Already the Protestants had driven the Austrians out of Wirtemberg. They dispossessed Henry of Brunswick, who was executing in his own interest the decrees of the Imperial Chamber. They encouraged the Archbishop of Cologne to imitate the example of Albert of Brandenburg, a step which would have given them the majority in the Council of Electors.

When the war with France had ended, Charles V. and his brother treated with the Turks and united themselves closely with the Pope to destroy at once the religious and political liberties of Germany. The Lutherans, warned by the imprudence of Paul III., who proclaimed the war as a Crusade, rose up under the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse to the number of 80,000. Abandoned by France, England, and Denmark, who had excited them to war; separated from the Swiss by their horrors of the blasphemies of Zwinglius, they would have been sufficiently strong if they had remained united, but while they were pressing hard Charles V., who lay entrenched behind the cannons of Ingoldstadt, young Maurice, Duke of Saxony, who had secretly been treating with him, betrayed the Protestant cause and invaded the States of his relative, the Elector. Charles V. had only to overpower the scattered members of the league. As soon as the deaths of Henry VIII. and Francis I. [January 28 and March 31, 1547] had deprived the Protestants of all hope of assistance, he marched against the Elector of Saxony and defeated him at Muhlberg [twenty-fourth of April].

The two brothers abused their victory. Charles V. caused the Elector to be condemned to death by a council of Spanish officers, presided over by the Duke of Alva, and wrested from him the cession of his electorate, which he transferred to Maurice. He retained in prison the Landgrave of Hesse, having deceived him by a cowardly stratagem, and proved that he had conquered neither for the sake of the Catholic faith nor for that of the constitution of the Empire. Ferdinand imitated his brother. From 1545 he had declared himself a feudatory of Soliman for the kingdom of Hungary, reserving his whole strength for the struggle against Bohemia and Germany. He had re-established the archbishopric of Prague, which had in old times been so formidable to the Hussites, and had declared himself hereditary sovereign of Bohemia. In 1547 he endeavored, without the authorization of the States, to raise an army to attack the Lutherans of Saxony, who were allies of the Bohemians. This army was indeed raised, but it turned its arms against the Prince, who had violated his oath. The Bohemians united in defence of their constitution and their mother tongue. The battle of Muhlberg left them at the mercy of Ferdinand, who annulled their privileges.

Hungary had equal reason to complain of him. The fatal struggle between Ferdinand and Zapoly had opened this kingdom to the Turks. All the national party, all who wished neither to be mastered by the Turks nor by the Austrians, had gathered round the Cardinal George Martinuzzi (Uthuysenitch) the guardian of the young son of Zapoly. This extraordinary man, who at twenty was still gaining his bread by supplying with wood the fires in the royal palace at Buda, had become the real ruler of Transylvania. On the Queen-mother's appealing to the Turks, he treated with Ferdinand, who at least was a Christian. He caused the war-cry to be raised in every direction,[l] assembled in a few days 70,000 men and carried at the head of his heiduques the town of Lippe, which the Austrians had not been able to recover from the infidels. These successes, this popularity, alarmed the brother of Charles V. Martinuzzi had authorized the Transylvanians to restrain by force the license of the German soldiers. Ferdinand caused his assassination, but this crime cost him Transylvania. Zapoly's son was reinstated there, and the Austrians preserved their possessions in Hungary only by paying tribute to the Ottoman Porte.

Meanwhile, Charles V. oppressed Germany and threatened Europe. On the one hand, he excepted from the alliance which he proposed to the Swiss, Basle, Zurich and Schaffhausen, which, he said, belonged to the empire. On the other, he placed under the ban Albert of Brandenburg, who had now become feudatory of the King of Poland.[m] He offended even Ferdinand and separated the interests of the two branches of the house of Austria by endeavoring to transfer from his brother to his son the succession to the empire. He had introduced the Inquisition into the Low Countries. In Germany he wanted to impose on Catholic and Protestant his *Inhalt*, or Interim, a conciliatory arrangement which united them only on one point—hatred of the Emperor. The Interim was compared with the institutions of Henry VIII., and not without reason. The Emperor also assumed papal powers: when Maurice of Saxony, the Landgrave's son-in-law, demanded his father-in-law's liberty, which he had sworn to preserve, Charles V. declared that he released him from his oath. He carried everywhere in his train the Landgrave and the venerable Elector of Saxony, as if triumphing in their persons over the liberty of Germany. That ancient country beheld for the first time strangers violating her territory in the name of the Emperor; it was overrun in every direction by Italian mercenaries and fierce Spaniards, who laid under contribution Catholics and Protestants, friends and enemies.

l Béchet, "Histoire de Martinusius," p. 324. A man on horseback in full armor and a man on foot holding a bloody sword travelled all over the country shouting the war-cry according to the ancient custom of Transylvania.

m Sleidan, i. xxi.

To overthrow this unjust power, which seemed to be unassailable, was the work of young Maurice, the principal instrument of the victory of Charles V. The latter had only transferred to a more skilful Prince the electorate of Saxony and the leadership of the German Protestants. While Maurice found himself the plaything of the Emperor, who detained his father-in-law, numbers of little books and caricatures, in which he was called apostate, traitor, and scourge of his country, circulated in Germany.[n] Maurice concealed his plans with profound dissimulation. First he was obliged to raise an army without alarming the Emperor; to do this, he undertook the task of forcing Magdeburg to submit to the Interim, and, instead of attacking the town, joined its troops to his own. At the same time he treated secretly with the King of France. The Emperor, having again refused to set the Landgrave at liberty, received simultaneously two manifestoes, one from Maurice in the name of Germany—pillaged by the Spaniards and insulted in the official history of Louis d'Avila;[o] the other, from the King of France, Henri II., who called himself the Protector of the Princes of the empire, and who headed his manifesto with a cap of liberty between two daggers.[p] While the French took possession of the three bishoprics, Maurice advanced by long marches on Innspruck [1552]. The old Emperor, who was at that time ill, and without troops, set out at night in pouring rain and had himself carried towards the mountains of Carinthia. If Maurice had not been stopped by a mutiny, Charles V. would have fallen into the hands of his enemy. He was forced to submit. The Emperor concluded with the Protestants the truce of Passau, and the ill-success of the war which he sustained against France changed this truce into a definitive peace [Augsburg, 1555]. The Protestants exercised freely their religion, preserved the ecclesiastical possessions which belonged to them before 1552, and were permitted to sit in the Imperial Chamber. This was the first victory of religious liberty. The spirit of free inquiry, having thus gained a legal recognition, henceforth pursued its determined course in spite of obstacles which could not stop it. Further on we shall have to notice the germs of war which were concealed in this peace.

The Emperor, abandoned by fortune, who loves not the old,[q] abandoned the empire to his brother and his kingdoms to his son, and spent the remainder of his days in the seclusion of San Yuste. The funeral which he is said, though falsely, to have caused to be solemnized during his lifetime would only have been too faithful an image of the eclipsed glory which he survived.

n Sleidan, i., xxiii.
o *Idem*, ix., xxiv.
p *Ibid.*
q Expression used by Charles V. himself.

CHAPTER VIII.

SPREAD OF THE REFORMATION.

THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND AND IN THE NORTH OF EUROPE.

Section I.—England and Scotland, 1527—1547.

The northern Teutonic States, England, Sweden, and Denmark, followed the example of Germany; but, while they separated themselves from the Papacy, these three States, governed by the aristocratic spirit, preserved in part the Catholic hierarchy.

The revolution effected by Henry VIII. must not be confounded with the national Reformation in England. The former only separated England from Rome and confiscated the power and riches of the Church to the profit of the Crown. Rather political than religious, the work of the King and the aristocracy, it was the finishing stroke of the absolute power with which for the last half-century the English had been investing the Crown, and which was the result of their hatred of the anarchy of the Roses. This official reform had nothing in common with that which was going on at the same time among the lower classes by means of the spontaneous enthusiasm excited by the Lutherans, Calvinists, and Anabaptists, who came over sea from Germany, the Low Countries and Geneva. The latter prevailed from the first in Scotland, and in the end conquered the former in England.

The occasion for this royal and aristocratic reformation seemed a trifling one; it was in appearance only the ephemeral passion of Henry VIII. for Anne Boleyn, maid of honor to Queen Catherine of Aragon, the aunt of Charles V. After a union of twenty years, the King remembered that the Queen had been for a few months the wife of his brother. It was, in fact, the moment when the victor of Pavia, disturbing the balance of power in the West, alarmed Henry VIII. as to the success of his ally, the Emperor; he passed over to the side of Francis I. and asked Clement VII. for a divorce from his Spanish Queen. The Pope, threatened by Charles V., tried in every way to gain time; after having delegated the judgment of the case to his legates,

he summoned it to Rome. The English were not more favorable to the divorce; besides the interest inspired by Catherine, they feared lest a rupture with the Emperor should disturb their trade with the Low Countries. They refused to attend the French markets, which the King wanted to substitute for the Flemish. Some bolder counsellors, however, who had succeeded the Cardinal-legate Wolsey—Cromwell, secretary of state, and Cranmer, a Cambridge divine, whom Henry made Archbishop of Canterbury—overcame his scruples by promising to purchase the approbation of the principal European universities. At length the King's patience gave way, and he resolved to break with the Papacy. The English clergy were charged with having broken the law by recognizing the disgraced minister as legate. Their deputies in Convocation obtained pardon only by making the King a present of £100,000 and by acknowledging him as the protector and supreme head of the English Church. On March 30, 1534, this decree, passed as a bill in both Houses of Parliament, was sanctioned by the King, and all appeal to Rome forbidden. On the twenty-third of the same month Clement VIII. decided against the divorce by the almost unanimous advice of his cardinals. England was thus separated from the Holy See.

This change, which seemed to end the revolution, was only its beginning. In the first place, the King declared all ecclesiastical power suspended; the bishops were ordered to present petitions in a month's time for the restitution of their authority. The monasteries were suppressed and their revenues confiscated to the Crown. But the King soon dissipated this wealth; he is said to have rewarded one of his cooks for a good dish with an estate. Surprise and indignation prevailed throughout the country. The poor no longer found relief at the doors of the monasteries. The nobles and country gentlemen declared that if the convents were to be suppressed their estates could not fall to the Crown, but ought to return to the representatives of their founders. The inhabitants of the five Northern counties flew to arms and marched on London to accomplish what they called the pilgrimage of grace; but recourse was had to negotiation; many promises were made, and when the insurgents dispersed they were hanged by hundreds.

The Protestants who crowded at this time into England, thinking that they would settle there under the favor of this reformation, were soon taught by Henry VIII. that they were grossly deceiving themselves. For nothing on earth would he have given up the title of Defender of the Faith, which he had earned by his book against Luther. He maintained, therefore, the more important parts of the ancient faith by his Bill of the Six Articles, and persecuted both parties with impartial intoler-

ance. In 1540 Protestants and Catholics were dragged from the Tower to Smithfield on the same hurdle; the former were burned as heretics, the latter hanged as traitors for having denied the King's supremacy.

The King, having taken the place of the Pope in every respect, solemnly proclaimed his own political and religious infallibility: he made the Parliament enact that his proclamations should have the same value as of bills passed by the two chambers. The most alarming feature was that he himself believed in his infallibility and considered all his passionate caprices sacred; of his six wives, two were repudiated and two beheaded, on the pretext of adultery; the sixth nearly shared their fate for professing Protestant opinions. He treated his family with sanguinary and quarrelsome despotism, and he treated the whole nation as he treated his family. He commanded one translation of the Bible to be made, and forbade every other, yet, with the exception of heads of families, every person who expounded it was subject to a month's imprisonment. He wrote himself two books for the religious instruction of the people ("The Institution and "The Erudition of a Christian Man") and actually disputed in person against innovators. A schoolmaster named Lambert, accused of having denied the Real Presence, appealed from the Metropolitan to the Head of the Church; the King argued against him, and, after disputing for five hours, asked him whether he would yield or die. Lambert chose death, and he was burnt by a slow fire. A still stranger scene was the judgment of St. Thomas Becket, who died in 1170. He was cited to appear at Westminster to answer the charge of treason, and, after the ordinary thirty days' delay was condemned in default; his relics were burnt, and his property, that is to say his shrine and the offerings which adorned it, were confiscated for the benefit of the Crown.

Henry VIII. would have liked to extend his religious tyranny to Scotland; but the French party who prevailed there was attached to the Catholic religion, and the whole nation held the English yoke in horror. Speaking of the King of England, Sir George Douglas wrote: "Even the little boys would throw stones at him, the women would break their distaffs. The whole nation would die rather than receive him; most of the nobles and the whole of the clergy are against him."

The young Queen of Scots (Mary) remained under the charge of James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, son of the one we have already mentioned; the nobles appointed him to be her guardian, although the will of the late King had designated Cardinal Beaton as Regent; and Scotland was comprehended in the treaty concluded between England and France in 1546 (see Chapter VIII.). The King of England died a year afterwards.

During the latter years of his reign, Henry, having spent the prodigious sums which he had gained by the suppression of the monasteries, obtained fresh resources from the servility of his Parliament. He had disciplined it betimes, and on the least resistance he reprimanded "those varlets, the commons." As early as 1543, that is, four years afterwards, he asked for an enormous subsidy. He dragged further sums out of it on every pretext—tax, gift, loan, alteration of the currency. At last the Parliament, sanctioning bankruptcy, abandoned to him all that he had borrowed since the thirty-first year of his reign. It was pretended that before the twenty-sixth year the exchequer's receipts had surpassed the amount of all the taxes imposed by his predecessors, and that before his death the sum had more than doubled.

It was in the reign of Henry VIII. that Wales was placed under the regular administrative jurisdiction of England and that some civil order was established in Ireland. Henry VIII.'s innovations were ill-received in that island both by the English colonists and the natives. The government of the country had been generally delegated to the great nobles of Ireland, to the Earls of Kildare or Ossory, the chiefs of the rival families of Fitzgerald and Butler. Kildare's young son, believing his father to have been killed in London, presented himself before the Irish Council, and declared war in his own name on Henry VIII. King of England; the wise counsels of the Archbishop of Armagh could not prevail over the song of an Irish bard, who in the national language excited the hero to avenge his father's blood. His courage was no match for English discipline: he stipulated for a free pardon for himself and his followers and was beheaded in London. After this and more formidable revolts, peace was at last restored; the Irish chiefs themselves were forced to accept peerages from the King as the sign of their subjection. O'Neil, the most celebrated of them all, will appear later under the name of the Earl of Tyrone.

Section II.—Northern Europe, 1515—1560.

While Protestant Germany sought in political liberty a guarantee for its religious independence, Denmark and Sweden confirmed a political revolution by adopting the Reformation.

Christian II. had equally irritated the Danish nobility, against which he protected the peasantry; Sweden, which he deluged with blood [1520]; and the Hanse Towns, against which he had closed the Danish ports by his prohibitions [1517]. He was soon punished both for the good and evil which he had done. Governed by the German priest Slagheck, formerly a barber,

and by the daughter of a Dutch innkeeper, he followed, but with less skill, the path which had led the other Princes of Europe to absolute power. He wanted to crush his own nobles and to conquer Sweden. He had hired troops in Germany, Poland, and Scotland; he had obtained 4,000 men from Francis I. A battle gave him the mastery of Sweden, which was torn to pieces by the quarrel between the young Sten-Stur, the administrator of the kingdom, and Gustave Troll, the Archbishop of Upsala. He tried by an ecclesiastical commission all the bishops and senators who had voted for the deposition of Troll. In one day they were beheaded and burned at Stockholm in the midst of a nation in tears. The gallows and the scaffold rose in every province of Sweden through which Christian passed. He insulted the vanquished. He declared himself hereditary King, and proclaimed that he made no knights in Sweden, as he owed the country entirely to his own sword.

The young Gustavus Vasa, however, a nephew of the old King Charles Canutson, succeeded in escaping from the prison in which he was detained by Christian. The men of Lubeck, regarding the latter as the brother-in-law of Charles V., who was the sovereign of their enemies, the Dutch, and who knew that Christian had asked the Emperor to bestow their town upon him, gave Gustavus Vasa a passage into Sweden. Chased by the Danes, Gustavus fled from one shelter to another, and was on one occasion touched by the lances of those who sought him while hidden in a haycock. The hiding-places of the Liberator are still shown at Fahlun and Ornay. He reached Dalecarlia, the home of those hardy and free peasants who have always been the first to attempt revolutions in Sweden. He mixed with the Dalecarlians of Copperberg (a country of copper mines), adopted their costume, and entered the service of one of them. At length, in the Christmas festivities of 1521, seizing the occasion of the crowd collected by the feast-day, he harangued them in the great plain of Mora. They remarked with satisfaction that the North wind blew during all the time he spoke; two hundred of them followed him; their example drew the whole nation, and at the end of a few months the only possessions which the Danes retained in Sweden were Abo, Calmar, and Stockholm.

Christian had chosen precisely this critical moment for attempting in Denmark a revolution capable of shaking the steadiest throne. He published two codes which excited against him the two most powerful orders in that kingdom—the clergy and the nobility. He suppressed the temporal jurisdiction of the bishops, forbade the plunder of wrecks, deprived the nobles of the right to sell their peasants, and permitted the ill-used peasant to leave his lord's estate. The protection of the peasantry, which had made the Stures popular in Sweden, effected the ruin of the

King in Denmark. The nobles and the bishops called to the throne his uncle, Frederick Duke of Holstein. Thus Christian lost both Denmark and Sweden at the same time.

After having delivered Sweden from the foreigner, Gustavus wrested her from the bishops. He deprived the clergy of their tithes and jurisdiction, encouraged the nobles to claim all the ecclesiastical estates over which they had any right; finally, he took from the bishops their castles and strong places. By the suppression of appeals to Rome, the Swedish Church became independent of the Papacy while retaining the hierarchy and most of the ceremonies of the Catholic Church [1529]. It is said that the number of estates or farms seized by the King amounted to 13,000. Having thus diminished the chief power of the aristocracy in the persons of the bishops, he was able to manage the nobles more easily; he laid taxes without opposition on their estates, and he caused the crown to be declared hereditary in the house of Vasa.

The Danish bishops, although they had contributed to the Revolution, were not more fortunate than the Swedish. It turned entirely to the advantage of the nobles, who exacted from Frederick I. the right of life and death over their peasants. Lutheranism was preached by command of the King; the States of Odensee [1527] decreed liberty of conscience, abolished the celibacy of the priests and severed every link between the clergy of Denmark and the see of Rome.

The more distant peoples of the North, less accessible to new ideas, did not accept this religious revolution without resistance. The Dalecarlians were armed by their clergy against the King whom they themselves had set up. The Norwegians and the Icelanders considered the introduction of Protestantism only as a new instance of tyranny on the part of the Danes. Christian II., who had taken refuge in the Low Countries, thought that he might turn this disposition to account. This man, who on one occasion had hunted a bishop with dogs, now associated his cause with that of the Catholic religion. With the help of several Princes of Germany, of Charles V., and of some Dutch merchants, he equipped a fleet, landed in Norway, and thence penetrated into Sweden. The Hanse Towns took up arms against the Dutch for supporting Christian. Repulsed and forced to shut himself up in Opslo, he surrendered to the Danes, who promised him liberty, but kept him a prisoner for twenty-nine years in the dungeon of Saenderbourg, with a dwarf for his sole companion.

On the death of Frederick I. [1534] the bishops made an effort to postpone their imminent ruin. They attempted to place on the throne the King's younger son, who was only eight years old, and who was not yet imbued with Protestant ideas, like his

elder brother Christian III.; they put forward that this child, who was born in Denmark, "had spoken from his cradle the language of the country," while his brother was considered as a German. This struggle between the clergy and the nobles, between the Catholic faith and the new doctrines, of Danish patriotism against foreign influence, encouraged the ambition of Lubeck. That republic had profited little by the downfall of Christian II. Frederick had created trading-guilds, Gustavus favored the English. The democratic administration which had replaced the ancient oligarchy at Lubeck was animated more by the spirit of conquest than by that of commerce. Its new leaders, the Burgomaster Wullenwever and the Commandant Meyer, formerly a locksmith, conceived the project of repeating in a kingdom the revolution which they had effected in a town. They resolved to conquer and dismember Denmark. They confided the management of this revolutionary war to an illustrious adventurer, Count Christopher, of Oldenburg, who had distinguished himself against the Turks; he had nothing but his name and his sword, but he consoled himself, they say, for his poverty by reading Homer in the original. He penetrated into Denmark by stirring up the lower classes in the name of Christian II., a magic name which always rallied the Catholics and the peasantry. All was deception in this Machiavellian war; the republicans of Lubeck excited the people with the name of Christian II. and thought only of themselves; their general Christopher acted neither for the sake of Christian nor of Lubeck, but in his own interests. The calamities of this revolution were so great that the Count's war has remained a proverbial expression in Denmark. The general consternation caused the nation to rally round Christian III. The senate which had retreated into Jutland, the only province which remained true to it, called him from his refuge in Holstein; Gustavus sent him assistance. The young King besieged Lubeck and forced her to recall her troops. The peasants, beaten in every direction, lost all hope of liberty. Christian III. entered Copenhagen after a long siege. The senate arrested the bishops, stripped them of their estates, and substituted for them superintendents charged with the propagation of the evangelical religion. Thus the absolute power of the nobles was established by the defeat of the clergy and peasantry. Christian III. declared the monarchy elective, and promised to consult the Grand Master of the kingdom, the chancellor and the marshal, who were to receive all plaints against the King. The Danish nobility decided that Norway was in future to be only a province. Protestantism was established there. The powerful archbishopric of Drontheim having become a simple bishopric, the old spirit of resistance ceased to manifest itself, with the exception of the troubles ex-

cited at Bergen by the tyranny of the Hanseatic merchants and the revolt of the peasants, who were forced to work in the mines under the orders of the German miners.

Poor Iceland amidst its snows and volcanoes endeavored also to resist the new faith which was being imposed on her. The Icelanders had the same repugnance for Danish domination as the Danes had for German influence. The Bishops Augmund and Arneson resisted at the head of their flocks until the Danes beheaded the latter. Arneson was not esteemed for the purity of his life, but he was lamented as the man of the people and poet of the nation; it is he who in 1528 introduced printing into this remote island. The revolution, both political and religious, was thus firmly established throughout Denmark, in spite of a new attempt on the part of Charles V. in favor of the Elector Palatine, the husband of his niece, who was a daughter of Christian II. At length Christian III.'s alliance with the Protestants of Germany and Francis I. decided the Emperor on recognizing him. He obtained for his subjects in the Low Countries permission to navigate the Baltic, a last blow to the Hanseatic League, from which it never recovered.

CHAPTER IX.

CALVIN.

THE RISE AND GROWTH OF CALVINISM—THE MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW, 1555—1572.

In its first phase the Reformation had scarcely done more than pull down, in its second it endeavored to build up. At the outset it had compromised with the civil authority; the Lutheran Reformation had been in many respects the work of the Princes to whom it made the Church subservient. The lower classes wanted a reformation of their own; they obtained one from John Calvin, a French Protestant, who had taken refuge in Geneva. The first Reformation subdued Northern Germany, the second disturbed France, the Low Countries, England, and Scotland. In every direction it met with an obstinate enemy in the power of Spain, which, however, it overcame everywhere.

When Calvin left Nérac for Geneva [1535] he found the town delivered from its bishop and the Dukes of Savoy, but kept in the most violent fermentation by the plots of the *Mamelus* (serviles), and by the continued insults of the *Confrérie de la Cuillère* (Brethren of the Spoon). He became its apostle and legislator [1541—1564] offering himself as mediator between the "paganism of Zwinglius and the papistry of Luther." The Church of Calvin was a democracy and absorbed the State. Calvinism, like Catholicism, held a ground which was completely independent of the temporal power.

The alliance between Berne and Fribourg enabled the reformer to preach from behind the shelter of the Swiss lances. From his post between Italy, Switzerland, and France, Calvin shook the whole of Western Europe. He had neither the impetuosity, nor the geniality, nor the sense of humor which distinguished Luther. His style was dry and bitter, but powerful, concise, and penetrating. More consistent in his writings than in his conduct, he began by demanding tolerance from Francis I. and ended by burning Servetus.

The Vaudois and all the clever, restless population of the South of France, who, in the middle ages, had been the first to try to shake off the yoke of Rome, were the first to rally round

the new doctrine. From Geneva and Navarre it spread to the commercial town of La Rochelle, and thence to the, at that time, learned cities of the interior—Poitiers, Bourges, and Orleans; it penetrated into the Low Countries and strengthened the bands of *Rederikers*, who overran the country declaiming against abuses. From thence it crossed the sea and disturbed the victory of Henry VIII. over the Pope; it mounted the throne of England with Edward VI. [1547], and was carried into the wilds of Scotland by John Knox; it stopped only at the foot of the mountains, in which the Highlanders preserved the faith of their ancestors together with hatred of the Saxon heretics.

In the beginning the meetings of the Calvinists were held in secret. The first which took place in France were in Paris, in the Rue St. Jacques [about 1550]; they soon became frequent. The scaffold did not put an end to them, it was such a happiness for the people to hear the word of God in their own language. Many were attracted by curiosity, others by compassion, some even by the danger itself. In 1550 there was but one Reformed church in France; in 1561 there were more than 2,000. Sometimes they assembled in the open fields in numbers amounting to eight or ten thousand; the minister mounted a cart or the stump of a tree; the people stood to windward that they might hear him better, and then they all, men, women, and children, joined in singing psalms. Those who had arms kept watch all round, their hands on their swords. Then there came pedlers, who sold catechisms, books, and pictures against the bishops and the Pope.[a]

They were not long satisfied with these meetings. No less intolerant than their persecutors, they tried to exterminate what they called idolatry. They began by overturning altars, burning pictures, and demolishing churches. As early as 1561 they summoned the King of France to destroy the images of Jesus Christ and of the saints.[b]

These were the adversaries whom Philip II. undertook to fight and to annihilate. They were forever crossing his path: in England they prevented his marrying Elizabeth [1558]; in France they balanced the power of his allies, the Guises [1561]; in the Low Countries they supported with their fanaticism the cause of public liberty.[c]

To the cosmopolitan Charles V. had succeeded in Philip an entirely Castilian Prince, who despised every other language,

a Such, for example, as the Cardinal of Lorraine with the little Francis II. in a sack trying to get his head out to breathe from time to time. In the Low Countries they sold caricatures of Cardinal Granvelle, Philip's Prime Minister, sitting upon eggs out of which bishops were creeping, while the devil hovered over his head, blessing him and saying, "This is my beloved son." "Memoirs of Condé," vol. ii. 656, and Schiller's "History of the Revolt in the Low Countries," book ii. chap. i.

b "Memoirs of Condé," book iii. p. 101.

c Especially after 1563.

who held in abhorrence every belief but his own, who wanted to establish everywhere the regular Spanish forms of administration, legislation, and religion. At first he had restrained himself in order to marry Mary Queen of England [1555], but he had not deceived the English. The glass of beer which he solemnly drank on landing, the sermons of his confessor on tolerance did not procure for him any popularity. The scaffolds raised by his wife made more impression. After the death of Mary [1558] he no longer dissimulated, he introduced Spanish troops into the Low Countries, maintained the Inquisition there, and on his departure declared, as it were, war to all defenders of the liberty of the country in the person of the Prince of Orange.[d] Finally he united with Henri II. against the internal enemies who threatened both sovereigns by marrying his daughter, Elizabeth of France [Peace of Château-Cambresis, 1559]. The rejoicings at this ominous peace were marked by a fatal incident. A tournament took place at the very foot of the Bastille in which the Protestant Anne Dubourg was awaiting death. The King was wounded, and the marriage was solemnized at night during his last moments.[e]

Philip II., on returning to his dominions, which he never left again, commemorated his victory of St. Quentin by building the monastery of the Escurial at the cost of fifty million piastres. This gloomy edifice, constructed entirely of granite, is seen from seven leagues off. No sculptures adorn its walls. Its sole beauty consists in the boldness of the arches. It is built in the form of a gridiron.[f]

At this period the Spanish mind had reached the highest point of religious excitement. The rapid progress throughout Europe of the heretics, the victory which by the Treaty of Augsburg they had gained over Charles V., their violence against images and their outrages on the Host, which were related to the frightened Spaniards by orthodox preachers, had produced a renewal of fervor. Ignatius Loyola had founded the order of Jesuits, who were entirely devoted to the Holy See [1534—1540]. St. Theresa of Jesus reformed the Carmelite nuns and fired every soul with mystic enthusiasm. Soon the Carmelite friars and other mendicant orders were reformed in their turn. The Inquisition was permanently constituted in 1561. With the exception of the Moors, Spain became united as a single man in a violent fit of horror of the miscreants and heretics. Closely united with Portugal, which was governed by the Jesuits, hav-

d The King on landing said to the Prince of Orange, who sheltered himself behind the States, "No, not the States—but you, you, you!" See Van der Vynckt.

e "Memoirs of Vieilleville," vol. xxvii. p. 417.

f Instrument of the martyrdom of St. Lawrence. The battle of St. Quentin was gained by the Spaniards on the day consecrated to his memory.

ing the veterans of Charles V. and the treasures of two hemispheres at her disposal, she determined to force all Europe to submit to her religion and supremacy.

The Protestants, scattered over the world, rallied in the name of Queen Elizabeth, who offered shelter and protection to them. In every direction she encouraged their resistance to Philip II. and the Catholics. Absolute in their own dominions, these two monarchs acted abroad with all the violence of two chiefs of faction. The ostentatious devotion of Philip, the chivalrous spirit of Elizabeth's court, were combined with a system of intrigue and corruption. But the victory could not fail to be Elizabeth's; the times were on her side. She ennobled despotism by the enthusiasm with which she inspired her people. Those, even, whom she persecuted were, in spite of everything, devoted to her. A Puritan, who was condemned to have his hand struck off, had scarcely lost it, when he waved his hat with the other, exclaiming "God save the Queen."

Thirty years were to elapse before the two rivals encountered each other face to face. Their struggle at first went on indirectly in Scotland, France, and the Low Countries.

It did not last long in Scotland [1559—1567]. Elizabeth's rival, the fascinating Mary Stuart, widow at the age of eighteen of Francis II., found herself a foreigner in the midst of her subjects, who detested in her the Guises, her uncles, the chiefs of the Catholic party in France. Her barons, supported by England, united with her husband, Lord Darnley, and assassinated under her eyes her favorite, an Italian musician. Soon afterwards the house in which Darnley lay sick near Holyrood was blown up: he was buried under its ruins, and Mary was carried off and married by Lord Bothwell, the principal author of the crime, either with her own consent or in spite of it. The Queen and the barons accused each other with mutual recrimination. But Mary proved the weaker party of the two. She could find no refuge except in the dominions of her mortal enemy Elizabeth, who kept her a prisoner, gave the guardianship of her little son to whomsoever she pleased, reigned over Scotland in his name, and henceforth was able to dispute with Philip II. on more equal terms.

It was especially in France and the Netherlands that Elizabeth and Philip carried on their secret war. In these two countries the soul of the Protestant party was William the Silent, Prince of Orange, and his father-in-law, Admiral Coligni, both of them unfortunate as generals, but profound statesmen, men of stubborn and sombre genius, animated by the democratic instincts of Calvinism in spite of the blood of Nassau and Montmorency. Colonel-General of Infantry under Henri II., Coligni rallied round him all the lesser nobles. He gave a republican organ-

ization to La Rochelle, while the Prince of Orange encouraged the Confederacy of the Beggars (*gueux*) and laid the foundation of a more durable republic.

The great Guise and his brother, the Cardinal of Lorraine,[g] governed France under Francis II., the husband of their niece, Mary Stuart [1560]. Guise had been the idol of the people ever since he had taken Calais in eight days from the English. But he found the finances of France in utter disorder. He was forced to take back the alienated estates and to suppress the tax for the maintenance of 50,000 men—that is, to disarm the government at the moment when the revolution burst out. Thousands of petitioners thronged Fontainebleu, and the Cardinal of Lorraine, not knowing what answer to give them, posted up announcements that all who had not left the town in twenty-four hours should be hanged.

The Bourbons, Antoine King of Navarre and Louis Prince of Condé, who did not like seeing the management of public affairs in the hands of two cadets of the house of Lorraine, profited by the general discontent. They united with the Calvinists, with Coligni, and the English, who came to negotiate with them after nightfall, at St. Denis. The Protestants marched under arms towards Amboise to take possession of the King's person. But they were denounced to the Guises, and massacred on the road. Some of them who had been reserved for execution in the presence of the King and the whole Court, dipped their hands in the blood of their already beheaded brothers, and raised them to Heaven, crying against those who had betrayed them. This funereal scene appeared to bring misfortune to all who witnessed it, to Francis II., to Mary Stuart, to Guise, and to the Chancellor Olivier, who, though a Protestant at heart, had condemned them, and who died of remorse.[h]

On the accession of the little Charles IX., in 1651, the sovereign power devolved upon his mother, Catherine of Medicis, but she was incapable of retaining possession of it; she only withheld it for a time from the Guises, the chiefs of the Catholic party, and during this interval the government remained suspended between the two parties. It was not for an Italian woman, with the old Borgian policy, to hold the balance between the determined men who despised her: she was not worthy of this age of conviction, nor was the age itself worthy of the Chancellor L'Hôpital,[i] that noble image of cool wisdom, but a wisdom powerless against passion. Guise once more, as chief of his party, seized the power which he had lost. The Court furnished him

[g] See the "Memoirs of Gaspard de Tavannes" for a comparison of the advantages obtained from Henri II. by the rival houses of Guise and Montmorency, vol. xxiii. p. 410.

[h] Vielleville, vol. xxxii. p. 425.

[i] The Chancellor de L'Hôpital, "who carried the fleur-de-lis in his heart." See L'Etoile, vol. xlv. p. 57.

with a pretext, by issuing the moderate decrees of St. Germain and of January, and by admitting the Huguenot preachers to share in a solemn discussion in the conference of Poissy. While the Calvinists were rising at Nimes, the Duke of Guise was passing through Vassy in Champagne. His followers quarrelled with some Huguenots, who were celebrating divine service, and massacred them [1562]. Civil war began. "Cæsar," said the Prince of Condé, "has crossed the Rubicon."

At the outset of this terrible struggle neither party hesitated to invoke foreign aid.[j] The old political barriers which separated nations fell before the interests of religion. The Protestants asked their brothers in Germany for help, they gave up Havre to the English, while the Guises entered into a vast combination, formed, it was said, by the King of Spain, to crush Geneva and Navarre, the two strongholds of heresy; to exterminate the Calvinists in France, and afterwards subdue the Lutherans in the empire.[k] The two parties assembled in every direction, both animated by fierce enthusiasm. In these first armies there were neither games of chance, nor blasphemy, nor debauchery; united prayer took place morning and evening.[l] But hearts were just as hard under this holy exterior. Montluc Governor of Guienne travelled all over his province with executioners. "One could tell," he says of himself, "which way he had passed, for the signs might be seen on the trees and roads."[m] In Dauphiné, a Protestant, the Baron des Adrets, precipitated his prisoners from the top of a tower on to the pikes of their enemies.

At first Guise was victorious at Dreux;[n] he took Condé, the Protestant general, prisoner, shared his bed with him, and slept soundly by the side of his deadly enemy. Orleans, the chief stronghold of the Huguenots, was saved only by the assassination of the Duke of Guise, who was wounded by a Protestant with a pistol-shot from behind [1563].

The Queen-mother having thus got rid of a master, treated with the Protestants [at Amboise, 1563], and found herself obliged by the indignation of the Catholics to violate in succession every article in the treaty. Condé and Coligni tried in vain to obtain possession of the young King; they were defeated at St. Denis, but were still powerful enough to dictate to the Court the peace of Longjumeau [1568], which was nicknamed "*boiteuse et mal assise*" (lame and inconclusive); and which confirmed

j La Noue, vol. xxxiv. p. 123-157. "The foreigners opened their eyes in astonishment, and longed to enter France."

k "Memoirs of Condé," vol. iii. p. 210.

l La Noue, vol. xxxiv. p. 125. "Most of the nobles determined on coming to Paris, imagining that their patrons might require them . . . . with 10, 20, or 30 of their friends, bearing their arms concealed, and lodging in inns or in the open fields, paying well."

m Montluc, vol. xx.

n See in the "Memoirs of Condé," vol. iv., the accounts of the battle of Dreux, attributed to Coligni, p. 176, and to François de Guise, p. 688.

that of Amboise. An attempt on the part of the Court to seize the two chiefs led to a third war. With the Chancellor L'Hôpital, the councils of the King lost all moderation; the Protestants made La Rochelle their stronghold instead of Orleans; they taxed themselves to pay their German auxiliaries, who were being brought to them across France by the Duke of Zweibrücken and the Prince of Orange. In spite of their defeat at Jarnac and at Montcontour [1569], notwithstanding the death of Condé and the wound of Coligni, the Court was forced to grant them a third peace [St. Germain, 1570]. They were to be free to exercise their religion in two towns in every province; they were allowed to keep as fortresses La Rochelle, Montaubon, Cognac, and La Charité. The young King of Navarre was to marry the sister of Charles IX. (Marguerite de Valois). Coligni was even allowed to hope for the command of the contingent which, it was said, the King was to send to help the Huguenots in the Low Countries. The Catholics were indignant with such a humiliating treaty after four victories; the Protestants themselves could scarcely credit it, and accepted it only from lassitude,[o] and the far-seeing expected some frightful catastrophe to ensue from this hostile peace.

In the Low Countries the situation was no less alarming. Philip II. was incapable of understanding either liberty, or the Northern character, or commercial interest. All his subjects, Belgians and Batavians, turned against him; the Calvinists, who were persecuted by the Inquisition; the nobles, henceforth without the hope of re-establishing their fortunes, which had been ruined in the service of Charles V.; the clergy, who dreaded the reforms ordered by the Council of Trent, and the endowment of new bishoprics at their expense; and, lastly, all good citizens, who beheld with indignation the introduction of Spanish troops, and the destruction of the old liberties of the country. At first the opposition of the Flamands forced the King to recall his old minister, Cardinal Granvelle [1563]; the highest nobility formed the Confederation of the Beggars (*gueux*), and hung round their necks wooden bowls, as a sign of their union with the people [1566]. The Calvinists lifted up their heads in every direction, printed more than 5,000 books against the ancient Faith, and in the provinces of Brabant and Flanders alone pillaged and desecrated 400 churches.[p]

These last excesses caused the measure to overflow. The cruel mind of Philip II. was already hatching the most sinister projects; he determined to pursue and to exterminate these terri-

[o] "The admiral said that he would rather die than fall again into such confusion, and see such horrors committed before his eyes." La Noue, vol. xxxiv. p. 290.

[p] Schiller, vol. i. p. 253, and the beginning of vol. ii.

ble enemies whom he encountered everywhere, even in his own family. He included in the same detestation both the legal opposition of the Flemish nobles, the iconoclast fury of the Calvinists, and the obstinate attachment of the poor Moors to the religion, language, and costume of their fathers. But he would not act without the sanction of the Church: he obtained from the Inquisition a secret condemnation of his rebels in the Low Countries;[q] he even interrogated the most celebrated doctors, among others Oraduy, professor of theology at the University of Alcala, on the measures he ought to take with regard to the Moors. Oraduy replied with the proverb: "The fewer enemies the better."[r] The King, confirmed in his project of vengeance, swore to give such an example in the persons of his enemies as "should make the ears of Christendom tingle, even though he should endanger all his dominions."[s]

The sanguinary counsels which the court of Philip had given to France through the Duke of Alva,[t] he now began to follow without any distinction of person, and with an atrocious inflexibility. His son, Don Carlos, talked of going to place himself at the head of the rebels in the Low Countries; Philip caused the physicians to hasten his death [1568]. He established the Inquisition in America [1570]. He disarmed on the same day all the Moors in Valencia, forbade those in Granada to use the Arab language and costume, prohibited the bath, the Zambras, the Leilas, and even the green branches with which these unhappy people covered their tombs; while their children above the age of five were forced into schools to learn the Castilian language and religion [1563—1568]. At the same time the sanguinary Duke of Alva marched from Italy into Flanders at the head of an army as fanatical as Spain, and as corrupt as Italy.[u] On hearing of this march, the Swiss armed to protect Geneva. One hundred thousand persons imitated the Prince of Orange, in flying from the Low Countries.[v] On his arrival the Duke of Alva established the Council of Troubles—the Council of Blood, as the Belgians called it—which was partly composed of Spaniards [1567]. All who refused to abjure, all who had been present at the Huguenot services—even though they were Catholics—all who had tolerated them, were equally put to death. The "*gueux*" or beggars, as the leaders of the resistance to Philip's despotism called themselves, were punished as severely as the heretics; those even who had only solicited the recall of Gran-

q Meteren, fol. 54.

r Ferrera, vol. ix. p. 525.

s Letter from the Spanish Envoy in Paris, addressed to the Duchess of Parma, regent of the Low Countries, quoted by Schiller in his 2d vol.

t Interview at Bayonne, 1566. The Duke of Alva was heard to say to the Queen mother, Catherine de' Medicis, that the head of one salmon was worth more than the heads of 100 frogs.

u See the details in Meteren, book iii. p. 52.

v "We have done nothing," said Granvelle, "since the Silent One has been allowed to escape."

velle were sought out and punished. Count Egmont, whose victories at St. Quentin and Gravelines had thrown a lustre over the beginning of the reign of Philip II., the people's idol and one of the most loyal servants of the Crown, perished on the scaffold. The efforts of the Protestants of Germany and France, who furnished Louis of Nassau, a brother of the Prince of Orange, with an army, were baffled by the Duke of Alva, and to insult his victims the more he set up in his citadel of Antwerp a bronze statue of himself, trampling slaves under foot, and threatening the town.

The same barbarity and the same success attended Philip in Spain; he seized with joy the opportunity given by the revolt of the Moors to overpower that unhappy people. While he turned his forces against foreigners he would not leave any resistance behind him. The rigor of oppression had restored some courage to the Moors. A carmine merchant belonging to the family of the Abencerrages combined with others; thick clouds of smoke rose up from mountain to mountain; the red flag was raised; even the women armed themselves with long packing needles to pierce the bellies of the horses; everywhere the priests were massacred. But soon the Spanish veterans arrived. The Moors received some feeble assistance from Algiers, they implored in vain for that of the Sultan Selim. Old men, children, and supplicating women were massacred without mercy. The King ordered that all above the age of ten who remained should become slaves [1571].*w*

The weak and shameful government of France did not choose to be behindhand. The exasperation of the Catholics had reached its highest pitch, when on the marriage of the King of Navarre to Marguerite of Valois, they beheld among them those serious determined men whom they had often met upon the battlefield, and whose presence here they look on as a personal disgrace. They counted their own numbers, and began to throw sinister glances on their enemies. Without giving the Queen-mother or her sons the credit of so deeply laid a plan and such profound dissimulation, we may believe that the possibility of such an event as followed had had some weight in bringing about the peace of St. Germain. Such a daring crime, however, would have been too much for their resolution if they had not feared for an instant the influence of Coligni over the young Charles IX. The King's mother and his brother, the Duke of Anjou, whom he had begun to threaten, recovered by means of intimidation their influence over a mind feeble, capricious, and verging on the brink of madness, and made him resolve upon the massacre of the Huguenots, as easily as he would have ordered that of the principal Catholics.

w Ferrera, vols. ix. and x. Cabrera, 1619, pp. 465-661, *passim.*

On August 24, 1572, about two or three in the morning, the bell of St. Germain l'Auxerrois tolled, and young Henry of Guise, thinking to avenge the death of his father, began the massacre by murdering Coligni. Then there was but one cry heard: "Kill! Kill!" Most of the Protestants were surprised in their beds. A gentleman was pursued with halberds into the room and even to the bedside of the Queen of Navarre. One Catholic boasted of having ransomed from the *massacreurs* more than thirty Huguenots in order to torture them at leisure. Charles IX. sent for his brother-in-law and the Prince of Condé, and said to them: "The mass or death!" It is asserted that from one of the windows of the Louvre he fired upon the Huguenots who were flying on the opposite side of the river. On the next day a thorn having flowered in the Cemetery of the Innocents, this pretended miracle revived the spirit of fanaticism, and the massacre was renewed. The King, Queen-mother, and the whole Court went to Monfaucon to see the remains of the Admiral's body.[x] L'Hôpital must be added to the victims of St. Bartholomew; when he heard the execrable news, he ordered his doors to be opened to the *massacreurs*; and he survived it only six months, during which he repeated constantly: "*Excidat illa dies ævo!*"[y]

One fact, as horrible as the massacre itself, was the rejoicing which it excited. Medals were struck in its honor at Rome, and Philip II. congratulated the Court of France. He thought that Protestantism was conquered. He associated the day of St. Bartholomew, and the massacres ordered by the Duke of Alva, with the glorious victory of Lepanto, in which the fleets of Spain, of the Pope, and of Venice, commanded by Don John, of Aus-

[x] De Thou, vol. xxxvii. p. 233.

[y] Collection des Mémoires," vol. xxxvii., "Marguerite de Valois," 49-59, and de Thou, 230-3; xxxv. "Report of the Maréchal de Tavannes to the King on the affairs of his kingdom after the peace of St. Germain; xlv. "l'Etoile," 73-8; 1st vol. of the 2d series. Sully, 225-246; see especially in vol. xliv. of the first series of the speech of King Henri III. to a person of honor and quality (Miron, his physician), who was with his master at Cracow, on the causes and motives of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, 496-510:—

"Now, after having rested only two hours in the night, as soon as the day began to break the King, the Queen my mother, and I went to the portico of the Louvre, joining the tennis-court, and a room which looks into the lower courtyard, to see the beginning of the execution. We had not been there long, and were considering the event and consequences of this great undertaking, which, to tell the truth, we had not until now thought much about, when we suddenly heard a pistol-shot; we knew not in what direction or if any one was hurt. Well I know that the sound struck us all three so sharply that it affected our senses and the calmness of our judgment. We were all seized with terror and apprehension of the great disorders which were then about to be committed, and to obviate them we sent suddenly, and in all diligence, a messenger to M. de Guise to tell and expressly command him on our part to return to his lodgings, and that he should take care to do nothing against the admiral; this one command should have stopped all the rest. But soon after the messenger returned and told us that M. de Guise had answered him that the command had come too late, that the admiral was dead, and that the execution was beginning all over the town. Therefore we returned to our first intentions, and soon afterwards we allowed the undertaking and the execution to take its course. This, sir, is the true history of the St. Bartholomew, of which the hearing hath troubled me much this night."

tria, the natural son of Charles V., had in the preceding year annihilated the Ottoman fleet. The Turks vanquished at sea, the Moors reduced, the heretics exterminated in France and the Netherlands, seemed to open to the King of Spain the road to that universal monarchy to which his father had aspired in vain.

CHAPTER X.

THE POWERS AFTER THE RELIGIOUS WAR.

CONTINUATION TO THE DEATH OF HENRI IV., 1572—1610.

Section I.—To the Peace of Vervins, 1572—1598.

King Charles, hearing, on the evening of the same day and all the next, stories of the murders of old men, women, and children which had been committed, drew aside Master Ambroise Paré, his first surgeon, whom he loved greatly, although he was of the religion (that is a Huguenot), and said to him: "Ambroise, I know not what has ailed me the last two or three days, but I feel much shaken both in mind and body, just as if I had a fever, for it seems every moment, whether I am waking or sleeping, that those massacred bodies are lifting up to me their hideous faces all covered with blood. I wish that they had spared the helpless and innocent."[a] He languished from that time, and eighteen months afterwards was carried off by a bloody flux [1574].

The crime had been fruitless. In many towns the governors refused to carry it into effect. The Calvinists threw themselves into La Rochelle, Sancerre, and other fortresses in the South, and defended themselves desperately. The horror inspired by the St. Bartholomew gave them auxiliaries by creating among the Catholics a moderate party, the "Politiques," as they were called. The new King, Henri III., who came back from Poland to succeed his brother, was known as one of the authors of the massacre. His own brother, the Duke of Alençon, escaped from the Court with the young King of Navarre, and thus united the Politiques and the Calvinists.

In the Netherlands the tyranny of the Duke of Alva had met with no better success. As long as he was satisfied with setting up scaffolds the people were quiet, and saw the heads of the most illustrious nobles fall without repugnance. There was but one way of inspiring with equal disgust the Catholics and the Protestants, the nobles and the citizens, the Netherlanders of North and South, and this was the establishment of vexatious taxes, and leaving the troops unpaid to prey upon the inhabitants.

[a] Sully, 1st vol. of the "Collection of Memoirs," 2d series, p. 245.

The Duke of Alva did both. The tithe tax, which was levied on provisions, caused the agents of Spanish taxation to interfere in the most petty sales, in the market and in the shops. Innumerable fines and continual vexations irritated the whole population. While the shops were being closed and the Duke of Alva was hanging the shopkeepers for closing them, the sea-beggars (such was the name given to the fugitives who lived by piracy), driven from the ports of England by the remonstrances of Philip II., took possession of the fortress of Brill in Holland [1572], and opened the war in that country, which is intersected by arms of the sea, by rivers and canals. Many towns drove out the Spaniards. Perhaps there might yet have been some means of pacification, but the Duke of Alva announced to the first towns which surrendered that they were to hope neither for good faith nor clemency. At Rotterdam, Mechlin, Zutphen, and Naerden capitulations were violated, and the inhabitants massacred. Haarlem, knowing what to expect, broke the sea-dykes, and sent ten Spanish heads to pay their tithes. After a memorable resistance, the town obtained forgiveness, and the Duke of Alva included the sick and wounded in the general massacre. Even the Spanish soldiers had some remorse for this want of faith, and to expiate it they devoted part of the spoil to building a house for the Jesuits at Brussels.

Under the successors of the Duke of Alva, the license of the Spanish troops who pillaged Antwerp forced the Walloon provinces of the Southern Netherlands to rise up in conjunction with those of the North [1576]; but this alliance could not last. The revolution acquired solid strength and concentration in the North by means of the Union of Utrecht, which was the foundation of the Republic of the United Provinces [1579]. The intolerance of the Protestants drove the Southern provinces back under the yoke of Spain. The population of the Northern Netherlands, which was thoroughly Protestant and German both in character and language, and entirely composed of citizens addicted to maritime commerce, attracted all the analogous elements in the Southern provinces; the Spaniards might recover the towns and territory of the Southern Netherlands, but the most industrious portion of the people escaped them.

The insurgents offered successively to submit to the German branch of the house of Austria, to France, and to England. The Archduke Matthias gave them no assistance. Don John, the brother and general of Philip II.; the Duke of Anjou, brother of Henri III.; Leicester, Elizabeth's favorite; one after the other, wanted to be sovereigns of the Low Countries, and proved themselves to be all equally perfidious [1577, 1582, 1587]. At length the United Provinces, considered as a prey by all to whom they applied, determined, as they could find no king, to

remain a republic. The genius of this new-born State was the Prince of Orange, who abandoning the Southern provinces to the invincible Duke of Parma, maintained the struggle by statesmanship, until a fanatic, armed by Spain, assassinated him in 1584.

While Philip was losing half of the Netherlands he was gaining Portugal. The young King Don Sebastian had thrown himself on the coast of Africa with 10,000 men, in the vain hope of conquering it and penetrating to India. In the time of the Crusades he would have been a hero; in the sixteenth century he was only an adventurer. His uncle, Cardinal Don Henry, who succeeded him, died soon afterwards, and Philip II. seized Portugal in the teeth of France and of the Portuguese themselves [1580].

In France everything was playing into his hands. The vacillation of Henri III. and that of the Duke of Alençon, who placed himself at the head of the Protestants in France and afterwards of the Low Countries, had decided the Catholic party on seeking for a head outside of the royal family. By the treaty of 1576 the King granted to the Calvinists the liberty of exercising their religion throughout the kingdom with the exception of Paris; he allowed them to share a chamber with the Catholics in every Parliament, and gave them several fortified towns (Angoûlème, Niort, La Charité, Bourges, Saumur, and Mezières) in which they might keep a garrison paid by the King. This treaty brought about the formation of the League [1577]. Its members swore to defend religion, to restore to the provinces the same rights, franchises, and liberties which they enjoyed in the time of Clovis, to take measures against all who might persecute the League without a single exception, that so they might render prompt obedience and faithful service to the chief whom they should nominate.[b] The King thought that he should be master of the association by appointing himself its chief. He began to suspect the designs of the Duke of Guise; in the papers of a lawyer who died at Lyons on his way from Rome, a document had been found which said that the descendants of Hugh Capet had reigned till then illegitimately, and by means of an usurpation which was accursed of God; and that the throne belonged to the Princes of Lorraine, of whom the Guises were a part, as the real posterity of Charlemagne. The death of the King's brother encouraged these pretensions [1584]. Henri III., having no children, and the majority of the Catholics rejecting the sovereignty of the heretical Prince on whom the crown would devolve at his death, the Duke of Guise and the King of Spain, Henri's brother-in-law, united to dethrone the King, leaving the distribution of the spoil a future subject of dispute. It was only

[b] First vol. of the "Collection of Memoirs," 2d series, p. 66.

too easy for them to make him detested. The reverses of his armies were attributed to treachery; the feeble Prince was at the same time beaten by the Protestants and accused by the Catholics. The victory of Coutras, in which the King of Navarre distinguished himself by his valor and by his clemency to the vanquished [1587], put the finishing stroke to the irritation of the Catholics. While the League was being organized in the capital, Henri III., divided between the cares of a monastic devotion and the excesses of a disgusting debauchery, exhibited to the whole of Paris his scandalous prodigality and his childish tastes. He spent 1,200,000 francs on the marriage of his favorite Joyeuse, and had not money enough to pay a messenger to send to the Duke of Guise a letter on which the safety of his kingdom depended. He passed his time in arranging his Queen's ruff and curling his own hair. He caused himself to be nominated prior of the brotherhood of White Penitents. "In the beginning of November the King posted on all the churches of Paris, and on the oratories, otherwise called the '*paradis*,' whither he went every day to distribute alms and to pray with great devoutness, an announcement that he was about to leave off the shirts with large plaits, in which he had formerly been so curious, in order to adopt those with the collar turned back in the Italian fashion. He generally went in a coach with the Queen, his wife, all over the streets of Paris, taking with him little lapdogs, and having the grammar read to him while he learnt the declensions."[c]

In this way the crisis became imminent in France and throughout the West [1585—1588]. It seemed likely to be favorable to Spain; the seizure of Antwerp by the Prince of Parma, the most memorable feat of arms in the sixteenth century, completed the reduction of the Southern Netherlands [1585]. The King of France was obliged to surrender at discretion to the Guises in the same year, and the League took Paris for its centre, an immense town in which religious fanaticism was reinforced by democratic fanaticism [1588]. But the King of Navarre, against every expectation, resisted the whole united force of the Catholics [1586—1587]. Elizabeth gave an army to the United Provinces [1585], and money to the King of Navarre [1585]; she baffled every conspiracy [1584, 1585, 1586], and struck at Spain and the Guises in the person of Mary Stuart.

For a long time Elizabeth had replied to the solicitations of her councillors by saying: "Can I kill the bird which has taken refuge in my bosom?" She had accepted the embroideries and the dresses from Paris which her prisoner presented to her. But growing irritation caused by the great European struggle, the fears constantly impressed upon Elizabeth for her own life, the

[c] "L'Etoile," vol. xlv. p. 123.

mysterious power of the Jesuit Parsons, who from the Continent managed to stir up England to revolt, pushed the Queen to the last extremities.

In spite of the intervention of the Kings of France and Scotland, Mary was condemned to death by a commission, as guilty of having conspired with foreigners to invade England and compass the death of Elizabeth. A room was hung in black in Fotheringay Castle; the Queen of Scots appeared at the block in her richest garments; she consoled her weeping servants, protested her innocence, and pardoned her enemies. Elizabeth aggravated the horror of this cruel resolution by affected regrets and hypocritical denials [1587].

The death of Mary was felt nowhere more than in France. But who was there to avenge it? Her brother-in-law, Henri III., was falling from the throne; her cousin, Henri of Guise, was hoping to reach it. "France was infatuated with that man, it would be too little to say she was in love with him." Since his victories over the German troops, who crossed the border as allies of the King of Navarre, the people always called him the new Gideon, the new Maccabæus; the nobles named him *"notre grand"* (our great chief). He had only to come to Paris to be her master; the King forbade him, and still he came; all the town ran to meet him, crying: "Long live the Duke of Guise! Hosanna filio David!" He braved the King in his palace of the Louvre, at the head of 400 noblemen. From that time the house of Lorraine thought its cause was gained. The King was to be thrown into a convent; and the Duchess of Montpensier, sister of the Duke of Guise, exhibited the golden scissors with which she intended to cut off the hair of the Valois. Everywhere the people raised barricades, disarmed the Swiss whom the King had just called into Paris, and would have massacred them all had it not been for the Duke. A moment's irresolution made him lose everything. While he hesitated to attack the Louvre, the old Catherine of Medicis amused him by parleyings, and the King escaped to Chartres. In vain Guise attempted to unite with the Parliament. "It's a great pity, sir," said the President, Achille de Harlai, to him, "when the valet turns off the master; for the rest my soul belongs to God, my heart to the King, even if my body be in the power of the wicked."

The King, free, but abandoned by every one, was obliged to yield; he approved of all that had been done, gave up several towns to the Duke, named him generalissimo of the kingdom, and convened the States-General at Blois. The Duke of Guise wanted a higher title; he poured so many insults upon the King that he inspired the most timid of men with a bold resolution, that of assassination.

"On Thursday, December 22, 1588, the Duke of Guise, on

sitting down to dinner, found under his napkin a note on which was written: 'Beware! they are on the point of playing you a scurvy trick.' After reading it, he wrote at the bottom; he said: 'They dare not,' and threw it under the table. 'This,' he said, 'is the ninth day.' In spite of these warnings, he persisted in attending the council; and as he was crossing the room in which sat the forty-five gentlemen in waiting he was murdered."*d*

During this tragedy, which favored rather than impeded the designs of Spain, Philip II. undertook the conquest of England and the task of avenging Mary Stuart. On June 3, 1588, the most formidable armament that had ever terrified Christendom was seen issuing from the mouth of the Tagus: with 135 vessels of a size till then unknown, 8,000 sailors, 19,000 soldiers, the flower of the Spanish nobility, and Lope de Vega on board to sing its victories. The Spaniards, intoxicated with the sight, bestowed on the fleet the name of the Invincible Armada. It was to join the Prince of Parma in the Netherlands and protect the passage of his 32,000 veteran troops. The forest of Waes, in Flanders, had been turned into transports for them. In England the alarm was extreme. Instruments of torture similar to those which were said to be carried on board the Spanish fleet

d "On the twenty-third, at four in the morning, the King asked his *valet de chambre* for the keys of the little cells which he had prepared for the Capucines. He went down and from time to time looked himself into his room to see if the forty-five had arrived, and as they came he sent them up and locked them in . . . . . Soon after the Duke of Guise was seated at the council, and said, 'I am cold, I feel ill, let a fire be lighted;' and addressing himself to M. de Morfontaine, treasurer of the privy purse, said 'Monsieur de Morfontaine, I beg of you to tell M. de Saint-Prix, the King's first *valet de chambre*, that I beg of him to give me some Damask raisins or some conserve of roses.' The Duke put the sweatmeats into his box and threw the remainder upon the table. 'Gentlemen,' said he, 'does anybody wish for them?' and he rose. But when he was only two steps from the door of the old closet, he took his beard in his right hand, and looked round to see who was following; his arm was suddenly seized by the elder Sieur de Montséry, who was near the mantelpiece, and who believing that the Duke had fallen back in the attitude of defence, struck him himself at the same time in the breast with his dagger, exclaiming, 'Ah! traitor, thou shalt die.' And at the same moment the Sieur des Effrenets seized him by the legs, and the Sieur de Saint-Malines stabbed him in the back near the throat, and the Sieur de Loignac with his sword in the loins. And although the Duke's sword was entangled in his cloak and his legs seized, he was able (so powerful was he) to drag them from one end of the room to the other to the foot of the King's bed, where he fell. . . . The King was in his closet, and asking them if they had finished, came out and kicked the poor corpse in the face just as the Duke of Guise had treated the late admiral. Strange to say, that when the King had looked at him a little while, he said aloud, 'Good God! how tall he is! He seems much taller dead than alive!'

"The Sieur de Beaulieu perceiving that the body stirred a little, said: 'Sir, as it seems that you still have some flicker of life left, ask forgiveness of God and the King.' Then not being able to speak, the Duke gave a deep hoarse sigh and yielded up the ghost, and was covered with a grey mantle and a straw cross laid on the top. For two hours he was left in this fashion, and then was given into the hands of the Sieur de Richelieu, Provost Marshal of France, who, by command of the King, had the body burned by the executioner in the first chamber at the bottom, on the right hand as you enter the castle, and afterwards the ashes thrown into the river."

Accounts of the deaths of MM. the Duke and the Cardinal de Guise, by the Sieur Miron, physician of the King Henri III., 45th vol. of the "Collection of Memoirs;" "l'Etoile," same vol.; "Palma Cayet," xxxviii., and Sully, vol. i. pp. 100-106.

On the Barricades, see the same Memoirs, and especially the *procès verbal* of Nicolas Poulain, Provost Lieutenant of the Isle of France, vol. xv.

by the Inquisitors were exhibited at the doors of the churches. The Queen appeared on horseback before her troops at Tilbury, and promised to die for her people. But the strength of England lay in her fleet. The greatest sailors of the age, Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, were serving under Admiral Howard. The little English ships harassed the Spanish fleet, which had already suffered much from the elements; it was thrown into disorder by their fire-ships, while the Prince of Parma was not able to sail out of the port of Flanders; and the remains of this formidable Armada, driven by storms along the coast of Scotland and Ireland, returned to hide themselves in the harbors of Spain.

The remainder of Elizabeth's life was a continued triumph: she baffled the attempts of Philip II. on Ireland, and followed up her victories on all seas. The enthusiasm of Europe, excited by so much success, took the most flattering of all forms for a woman, that of an ingenious gallantry. The Queen's age, fifty-five, was forgotten. Henri IV. declared to the English ambassador that he thought her handsomer than Gabrielle d'Estrées. Shakespeare spoke of her as the "fair vestal, throned in the West;" but no homage was more grateful to her than that of the gifted Walter Raleigh and the young and brilliant Earl of Essex. The former made his fortune by throwing his mantle, the most costly which he then possessed, under the feet of the Queen, who was stepping over a dirty road; while Essex captivated her by his heroism. In spite of her orders, he escaped from the Court to take part in the Cadiz expedition; he was the first to land, and, if he had been listened to, Cadiz might, perhaps, have remained in the possession of England. His ingratitude and tragical end were the only reverses which saddened the last days of Elizabeth.

Section II.—To the Death of Henri IV.

Philip II., repulsed by the Netherlands and England, turned all his forces against France. The brother of Guise, the Duc de Mayenne, possessed of equal talent, but less popular, had not sufficient influence to balance the gold and intrigues of Spain.

As soon as the news of the death of Guise reached Paris, the people put on mourning, and the preachers thundered; the churches were hung with black, and on the altars were placed waxen images of the King, which were pierced with needles. Mayenne was created chief of the League; the States placed the Government in the hands of forty persons. Bussi-Leclerc, who from a fencing-master had become governor of the Bastille, imprisoned there half the Parliament. Henri III. had no other resource than to throw himself into the arms of the King of Navarre; and they besieged Paris together. They were en-

camping at St. Cloud, when a young monk named Clement struck Henri III. with a knife in the bowels. The Duchess of Montpensier, sister of the Duke of Guise, who was expecting this news on the road, was the first to carry it, almost distracted with joy, to Paris.

The image of Clement was exhibited in the churches for adoration; his mother, a poor peasant from Burgundy, came to Paris, and a crowd went out to meet her, crying: "Blessed is the womb that bore thee and the paps which thou hast sucked" [1589].

Henri IV., abandoned for the most part by the Catholics, was soon severely pressed by Mayenne, who made sure of bringing him with his hands and feet bound into Paris. Already windows were hired to see him pass. But Mayenne had to do with an adversary who never slept, and "who wore out," as the Prince of Parma said, "more boots than slippers."[e] He awaited Mayenne near Arques, in Normandy, and held 30,000 men at bay with 3,000. Then Henri, strengthened by a crowd of nobles, came in his turn to attack Paris, and pillaged the Faubourg St. Germain. In the following year [1590] he was again victorious at Ivry on the Eure over Mayenne and the Spaniards. His address to his soldiers before the battle is well known. "My friends, if you share my fortunes, I also share yours. I will either conquer or die. I beg of you to keep well in line, and, if you should lose your standards, rally round my white plume; you will always find it in the path of honor and victory!" (Péréfixe). From Ivry he came to blockade Paris. That unhappy town, a prey to the violence of the "Sixteen" (*faction des Seize*), and the tyranny of the Spanish soldiers, was reduced by famine to the last extremity; bread was made of dead men's bones, mothers ate their children. The Parisians, oppressed by their defenders, found mercy only in the Prince who was besieging them. He allowed a great many useless mouths to pass out. "Must I then feed them?" said he. "Paris must not become a graveyard; I do not want to reign over the dead. I am like the real mother in Solomon's judgment. I had rather never possess Paris at all than have her torn in pieces." Paris was not delivered until the arrival of the Prince of Parma, whose skilful manœuvres forced Henri IV. to raise the siege, and who then fell back on the Netherlands.

The party of the League, however, grew weaker every day. It had been bound together by hatred of the King; it prepared its own dissolution by assassinating Henri III. It was divided into two principal factions: that of the Guises, supported chiefly by the nobles and the Parliament, and that of Spain, sustained by obscure demagogues. The latter, concentrated in the larger

[e] "Satire Ménippée," 1712, p. 49. The Duke of Mayenne was fat, and a heavy sleeper.

towns, and without military spirit, distinguished itself by persecuting the magistrates [1589—1591]; Mayenne repressed it, but at the same time deprived the League of its democratic energy. The Guises, however, twice beaten, twice blockaded in Paris, could not maintain their position without the help of the very Spaniards whose agents they proscribed. Dissensions burst out at the meeting of the States-General in Paris [1593], where the pretensions of Philip II. were foiled by Mayenne, but not to his own advantage. The League, virtually dissolved from this moment, lost its ground of existence by the abjuration, and especially by the absolution, of Henri IV. [1593—1595], and its principal stronghold by the entry of the King into the capital [1594]. He forgave everybody, and on the same evening that he entered Paris played cards with Madame de Montpensier. Henceforth the League was simply ridiculous, and the Satire Ménippée gave it the last blow. Henri redeemed his kingdom bit by bit from the hands of the nobles, who were dividing it among themselves.

In 1595 civil war made way for foreign war. The King turned the military ardor of the nation against Spain. In the memorable year 1598, Philip II. at length gave way; all his projects had failed, his resources were exhausted, his fleet almost destroyed. He renounced his pretensions on France by the Peace of Vervins, which he concluded with Henri [May 2nd], and transferred the Netherlands to his daughter [May 6th]. Elizabeth and the United Provinces were alarmed at Peace of Vervins, and drew closer together; but Henri IV. had perceived with more sagacity that there was nothing more to fear from Philip II., who died on the thirteenth of September. The King of France terminated his internal troubles at the same time as his foreign wars, by granting religious toleration and political guarantees to the Protestants (Edict of Nantes, April).

The situation of the belligerent powers after these long wars presented a striking contrast. The master of the two Indies was ruined. The exhaustion of Spain only increased under the reign of the Cardinal Duke of Lerma and the Duke of Olivarès, favorites of Philip III. and Philip IV. As Spain no longer produced merchandise to exchange for the precious metals of America, she was no longer enriched by them. Of all America's importations a twentieth part was the most that was manufactured in Spain. At Seville the 1,600 looms which manufactured wool and silk in 1536 were reduced in 1621 to 400. In one and the same year [1621] Spain drove away a million of industrious subjects (the Moors from Valencia), and was forced to grant a truce of twelve years to the United Provinces.

On the other hand, France, England, and the United Provinces had grown rapidly in population, wealth, and importance.

From 1595 Philip II., by closing the port of Lisbon against the Dutch, obliged them to obtain Eastern commodities from India, and to found there an empire on the ruins of the Portuguese. The republic was troubled within by the quarrels of the Stadholder, and of the Syndic (Maurice of Orange and Barneveldt), by the struggle between military power and civil liberty, between the war and the peace parties (Gomarists and Armenians); but the necessity for national defence assured the victory to the former of the two parties. The victory cost the venerable Barneveldt his life; he was beheaded at seventy years of age [1619].

After the expiration of the twelve years' truce, the war became no longer a civil war, but a regular strategical war, a school for all the soldiers in Europe. The skill of the Spanish general, the celebrated Spinola, was balanced by that of Prince Frederick Henry, the brother and successor of Maurice.

France, however, rose from her ruins under Henri IV. In spite of the foibles of this great King, in spite even of the blunders, which an attentive examination may discover, in his reign, he nevertheless deserved the title to which he aspired, that of Restorer of France.[f] "He made every endeavor to embellish and render prosperous the kingdom he had conquered; he discharged superfluous troops; in the finances order succeeded to the most odious system of pillage; he gradually paid all the debts of the Crown, without grinding the people. To this day the peasants repeat his saying, that he 'wanted each of his subjects to have a fowl in the pot every Sunday,' a paternal sentiment, trivially expressed. It was very admirable that, in spite of plunder and exhaustion, he was able in less than fifteen years to diminish the burden of the capitation-tax by four millions of francs; that all other taxes were diminished by one-half; and that he paid debts to the amount of a hundred millions of francs. He bought land to the value of 50,000,000 francs; all the fortresses were repaired, the magazines and arsenals filled, the high

[f] "If I wanted to gain the title of orator," he said in the Assembly of Notables at Rouen, "I should have learnt by heart some fine harangue, and have gravely pronounced it; but, gentlemen, my desires are raised to much more glorious titles, those of Liberator and Restorer of this State; as a means to which I have assembled you. You know, to your sorrow, as I do to mine, that when God called me to this throne, I found France not only, as one may say, in ruins, but almost lost to Frenchmen. By the Divine grace, by prayer, by the good counsels of such of my subjects as do not follow the profession of arms; by the swords of my brave and generous nobles (among whom, faith of a gentleman, I do not consider my Princes as the most distinguished); by my own struggles and endeavors, I have saved her from being utterly lost. Let us save her in this hour of ruin; participate, O my subjects! a second time with me in this glorious work as you did the first time. I have not called you together, as my predecessors did, that you might approve my intentions; I have assembled you to receive your counsels, to believe in them, and to follow them—in short, to put myself under your guardianship; a desire which is seldom experienced by kings, greybeards, or by conquerors. But the violent love I feel for my people, the extreme desire that I have to add two grand titles to that of king, makes everything easy and honorable to me. My Chancellor will explain my wishes to you in detail."

roads kept up: to the eternal glory of Sully and of the King who dared to choose a soldier to re-establish the finances of the empire, and who worked with his minister.

"Justice was reformed, and, what was much more difficult, the two religions lived peaceably side by side, at least in appearance. Agriculture was encouraged. 'Tillage and pasturage,' said Sully, 'these are the two paps which feed France; the real mines and treasures of Peru.' Commerce and art, although less encouraged by Sully, were still held in honor; the manufacture of gold and silver stuffs enriched Lyons and France. Henri established manufactories of high warp tapestry in wool and silk, enriched with gold; small mirrors in the Venetian taste became an article of manufacture. To him we owe the introduction of silkworms, and the cultivation of mulberry-trees, in spite of the remonstrance of Sully. Henri IV. dug the canal of Briare, which unites the Seine and the Loire. Paris was enlarged and embellished; he formed the Place Royale, and restored the bridges. The Faubourg St. Germain was not joined to the town, it was not paved; the King undertook everything. Under him was constructed the fine bridge, on which the people still contemplate his statue with tenderness. St. Germain, Monceau, Fontainebleau, and especially the Louvre were enlarged and almost entirely re-built. He gave apartments in the Louvre, under the long gallery, which was his own work, to artists of every kind, whom he encouraged as much by his presence as by rewards. Finally, he was the real founder of the Bibliothèque Royale. When Don Pedro of Toledo was sent by Philip III. as ambassador to Henri IV., he could scarcely recognize the town, which he had formerly seen so wretched, and so languishing. 'It is that the father was absent at that time,' said Henri; 'now, that he has the charge of his children, the family prospers.'" (Voltaire.)

France had become the arbiter of Europe. Thanks to her powerful intervention, the Pope and Venice were reconciled [1607]; Spain and the United Provinces at length ceased their long struggle [Truce of 1609]. Henri IV. was preparing to humiliate the house of Austria; if we may believe his minister, he meditated the foundation of perpetual peace and the substitution of a system of international law for the system of mere brute force which still governs the relations of the nations of Europe. All was ready, a numerous army, provisions of all kinds, the most formidable artillery in the world, and forty-two millions in the cellars of the Bastille. The stroke of a dagger saved the house of Austria. The nation suspected the Emperor, the King of Spain, the Queen of France, the Duke of Epernon, the Jesuits —all profited by the crime; but it is sufficiently explained by the fanaticism which pursued throughout his reign a Prince who

was always suspected of being a Protestant at heart, and of wishing to make his religion triumphant in Europe. His assassination had been attempted seventeen times before Ravaillac succeeded in accomplishing it.

"On Friday, May 14, 1610, sad and fatal day for France, the King, about ten in the morning, went to attend mass at the Feuillants; on his return he retired to his closet, where the Duke of Vendôme, his natural son, whom he greatly loved, came to tell him that one La Brosse, an astrologer, had informed him that the constellation under which his Majesty was born threatened him that day with a great danger; therefore, he warned him to be on his guard. To which the King replied, laughing, to M. de Vendôme: 'La Brosse is an old flyboots, who wants your money, and you are a young fool to believe him. Our days are numbered by God.' And on this the Duke of Vendôme went to warn the Queen, who entreated the King not to leave the Louvre that day. To whom he made the same answer.

"After dinner the King lay down on his bed to rest, but, not being able to sleep, he rose, full of anxious, melancholy thoughts, and, after walking about his room for some time, threw himself once more upon his bed. But, again, not being able to sleep, he got up and asked the officer of the guard what o'clock it was. The officer answered that it was 4 o'clock, and said: 'Sire, I see that your Majesty is sad and anxious; it would be better to take some air; it would raise your spirits.' 'That is well said,' replied the King. 'Order my carriage to be got ready, I will drive to the Arsenal, to see the Duke of Sully, who is unwell, and who is to take the bath to-day.'

"As soon as the carriage was ready, he left the Louvre, accompanied by the Duke of Montbazon, and the Duke of Epernon, Marshal Lavardin, Roquelaure, La Force, Mirabeau, and Liancourt, his first equerry. At the same time he charged the Sieur de Vitry, captain of his guard, to go to the palace and hasten the preparations which were being made for the entry of the Queen; and ordered his guards to remain at the Louvre. So that the King was followed only by a small number of gentlemen on horseback, and some valets on foot. Unfortunately, both doors of the carriage were open, because the weather was fine, and the King wished to see the preparations which were being made in the town. His carriage, in passing from the Rue St. Honoré into the Rue de la Ferronerie, found on one side a cart laden with wine, and on the other a cart laden with hay, which caused great embarrassment; he was forced to stop, because the street is very narrow there, on account of the shops, which are built against the wall of the cemetery of St. Innocent.

"During this delay a great many of the valets on foot passed through the cemetery, that they might run more easily, and

reach the end of the street before the King's carriage. Of the only two valets who remained beside the carriage, one had run forward to make way, and the other was stooping to fasten his garter, when a wretch come out of hell, called François Ravaillac, a native of Angoulême, who had had time during the confusion to notice on which side was the King, got upon the wheel of the carriage, and, with a knife sharpened on both sides, dealt him a blow between the second and third ribs, a little above the heart, which caused the King to cry: 'I am wounded!' But the wretch, undaunted, began again, and struck him a second time in the heart, of which the King died, without having time to do more than fetch a deep sigh. This second blow was followed by a third, so much did this parricide hate his King, but this reached only the sleeve of the Duke of Montbazon.

"Strange to say, not one of the gentlemen in the coach saw the King struck; and, if this infernal monster had thrown away his knife, no one would have known who had done it. But he remained on the spot, as if to exhibit himself, and to boast of this most horrible assassination."[g]

[g] "L'Etoile," vol. xlviii. pp. 447-450.

CHAPTER XI.

THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION.

TRIAL OF CHARLES AND ABOLITION OF THE MONARCHY, 1649.

When James I. succeeded to Elizabeth, the long reign of that Princess had exhausted the enthusiasm and the obedience of the nation.[a] The character of the new King was not calculated to efface this impression. England beheld with a jealous eye a Scottish King, surrounded by Scotchmen, belonging, through his mother, to the house of Guise; more versed in theology than in politics,[b] and turning pale at the sight of a sword. Everything about him was displeasing to the English; his imprudent declaration in favor of the divine right of Kings, his project for the union of England and Scotland, and his tolerance towards the Catholics, who conspired against him [Gunpowder Plot, 1605]. On the other hand, Scotland was not better pleased with his attempt to impose upon her the Anglican form of worship. James I., in the hands of his favorites, made himself by his prodigality dependent on the Parliament, which at the same time he irritated by the contrast between his weakness and pretensions.

Elizabeth's glory had consisted in raising England in her own estimation; the misfortune of the Stuarts lay in humiliating her. James gave up the part which his predecessor had played of the enemy of Spain and chief of the Protestants in Europe. He did not declare war with Spain until 1625, and then in spite of his own wishes. He married his son to a Catholic Princess (Henrietta of France).

On the accession of Charles I. [1625], the King and the people did not themselves know how strange they already were to each other. While the monarchical power triumphed on the Continent, the Commons had acquired an importance in England which was irreconcilable with the ancient form of government. The abasement of the nobles under the Tudors, the division of

a If this chapter has any interest, it owes it in a great measure to the works of Guizot and Villemain, from which I have extracted and often copied. I have found also valuable information in M. Mazure's account, although the subject of his book is in general foreign to that of this chapter. ("History of the Revolution of 1688.)

b Henri IV. called him "Maitre Jacques."

property, the sale of ecclesiastical estates, had enriched and emboldened the mass of the people by teaching them their own strength. They sought for political guarantees. The institutions which could afford them already existed; they had been respected by the Tudors, who used them as instruments of their own despotism. But a mainspring was wanted as powerful as religion to restore life to these institutions. The Presbyterian party, the enemy from the first of the moderate Reformation which had been brought about in England, found the throne an obstacle between itself and episcopacy, so the throne was attacked.

The first Parliament of Charles endeavored, by stopping the supplies, to obtain the redressal of public grievances [1625]. The second accused as the author of them the King's favorite, the Duke of Buckingham [1626]. During the session of these two Parliaments, the unfortunate wars with France and Spain deprived the Government of all remains of popularity, although the latter war had been undertaken for the sake of the Protestants and the deliverance of La Rochelle (defeat of Buckingham in the Isle of Rhé, 1627). The third Parliament, adjourning all discussions, demanded in the "Petition of Right" an explicit sanction of those public liberties, which were recognized sixty years afterwards in the "Declaration of Right." Charles, finding all his demands rejected, made peace with France and Spain, and tried to govern without convoking a Parliament [1630—1638].

He no longer expected to find any resistance. His only difficulty was to reconcile the two parties, who were quarrelling for the control of the despotism he had set up, the Queen and the ministers, the court and the council. The Earl of Strafford and Archbishop Laud, who at least wanted to govern in the general interests of the King, were hurried into a number of violent and vexatious measures. Most commodities were burthened with monopolies; illegal taxes were enforced by servile judges and extraordinary tribunals; excessive punishments were inflicted for mere misdemeanors. The government, ill-supported by the high aristocracy, turned to the Anglican clergy, who gradually invaded the province of civil power. The nonconformists were persecuted. A band of them who could no longer endure so odious a government crossed over to America.

Public indignation burst forth on the occasion of the trial of John Hampden, who chose to be imprisoned rather than pay an illegal tax of 20 shillings. A month after his condemnation the Bishop of Edinburgh, having tried to introduce the new Anglican liturgy in a church of that town, a frightful tumult took place; the bishop was insulted, and the magistrates driven off. The Scotch swore a "covenant" by which they engaged them-

selves to defend against all dangers the sovereign, the religion, the laws, and the liberties of the country. Messengers carried the covenant from village to village into the most distant quarters of the kingdom, just as the burning cross had been formerly carried into the mountains to call all the vassals of a Highland chief to war. The covenanters asked for arms and money from Cardinal Richelieu; and the English army, having refused to fight against its "brothers in religion," the King was obliged to put himself at the mercy of a fifth Parliament [the Long Parliament, 1640].

The new assembly, which had so much to avenge, persecuted eagerly all the ministers of the past tyrant, or, as they were called, "delinquents," especially Strafford, who had irritated the nation less by his real crimes than by the violence of an imperious character. He himself begged the King to sign the bill for his condemnation, and Charles had the deplorable weakness to consent. The Parliament took possession of the government, directed the expenditure of subsidies, reversed the judgments of the tribunals, and disarmed the royal authority by extorting the King's consent to its own indissolubility. A frightful massacre of the Protestants in Ireland gave Parliament the opportunity of seizing the military power; the Irish Catholics rose at this moment in every direction against the English who were established among them, and put their tyrants to the sword in the Queen's name, showing a false commission from the King. Charles, annoyed past bearing by a threatening remonstrance, repaired in person to the House of Commons to arrest five of the members. He failed in this *coup d'état*, and left London to enter upon civil war [January 11, 1642].[c]

The Parliamentary party had the advantage in numbers and enthusiasm; it held the capital, the large towns, the ports, and the fleet. The King retained the majority of the nobles, who were more accustomed to arms than the Parliamentary troops. In the Northern and Western counties the royalists prevailed; the parliamentarians in the Southern, the midland, and the Eastern—the richest and most populous. The latter counties, which join on each other, formed a girdle round London.

The King soon marched on the capital, but the indecisive battle of Edgehill saved the parliamentary party. They had leisure to organize themselves. Colonel Cromwell formed, in the Eastern counties, squadrons of volunteers, whose religious enthusiasm balanced the spirit of honor which animated the royalist cavaliers.

The Parliament conquered again at Newbury, and united with

[c] The Queen asked for an asylum in France. "Answer to the Queen," wrote Cardinal Richelieu to the French minister, "that on these occasions, he who leaves his place at the table, loses the same." (Mazure, Pièces Justificatives.)

Scotland in a solemn covenant [1643]. The King's understanding with the Highlanders and the Irish Catholics hastened this unexpected union between two countries hitherto hostile. It was asserted that a great many Irish Catholics were among the troops recalled from that island by the King; and that even women, armed with long knives and savagely accoutred, had been seen in their ranks. The Long Parliament would receive no letters from the rival Parliament which the King assembled at Oxford, and it pushed on the war with renewed vigor. Enthusiasm was carried to such lengths by some families that they deprived themselves of a meal a week and gave the value of it to Parliament; an ordinance converted this offer into a forced tax on all the inhabitants of London and its environs. Prince Rupert, the King's nephew, was defeated at Marston Moor after a desperate struggle, by the invincible obstinacy of the "saints" of the parliamentary army and Cromwell's soldiers, who received upon the field of battle the surname of Ironsides. The King lost York and all the North. The Queen escaped into France [1644].

At one moment this disaster seemed to have been repaired. In Cornwall the King forced the parliamentary general, the Earl of Essex, to capitulate. Bands of Irish soldiers had disembarked on the coast of Scotland, and Montrose, one of the bravest of the cavaliers, appearing suddenly in their camp in Highland costume, roused the Northern clans, gained two battles, and scattered terror up to the very walls of Edinburgh. The King marched on London; the people shut their shops, prayed, and fasted, when suddenly they heard that Charles had been defeated for the second time at Newbury. The parliamentary troops did wonders in this battle; when they saw the guns which they had formerly lost in Cornwall, they flung themselves upon the royal batteries, seized their pieces, and brought them back embracing them with tears of joy.

Misunderstandings now broke out among the conquerors. Power passed from the hands of the Presbyterians into those of the Independents. The latter party numbered in its ranks enthusiasts, philosophers, and libertines, but it derived its unity from one principle which all of these held—that of liberty of conscience. In spite of their crimes and their visions, this principle gave them the victory over less energetic and consistent adversaries. While the Presbyterians thought that they were preparing peace by useless negotiations with the King, the Independents seized the management of the war. Cromwell declared that the generals protracted it on purpose, and the Parliament, influenced either by public spirit or the fear of losing popularity, enacted the "self-denying ordinance," and excluded its own members from all civil and military employment.

Cromwell found means, by fresh successes, of exempting himself from the general rule, and the Independents defeated the royal army at Naseby, near Northampton. The papers of the King, found after the victory and read publicly in London, proved that, in spite of his protestations, a thousand times repeated, he had invited foreigners, and especially Irish Catholics, to his aid. At the same time Montrose, abandoned by the Highlanders, who fled to their homes with their booty, was surprised and defeated. Prince Rupert, until that time famous for his impetuous courage, gave up Bristol on the first summons. The King wandered for a long time from town to town, and from house to house, continually changing his disguise; he halted for a moment on Harrow hill, deliberating whether he should return to his capital, which he could see in the distance. At length he took refuge, more from weariness than choice, in the Scottish camp, in which the French minister had promised him protection, but where he soon found himself a prisoner. His hosts spared him no humiliation. A Scotch minister preaching before him at Newcastle gave out the following psalm to be sung by the congregation:

> "Why dost thou, tyrant, boast thyself,
> Thy wicked deeds to praise?"

On which the King stood up, and commenced singing the psalm which begins with these words:

> "Have mercy, Lord, on me, I pray,
> For men would me devour,"

and, with one consent, the whole congregation joined with him. Nevertheless, the Scotch, who despaired of making him accept the covenant, delivered him to the English, who offered to pay their war-expenses.

The unhappy Prince was no longer anything better than an instrument, whose possession was quarrelled for by the Independents and Presbyterians until they destroyed it. The misunderstanding between the Parliament and the army increased. The King was withdrawn from the custody of the parliamentary commissioners, and, without any orders on the part of the commander-in-chief, Fairfax, he was carried off by command of Cromwell to the army.

A reaction, however, took place in favor of the King. Bands of citizens and apprentices, of discharged officers and sailors, forced the doors of Westminster Hall and obliged the members to vote for the return of the King. But sixty of them took refuge with the army, which at once marched upon London. Its entry into the capital was the triumph of the Independents. Cromwell, seeing the Presbyterians eclipsed, and fearing his

own party, hesitated a moment whether he should not work for the re-establishment of the King. But, seeing that it was impossible to trust Charles, his views became more ambitious, and he conceived the design of withdrawing the King from the army as he had carried him off from the Parliament. Charles, alarmed by threatening notices, escaped into the Isle of Wight, where he found himself at the mercy of Cromwell.

The ruin of the King sealed Cromwell's reconciliation with the republicans. He had been obliged to repress in the army the anarchical faction of Levellers; he had seized one of them in the middle of a regiment, and had at once condemned and executed him in the presence of the army; but he had taken care not to break forever with so powerful a party.

He regained his influence over them by beating the Scotch, whose army came to assist in the reaction in the King's favor. The English Parliament, frightened by a victory which was so rapid and likely to turn to the advantage of the Independents, hastened once more to negotiate with the King. While Charles was disputing with its commissioners and loyally rejecting the means of escape which his servants prepared for him, the army carried him off from the Isle of Wight, and purged the Parliament. Colonel Pride, with a list of the proscribed members in his hand, stood at the door of the House, at the head of two regiments, and excluded with violence those who attempted to enter. Henceforth the party of the Independents was supreme, and the enthusiasm of the fanatics reached its height.

The King was brought before a court presided over by John Bradshaw, a cousin of Milton. In spite of the opposition of several members, among whom was the young and virtuous Sidney; in spite of the remonstrances of Charles, who maintained that the House of Commons could not exercise parliamentary authority without the concurrence of the King and the peers; in spite of the intervention of the Scotch commissioners, and of the ambassadors from the States-General, the King was condemned to death. When the charge was read representing that Charles Stuart was brought there to answer to an accusation of treason, and other such crimes, presented against him in the name of the people of England, "Not a tenth part of them,' cried a voice; "where are the people? where is their consent? Oliver Cromwell is a traitor."

A thrill passed through the assembly; every eye was turned to the gallery. "Down with the women," cried Colonel Axtell; "Soldiers, fire upon them!" Lady Fairfax was recognized as the speaker.

Before, as well as after, the sentence, the court refused to hear the King; he was dragged from the chamber amid the insults of the soldiers, and cries of "justice! execution!" When the death-

warrant had to be signed, there was great difficulty in collecting the commissioners. Cromwell, almost the only one who was gay, bold, and noisy, behaved with his usual buffoonery; after being the third to sign, he splashed with ink the face of Henry Martyn, who was sitting next to him, and who at once played him a similar trick. At last fifty-nine signatures were obtained, some of the names so ill-written, either from indecision, or on purpose, that it was almost impossible to decipher them.

The scaffold had been raised against a window in Whitehall. The King, after blessing his children, walked firmly towards it, with head erect, outstepping the soldiers who guarded him. Many of the bystanders dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood. Cromwell desired to see the body after it had been placed in the coffin. He considered it attentively, and raised the head with his hand, as if to make sure that it was severed from the trunk, observing: "How sound the body was, and how well made for longevity."

The House of Lords was abolished two days afterwards. A great seal was engraved, with this legend: "In the first year of freedom, by God's blessing, restored, 1648."*d*

d Old style. This date corresponds with February 9, 1649.

CHAPTER XII.

THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

THE LAST STRUGGLE OF THE REFORMATION, 1618—1648.

The Thirty Years' War was the last struggle which marked the progress of the Reformation. This war, whose direction and object were equally undetermined, may be divided into four distinct portions, in which the Elector Palatine, Denmark, Sweden, and France played in succession the principal part. It became more and more complicated, until it spread over the whole of Europe.

It was prolonged indefinitely by various causes. I. The intimate union between the two branches of the house of Austria and of the Catholic party—their opponents, on the other hand, were not homogeneous. II. The inaction of England, the tardy intervention of France, the poverty of Denmark and Sweden, etc.

The armies which took part in the Thirty Years' War were no longer feudal militias; they were permanent armies, although their sovereigns were incapable of supporting them. They lived at the expense of the countries which they laid waste. The ruined peasant turned soldier and sold himself to the first comer. The war, as it continued, formed armies which belonged to no country; an immense military force which spread over all Germany, and encouraged the most gigantic projects both in Princes and private individuals.

Germany once more became the centre of European politics. The first struggle between the Reformation and the house of Austria was renewed there after an interval of sixty years. Every power took part in it.

The natural result would have been to alter the face of all Europe; only one important change, however, can be perceived: France succeeded to the supremacy of the house of Austria; but the influence of the Reformation diminished from this period, and the Treaty of Westphalia introduced a new era.

Whether from fear of the Turks, or from the personal moderation ot its Princes, the German branch of the house of Austria followed, in the latter half of the sixteenth century, a policy which was entirely opposed to that of Philip II. The tolerance of

Ferdinand I. and of Maximilian II. favored the progress of Protestantism in Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary; Maximilian was even suspected of being a Protestant at heart [1555—1576]. The feeble Rudolph II., who succeeded him, possessed neither his talent nor his moderation. While he shut himself up with Tycho Brahe to study astrology and alchemy, the Protestants of Hungary, Austria, and Bohemia made common cause. Rudolph's brother, the Archduke Matthias, favored them, and forced the Emperor to yield to him Austria and Hungary [1607—1609].

The Empire was as much disturbed as the hereditary States of the house of Austria. Aix-la-Chapelle and Donauwörth, where the Protestants were masters, were placed under the ban of the Empire. The Elector-Archbishop of Cologne, who wished to secularize his States, was dispossessed. The succession to Cleves and Juliers, which came into question at this time, complicated still further the situation of Germany. Protestant and Catholic Princes, the Elector of Brandenburg, the Duke of Neuburg, the Duke of Zweibrücken, and others besides, pretended to it. The Empire was split up into two leagues. Henry IV., who favored the Protestants, was about to enter Germany and take advantage of the state of affairs to humiliate the house of Austria, when he was assassinated [1610]. The Thirty Years' War was none the less terrible for being postponed.

Matthias, after obliging Rudolph to give up Bohemia to him, succeeded him in the Empire [1612—1619], and also in all the difficulties of his position. The Spaniards and the Dutch occupied the duchies of Cleves and of Juliers. The Bohemians, led by the Count of Thurn, rose in defence of their religion. Thurn, at the head of some deputies from the estates of Bohemia, marched into the council-chamber, and the four imperial commissioners were thrown into the ditch of the castle of Prague [1618]. The Bohemians pretended that it was an ancient custom in their country to throw prevaricating ministers out of the window. They raised troops, and, not choosing to recognize the pupil of the Jesuits, Ferdinand II. of Austria, as the successor to Matthias, they gave their crown to Frederick V., the Elector Palatine, son-in-law of the King of England and nephew of the Stadholder of Holland. At the same time the Hungarians, equally rejecting Ferdinand, elected for their King the Waiwode of Transylvania, Bethlem Gabor. Ferdinand, besieged for a short time in Vienna by the Bohemians, was supported by the Duke of Bavaria, by the Catholic League in Germany, and by Spain. Frederick, who was a Calvinist, was abandoned by the Lutheran Union; while James I. of England, his father-in-law, contented himself with negotiating in his favor. Attacked in the very capital of Bohemia, he lost the battle of Prague through his own negli-

gence or cowardice. He was dining quietly in the castle, while his soldiers were dying for him in the plain [1621]. In spite of the bravery of Mansfeld, and other partisans, who ravaged Germany in his name, he was driven out of the Palatinate; the Protestant Union was dissolved, and the electoral dignity of the Palatine transferred to the Duke of Bavaria.

Danish period, 1625—1629.—The States of Lower Saxony, threatened by the Emperor with a speedy restitution of the ecclesiastical property they had confiscated, called to the assistance of Germany those Northern Princes who shared their religious interests. The young King of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus, was at this time occupied by a glorious war against Poland, the ally of Austria. The King of Denmark, Christian IV., undertook the defence of Saxony. In this new war, Ferdinand II. wished not to depend upon the Catholic League, of which the Duke of Bavaria was chief, and whose troops were commanded by the celebrated Tilly. Count Wallenstein, an officer of the Emperor, offered to raise an army for him, if he might be allowed to carry it to 50,000 men. He kept his word. All the adventurers who wanted to live by pillage flocked round him, and he laid down the law equally to the friends and to the enemies of the Emperor. Christian IV. was beaten at Lutter. Wallenstein subdued Pomerania, and received from the Emperor the possessions of the two Dukes of Mecklenburgh, and the title of General of the Baltic. If the Swedes had not thrown some succors into the fortress, he would have taken the strong town of Stralsund [1628]. All the North trembled. In order to divide his enemies, the Emperor granted an humiliating peace to Denmark [1629]. He ordered the Protestants to restore all the ecclesiastical estates secularized since 1555. Then Wallenstein's army fell once more upon Germany, and trampled upon her without restraint; many States were taxed with enormous contributions; the distress of the inhabitants was extreme; some of them disinterred the dead to satisfy their hunger; dead bodies were found with their mouths still full of raw weeds.

Germany was rescued by Sweden and France. Cardinal Richelieu freed the hands of the Swedes by arranging for them a peace with Poland. He disarmed the Emperor by persuading him that he would not be able to secure the election of his son as King of the Romans, unless he sacrificed Wallenstein to the resentment of Germany. And as soon as the Emperor was deprived of his best general, Gustavus Adolphus fell upon the Empire [1630].

Ferdinand II. at first was not much disturbed; he said that the "Snow King" would melt as he penetrated into the South. As yet the world knew not the worth of those men of iron—that heroic and pious army—as compared with the mercenary troops

of Germany. A little while after the arrival of Gustavus, Torquato Conti, one of the Emperor's generals, on asking for a truce on account of the severe cold, received as an answer from Gustavus that the Swedes knew not what winter meant. The conqueror's genius disconcerted the German routine by an impetuous system of tactics, which sacrificed everything to the rapidity of movement, and was prodigal of life in order to shorten war. His plan was to make himself master of the strong places along the principal rivers, to render Sweden safe by closing the Baltic to the Imperialists, to detach all their allies, and to surround Austria before attacking her. If he had marched straight upon Vienna, Germany would have regarded him as a foreign conqueror; by driving out the Imperialists from the Northern and Western States, which they were crushing, he appeared in the light of a champion of the Empire against the Emperor. Tilly, who first encountered him, could not stop the torrent; he only drew down the execration of Europe on the armies of the Empire by the sack of Magdeburg. Saxony and Brandenburg, which would have liked to remain neutral, were drawn into the alliance with Gustavus by the rapidity of his victories. He defeated Tilly at the bloody battle of Leipsic, in 1631. While the Saxons were preparing to attack Bohemia, he defeated the Duke of Lorraine, penetrated into Alsace, and subdued the electorates of Treves, Mayence, and the Rhine, which Richelieu would have allowed to remain neutral; but Gustavus would have either friends or enemies. Finally, Bavaria was invaded at the same time as Bohemia; Tilly died in defending the line of the Lech, and Austria was left unprotected on all sides.

Ferdinand was then obliged to have recourse to the proud general whom he had dismissed. For a long time Wallenstein had the Emperor and the Catholics at his feet; "He was too happy," he said, "in his retirement." His philosophical moderation could only be overcome by giving him power equal to that of the Emperor.

At this price he saved Bohemia, and marched upon Nuremberg to stop the progress of Gustavus. It was a grand spectacle for Europe to see these two invincible generals encamped for three months face to face, hesitating to make use of an opportunity which had been so long watched for. At length Wallenstein marched upon Saxony, and was joined near Lützen by the King of Sweden. Gustavus commenced the attack. After several charges, the King, deceived by the fog, threw himself in front of the enemy's ranks, and fell, struck by two balls. The Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, who afterwards joined the Imperialists, was behind him at the fatal moment, and was accused of his death. The buff jerkin worn by the Swedish hero was sent to Vienna [1632]. All Europe wept for Gustavus, but perhaps her

tears were out of place. He may have died at a moment which was fortunate for his renown. He had saved Germany, and had not had time to oppress her. He had not restored the Palatinate to the despoiled Elector; he intended Mayence for his Chancellor, Oxenstierna; he had manifested a liking for Augsburg, which would have become the seat of a new empire.

While the skilful Oxenstierna carried on the war, and declared himself at Heilbronn Chief of the League of the circles of Franconia, Swabia, and the Rhine, Wallenstein remained in Bohemia, in formidable inaction. It seemed as if Gustavus had been working in the interests of his rival when he subdued the imperial party throughout Germany. He had served him both by his victories and by his death. "Germany," said Wallenstein, "could not hold two such men as we were." After the death of Gustavus, he reigned alone. Secluded in his palace at Prague, with a royal retinue, surrounded by a crowd of adventurers who had attached themselves to his fortunes, he watched his opportunity. This terrible man, who never laughed, who addressed his soldiers only to make their fortunes or pronounce their death-warrant, commanded the attention of all Europe. The King of France called him his cousin, and Richelieu advised him to make himself King of Bohemia. It was time for the Emperor to come to a decision—he chose that of Henry III. with regard to the Duke of Guise. Wallenstein was assassinated at Egra, and Ferdinand, in memory of his former services, ordered 3,000 masses to be said for the benefit of his soul [1634].

The Elector of Saxony had, however, made peace with the Emperor, and the Swedes were not strong enough to maintain themselves unsupported in Germany. France, in her turn, had to come down into the field of battle.

French period, 1635—1648.—Richelieu, who at that time governed France, had found her abandoned to Spanish influence, disturbed by the Princes and the nobles, by the Queen-mother, by the Protestants (Government of Mary of Medicis, 1610—1617; of the favorite, the Duke de Luynes, 1617—1621). He adopted the system of Henri IV., with this difference, that he had no anterior obligation, no motive of gratitude to force him to keep terms with the Protestants. He took from them La Rochelle, by throwing across the sea a stone dyke more than half a mile long, as Alexander did at the siege of Tyre; he conquered, disarmed, and, nevertheless, reassured them [1627—1628].

His next measures were against the Princes and nobles. He turned the mother and brother of the King out of France, and struck off the heads of a Marillac and a Montmorency [1630—1632]. He had his own prison in his house at Ruel, where he caused his enemies to be condemned, and afterwards turned

their judges into ridicule. There remained for him only to gild these internal victories with the glory of foreign conquests [1635].

First he purchased Bernard of Weimar, the best pupil of Gustavus Adolphus, with his army. He allied himself with the Dutch to share the Spanish portion of the Low Countries, whilst at the other end of France he set himself to recover Roussillon; the alliance with the Duke of Savoy secured for him a passage into Italy. France gained more glory than solid advantage in Italy, for she was herself invaded at this time on the side of the Low Countries. But her allies, the Dutch, destroyed the Spanish fleet in the Battle of the Downs [1639]. Bernard of Weimar took the four forest towns (Waldshut, Luffemberg, Seckingen, and Rhineld), Fribourg, and Brisach, and gained four victories beneath their walls. He forgot that he had already sold his conquest to France, and was about to make himself independent when he died—as opportunely for Richelieu, as Wallenstein for Ferdinand.

Everything became easy for the French from the moment that the revolt of Catalonia and Portugal reduced Spain to a defensive war. The house of Braganza ascended the throne of Portugal with the applause of all Europe [1640]. The French, already victorious in Italy, took Arras and Thionville in the Netherlands. The great Condé gained the battle of Rocroy five days after the accession of Louis XIV.; a success which reassured France, deprived by death of Louis XIII. and Richelieu.

The war had then for the second time changed its character. To the fanaticism of Tilly and his master, Ferdinand II.; to the revolutionary genius of Wallenstein and Weimar, had succeeded skilful tacticians, such as Piccolomini and Merci, generals of the Emperor, and the pupils of Gustavus Adolphus, Banner, Torstenson, and Wrangel. As war had become a profession for so many, peace became more and more difficult. France, entirely occupied in securing her conquests of Lorraine and Alsace, refused to join Sweden against Austria. At one time Torstenson hoped to succeed without the assistance of France. This paralytic general, who astonished Europe with the rapidity of his movements, had renewed the glory of Gustavus Adolphus at Leipsic [1642]; in the Danes he had struck down the secret friends of the Emperor; an alliance with the Transylvanians permitted him to penetrate at length into Austria [1645]. The defection of the Transylvanians and the death of Torstenson saved the Emperor.

Negotiations, however, had been opened in 1636; and the accession of Ferdinand III. to the Empire appeared likely to favor them [1637]. Although the intervention of the Pope, of Venice, and of the Kings of Denmark, Poland, and England had been

rejected, the preliminaries of peace were signed in 1642. The death of Richelieu reawakened the hopes of the house of Austria, and postponed the peace.

The victories of Condé at Fribourg, Nordingen, and Lens [1644, 1645, 1648]; that of Turenne and the Swedes at Sommershausen, and finally the seizure of the Lesser Prague by Wrangel [1648], had to take place before the Emperor could make up his mind to sign the Treaty of Westphalia, after which the war continued only between France, Spain, and Portugal. Its principal articles were these:

I. The Peace of Augsburg [1555] was confirmed, and extended to the Calvinists.

II. The sovereignty of the different Germanic States in the whole extent of their territory was formally recognized, as well as their rights in the general diets of the empire. These rights were guaranteed, at home, by the composition of the Imperial Chambers and the Aulic Council, which were in future to be composed of equal numbers of Protestants and Catholics; abroad, by the mediation of France and Sweden.

III. Indemnities were granted to several States; and, in order to discharge them, many ecclesiastical possessions were secularized. France obtained Alsace, the Three Bishoprics, Philipsburg, and Pignerol—the keys of Germany and Piedmont. Sweden, part of Pomerania, Bremen, Werden, Wismar, etc.; three votes in the diets of the Empire, and five million crowns. The Elector of Brandenburg, Magdeburg, Halberstadt, etc. Saxony, Mecklenburg, and Hesse-Cassel were also indemnified.

IV. Frederick V.'s son recovered the lower Palatinate of the Rhine (the higher Palatinate remained Bavarian); an eighth Electorate was created in his favor.

V. The United Provinces were recognized as independent of Spain; the United Provinces and the Swiss Cantons as independent of the German Empire.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

GENERAL HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE EAST AND NORTH.

Section I.—Turkey, Hungary, 1566—1648.

The reign of Soliman the Magnificent had been the culminating point of Ottoman glory. Under him the Turks were as formidable on land as on sea; they entered into the politics of Europe by their alliance with France against the house of Austria. Soliman endeavored to give a system of legislation to his people; he collected the maxims and ordinances of his predecessors, filled up their deficiencies, and organized the civil service of the State. He embellished Constantinople by restoring the ancient aqueduct, whence the water flows into 800 fountains; he founded the Mosque Souleimanieh, which contains four colleges, a hospital for the poor, another for the sick, and a library containing 2,000 manuscripts. The Turkish language was ennobled by the admixture of Arabic and Persian; Soliman himself made verses in both languages. In his old age the Sultan was entirely governed by his wife, Roxelana, who induced him to put to death all the children of his first marriage. The Empire, exhausted by war, seemed to grow old with its Sultan under the influence of the Seraglio. Soliman prepared its decline by excluding the members of the imperial family from all military commands.

Under his indolent successor, Selim II. [1566—1574], the Turks took Cyprus from the Venetians, who were ill-seconded by Spain; but they were defeated in the Gulf of Lepanto by the combined fleets of Philip II., of Venice, and of the Pope, under the command of Don John of Austria. After this check, the Turks owned that God, who had given them the empire of the earth, had left that of the sea to the infidels.

Under Amurath III., Mahomet III., and Achmet I. [1574—1617], the Turks kept up with variable success long wars against the Persians and Hungarians. The janizaries, who had disturbed the reigns of these Princes with mutinies, put their suc-

cessors, Mustapha and Othoman, to death [1617—1623]. The Empire raised its head again under the intrepid Amurath IV., who occupied the turbulent spirit of the janizaries in foreign parts, took Bagdad, and intervened in the troubles of India. Under the imbecile, Ibrahim, the Turks, following the impulse given to them by Amurath, took Candia from the Venetians.

Hungary.—Since 1562 this kingdom had been divided between the house of Austria and the Turks. Continual wars arose in consequence of this partition. The sovereignty of Transylvania was another cause of war between Austria and the Porte. Hungary was not more tranquil at home. The Austrian Princes, hoping to increase their power by restoring uniformity in religion to Hungary, persecuted the Protestants and violated the privileges of the nation. The Hungarians rose under Rudolph II., Ferdinand II., and Ferdinand III.; and the Princes of Transylvania, Stephen Botschkai, Bethlem Gabor, George Ragocki, offered themselves successively as chiefs to the malcontents. By the pacification of Vienna [1606], and of Linz [1645]; by the decrees of the diets of Ædenbourg and of Presburg [1647], the Kings of Hungary were forced to grant the public exercise of their religion to the Protestants, and to respect the national privileges.

Section II.—Poland, Prussia, Russia, 1505—1648.

Poland overcame the Teutonic Order, a German power which had pushed Edward from Germany into the midst of the Sclavonian States, and was ill-supported by the Emperor; but, on the other hand, she neglected to protect the Bohemians and Hungarians in their revolts against Austria.

Close as were the relations of the two great nations of Sclavonic orgin with each other, neither had much to do with the Scandinavian States before the revolutions in Livonia entangled them in a common war, towards the middle of the sixteenth century. Livonia then became to the North of Europe what the Milanese had been to the South.

States of Poland and Russia in the first half of the sixteenth century.—Accession of Wasili IV., Ivanowitch [1505], and of Sigismund I. [1506]. The feeble Wasili had the imprudence to break with the Tartars of the Crimea, who had served Ivan III. so well; he accomplished the subjection of Plescof, and took Smolensk from the Lithuanians, but he was beaten by them in the same year [1514]. He allied himself with the Teutonic Order against the Poles, but could not prevent Prussia from submitting to Poland. The Grand Master, Albert of Brandenburg, embraced Lutheranism [1525], and turned Prussia into a secular state or duchy, which was granted to him in fief by Sigismund I.

1533.—Accession of Ivan IV. Wasiliewitch in Russia; 1548, of Sigismund II., surnamed Augustus, in Poland.

During the minority of Ivan IV., the power passed from the hands of the Regent Helena into those of several of the nobles, who supplanted each other in turn [1547]. Under the influence of the Czarina Anastasia, Ivan IV. at first moderated the violence of his character. He completed the subjection of the Tartars by the final annexation of Kasan, and by the conquest of Astrakan [1552—1554].

1552—1583. War in Livonia.—The Order of The Sword, which had vanquished the Russians in 1502, was independent of the Teutonic Order after 1521. But about this period all the Northern powers claimed Livonia. Ivan IV., having invaded her in 1558, the Grand Master Gotthard Kettler preferred to unite her to Poland by the Treaty of Wilna [1561], while creating himself Duke of Courland. The King of Denmark, Frederick II., who was master of the island of Œsel, and of some of the districts, and the King of Sweden, Eric XIV., who was invited by the town of Revel and the nobles of Esthonia, took part in this war, which was continued by land and on sea.

The Czar encountered two obstacles in his project of conquest—the jealousy of the Russians against foreigners, whom he himself preferred, and the fear which his cruelty inspired in the Livonians. He trampled upon all his subjects belonging either to the commercial classes, or to the nobility, who were capable of resisting him [1570], and afterwards invaded Livonia in the name of the King of Denmark's brother [1575]. But Poland and Sweden united against the Czar, who made peace with Poland, by giving up to her Livonia, and concluded a truce with Sweden, which retained possession of Carilia [1582—1583]. He died in 1584.

[Code of Ivan IV., 1550, containing a system of all the ancient laws. Gratuitous justice. All the holders of lands subjected to military service. Establishment of military pay. Institution of a permanent militia called the Strelitz.—Commerce with Tartary, Turkey, and Lithuania. The wars of Livonia and Lithuania closing the Baltic, the Russians could communicate with the rest of Europe only by sailing round Sweden, along the Northern ocean. 1555, the Englishman, Chancellor, sent by Queen Mary to discover a northern passage to India, lands on the spot on which Archangel was afterwards founded. Regular commerce between England and Russia until the civil wars in Russia, 1605. 1577—1581, discovery of Siberia.]

The dynasty of the Jagellons was extinguished in 1572, by the death of Sigismund Augustus; that of Rurik in 1598 by the death of the Czar Fedor I., son and successor of Ivan IV. From these two events resulted, directly or indirectly, two long and

bloody wars, which again set all the Northern powers at variance; the object of the one was the succession of Sweden; of the other, that of Russia. The former, which lasted sixty-seven years [1593—1660], was twice interrupted—first by the latter war [1609—1619], and afterwards by the Thirty Years' War [1629—1655].

The throne of Poland became purely elective. 1573—1575, Henri of Valois. He set foot in the kingdom only to sign the first *pacta conventa*. 1575—1587, Stephen Batthori, Prince of Transylvania. His accession put off the moment when Poland was to lose her importance. He restrained his own subjects [Dantzic and Riga, 1578—1586]; he humbled Russia and Denmark [1582—1585]. 1587, Sigismund III., son of John III., King of Sweden, elected King of Poland, found himself, on succeeding to his father's crown, in a difficult position. Sweden was Protestant; Poland Catholic; and both countries alike laid claim to Livonia. Sigismund's uncle (Charles IX.), chief of the Lutheran party in Sweden, prevailed over him by policy [1595], as well as by arms [1598]. Hence arose a war between the two nations, which continued until they made Russia their battlefield. The usurpation of Boris Godunow, and the imposture of several false claimants, who pretended to be heirs to the throne of Moscow, gave the Poles and Swedes hopes either of dismembering Russia, or of setting one of their own Princes on her throne. Their hopes were defeated. A Russian [1613—1645], Michael Federowitsch, founded the house of Romanow [1616—1618]; Russia ceded Ingria and Russian Carilia to Sweden, and the territories of Smolensko, of Tschernigow, and of Novorogod-Severkvi to Poland, and lost all communication with the Baltic.

1620—1629. War was renewed between Poland and Sweden until the period when Gustavus Adolphus took part in the Thirty Years' War. [1629, a truce of six years prolonged in 1635, for twenty-six years more.]

Sigismund III. and his successor, Ladislas VII. [1632—1648], sustained long wars against the Turks, the Russians, and the Cossacks of Ukraine.

Poland yielded to Sweden the position of chief power in the North; but she preserved her superiority over Russia, whose development had been retarded by civil war.

Prussia.—1563, Joachim II., Elector of Brandenburg, obtained from the King of Poland the joint investiture of the fief of Prussia. In 1618, on the death of the Prussian Duke Albert Frederick (son of Albert of Brandenburg), his son-in-law, the Elector of Brandenburg, John Sigismund, succeeded him in his duchy. 1614—1666, the electoral branch acquired likewise part of the succession to Juliers through the right of Anne, daughter

of the Duke of Prussia, Albert Frederick, and wife of John Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg. The son of the latter, Frederick William, founded the real greatness of Prussia.

Section III.—Denmark and Sweden.

In the sixteenth century these two States were each a prey to internal troubles, and carried on protracted wars, which developed their energies and prepared them for the Thirty Years' War. Sweden was already anticipating the heroic part which she sustained throughout the eighteenth century.

The lassitude of Denmark and the internal troubles of Sweden brought to an end in the peace of Stettin [1570] the long quarrel which had continued between the two kingdoms ever since the Union of Calmar. Denmark was at peace during the long reigns of Frederick II. [1559—1588], and of Christian IV., until the moment when the latter, who was more skilful as an administrator than as a general, compromised the tranquillity of Denmark, by attacking Gustavus Adolphus [1611—1613], and taking part in the Thirty Years' War [1625].

The unworthy son of Gustavus Vasa, Eric XIV. [1560], had been dispossessed by his brother, John III. [1560—1592], who undertook to re-establish the Catholic religion in Sweden. John's son, Sigismund, King of Sweden and Poland, was supplanted by his uncle, Charles IX. [1604], father of Gustavus Adolphus.

CHAPTER XIV.

EARLY DISCOVERIES.

COLONIES OF THE MODERN WORLD.

Section I.—The Motives of Colonization.

Principal motives which have induced modern nations to seek new countries, and to establish themselves in them.—1. A warlike and adventurous spirit—the desire of acquisition by means of conquest or pillage. 2. Commercial spirit—desire of acquisition by the legitimate means of trade. 3. Religious spirit—desire to convert idolatrous nations to the Christian faith, or to escape from religious troubles.

The foundations of the principal modern colonies was due to the five nations of the extreme West, who have successively obtained the empire of the sea; to the Portuguese and Spaniards (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries); to the Dutch and the French (seventeenth century); finally, to the English (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries). The Spanish colonists had, in the beginning, for their principal object, mining operations; the objects of the Portuguese were commerce, and raising money by means of tribute; the Dutch were essentially commercial, and the English both commercial and and agricultural.

The principal difference between the ancient and modern colonies is that the ancient were united to their mother-country only by the ties of relationship; the modern are considered always as the offspring of their parent, who forbade them in early times any intercourse with foreigners.

Direct results of the discoveries and establishments of modern colonies.—Commerce changed its form and direction. Commerce by sea was generally substituted for commerce by land; the whole of the trade of the world passed from the shores of the Mediterranean to the Western coasts. The indirect results are innumerable; one of the most remarkable was the development of the maritime powers.

Principal directions of Oriental commerce during the middle ages.—In the first half of the middle ages the Greeks carried on their commerce with India through Egypt, afterwards by the Euxine and Caspian seas; in the second half the Italians carried theirs through Syria and the Persian Gulf, and afterwards through Egypt.

Crusades.—Expeditions of Rubruquis, of Marco Polo, and John Mandeville, from the eleventh to the fourteenth century. In the beginning of the fourteenth century the Spaniards discovered the Canaries.

Section II.—Discoveries of the Portuguese, 1412—1582.

It was the destiny of the most Western nation in Europe to begin the series of discoveries which have extended European civilization throughout the world. The Portuguese, closely pressed by the power of Spain, and always at war with the Moors, from whom they had wrested their country, naturally turned their ambition towards Africa. After this Crusade, which lasted through several centuries, the ideas of the conquerors were extended; they conceived the project of seeking out new infidel nations to convert and subdue. A thousand ancient tales inflamed their curiosity, their bravery, and their avarice; they longed to see those mysterious countries which nature had filled with monsters, and in which gold lay like seed upon the ground. The infant Don Henry, the third son of John I., favored the enterprise of the nation. He passed his life at Sagra, near Cape St. Vincent, whence, with his eyes fixed on the Southern Seas, he directed the adventurous pilots who were the first to visit those unknown shores. Cape Horn, fatal boundary of the ancient navigators, had already been doubled; beyond it they discovered Madeira [1412—1413]. After doubling Cape Bajador and Cape de Verde, they found the Azores [1448], and the formidable line, where the air was supposed to burn like fire, was crossed. When they had penetrated beyond Senegal, they saw, with astonishment, that the men who were dark on the north bank became black on the south side of the river. When they reached Congo, they found a new heaven and new stars [1484]. But the spirit of enterprise was still more powerfully stimulated by the gold that was discovered in Guinea.

The stories of the ancient Phœnicians, who pretended to have sailed round Africa, were now no longer to be despised, and men hoped that by following the same route they might reach the East Indies. While King John II. sent two noblemen to India by land (Covillam and Payva), Bartholomew Diaz touched the promontory at the southern extremity of Africa, and called it the Cape of Storms; but the King, henceforth certain of discovering the route to the Indies, surnamed it the Cape of Good Hope [1486].

It was then that the discovery of the New World struck the Portuguese with astonishment, and redoubled their energy. But the two nations might have disputed for the empire of the sea,

recourse was therefore had to the mediation of the Pope. Alexander VI. divided the two New Worlds—all that lay to the east of the Azores was to belong to Portugal; and all that lay to the West was given to Spain. A line was traced across the globe which marked the limits of these reciprocal rights, and was called the line of demarcation. New discoveries soon displaced this line.

At length, the King of Portugal, Emmanuel the Fortunate, gave the command of a fleet to the famous Vasco da Gama [1497—1498]. He received from the Prince the account of Covillam's expedition; he took with him ten men who had been condemned to death, whose lives might be risked in an emergency, and who, by their daring, might earn their pardon. He spent a night in prayer in the chapel of the Virgin, and partook of the Holy Sacrament on the day before he set out. The people accompanied him in tears to the shore. A splendid convent has been founded on the spot whence Gama sailed.

The fleet was approaching the terrible cape, when the crew, frightened by the temptuous ocean and fearing famine, revolted against Gama. Nothing, however, could stop him; he put the leaders into irons, and, seizing the rudder, doubled the extremity of Africa. Still greater dangers awaited him on its eastern coast, which as yet had been visited by no European vessel. The Moors, to whom the commerce of Africa and India belonged, laid traps for these new comers, who came to share their spoil. But they were frightened by the Portuguese artillery; and Gama, crossing the gulf of 700 leagues which separates Africa from India, reached Calicut thirteen months after his departure from Lisbon.

On landing on these unknown shores, Vasco forbade his men to follow him, or to come to his rescue, if they learnt that he was in danger. In spite of the conspiracies of the Moors, he forced the alliance of Portugal on Zamora.

A new expedition soon followed on the heels of the first, under the orders of Alvarès Cabral. The admiral received a hat blessed by the Pope from the hands of the King. After passing the Cape de Verde, he stood out to sea, sailed to the West, and saw a new, rich, and fertile land—the reign of eternal spring; it was Brazil, the nearest point to Africa of the American Continent. There are only thirty degrees of longitude between this country and Mount Atlas; it was naturally the first to be discovered [1500].

1501—1515.—The ability of Cabral, of Gama, and of Almeida —the first Portuguese Viceroy in India—disconcerted the efforts of the Moors, set the natives at variance, and armed Cochin against Calicut and Cananor. In Africa, Quiloa and Sofala received their laws from the Europeans. But the principal founder

of the empire of the Portuguese in India was the brave Albuquerque; he took, at the entrance of the Persian Gulf, Ormuz, the most brilliant and polished town in Asia [1507]. The King of Persia, on whom it depended, asked the Portuguese to pay tribute; Albuquerque pointed to his cannon-balls and grenades: "This," said he to the ambassadors, "is the coin in which the King of Portugal pays tribute."

Venice, meanwhile, beheld the sources of her wealth drying up; for the route by Alexandria was beginning to be neglected. The Sultan of Egypt ceased to receive duty upon Eastern commodities. The Venetians, in league with him, sent to Alexandria planks for shipbuilding, which were transported to Suez, and thus enabled him to construct a fleet [1508], which, at first, obtained some advantages over the Portuguese, who were dispersed; but it was afterwards beaten, as well as the other expeditions which followed each other down the Red Sea. To prevent fresh attacks, Albuquerque proposed to the King of Abyssinia to turn the course of the Nile, a measure which would have changed Egypt into a desert. He made Goa the head-quarters of the Portuguese establishment in India [1510]. Their occupation of Malacca and Ceylon gave the Portuguese the dominion over the vast ocean of which the northern boundary is the Gulf of Bengal [1511—1518]. But the conqueror died in poverty and disgrace at Goa, and with him disappeared all justice and humanity among the Portuguese. Long after his death the Indians used to visit the tomb of the great Albuquerque, praying to be delivered from the oppressions of his successors.

The Portuguese, after introducing themselves into China and Japan [1517—1542], kept for some time the whole maritime commerce of Asia in their hands. Their empire extended to the coast of Guinea, Melinda, Mozambique, and Sofala; to those of the two peninsulas of India; to Malacca, Ceylon, and the islands of Sunda. But in all this vast extent of country they held only a chain of counting-houses and fortresses. The decline of their colonies was accelerated by various causes; (1) the distance of their conquests; (2) the scanty population of Portugal, out of proportion to the extent of her establishments, for the vanity of the nation prevented the fusion of conquerors and conquered; (3) the love for plunder, which was soon substituted for the spirit of commerce; (4) disorders in the administration; (5) crown monopolies; (6, and lastly) the Portuguese were satisfied with transporting merchandise to Lisbon, instead of distributing it over Europe. Sooner or later they were to be supplanted by more industrious rivals.

Their decline was retarded by two heroes, Juan de Castro [1545—1548] and Atäides [1568—1572]. The former had to fight the Indians and Turks united. The King of Cambay re-

ceived from Soliman the great engineers, foundries, and all the means of European warfare. Nevertheless, Castro succeeded in delivering the citadel of Diu, and held a triumph at Goa, after the fashion of the heroes of antiquity. He raised a loan in his own name from the citizens of Goa, and gave them his mustachios in pledge. He expired in the arms of St. Francis Xavier in 1548. Only three reals were found upon this man, who had handled all the treasures of India.

During the government of Atäides there was a general rising of the Indians against the Portuguese; he faced them all round, defeated the army of the King of Cambay, 100,000 strong; beat Zamora, and made him swear to have no more ships of war. Even while he was being pressed at Goa, he refused to abandon his more distant possessions, and despatched the vessels which carried every year the tributes of India to Lisbon.

After him everything declined rapidly. The division of its Indian possessions into three governments enfeebled still more the power of Portugal. After the death of Sebastian, and of his successor, the Cardinal Henry [1581], Portuguese India shared the fate of Portugal, and passed into the incompetent hands of the Spaniards [1582], until the Dutch came to relieve them from the cares of this vast empire.

CHAPTER XV.

DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

CONQUESTS AND ESTABLISHMENTS OF THE SPANIARD IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES.

"The discovery of America," says Voltaire, "is the greatest event which has ever taken place in this world of ours, one-half of which had hitherto been unknown to the other. All that until now appeared extraordinary, seems to disappear before this sort of new creation.

"Columbus, struck by the achievements of the Portuguese, conceived that something still greater might be effected, and, from the inspection of a map of this hemisphere, believed that there must be another, and that it would be discovered by sailing continually towards the West. His courage was equal to his ability, and it was tried to the uttermost by the necessity of combating the prejudices of the Princes of that time. His country, Genoa, treated him as a visionary, and lost the only opportunity which was offered her of distinction. Henry VII. of England, too fond of money to risk any in such a noble undertaking, would not listen to the brother of Columbus. Juan II., of Portugal, whose eyes were turned exclusively in the direction of Africa, refused to listen to Columbus. He could not address himself to France, where the navy was always neglected, and whose affairs were in the greatest possible confusion during the minority of Charles VIII. The Emperor Maximilian had neither harbors for a fleet, money to equip one, nor sufficient magnanimity for such an enterprise. Venice might have undertaken it, but whether it was that the aversion of the Genoese to the Venetians prevented Columbus from addressing himself to the rival of his country, or that Venice could imagine nothing greater than her commerce with Alexandria and the Levant, the only hope of Columbus was in Spain. However, it was not until after spending eight years in solicitations that the Court of Isabella consented to accept the benefit which the Genoese citizen wished to confer upon her. The Spanish Court was poor; the Prior Perez and two merchants called Pinzone were obliged to advance 17,000 ducats to defray the expenses of the expedition. Colum-

bus received a patent from the Court and sailed at length from the port of Palos, in Andalusia, with three small vessels and the empty title of Admiral.

"From the Canaries, where he anchored, he took only thirty-three days to discover the first American island [October 12, 1492]; and during this short voyage he had to bear more murmurs on the part of his crew than he had borne refusals from the sovereigns of Europe. This island, about a thousand leagues from the Canaries, was called San Salvador; immediately afterwards he discovered the other islands, Lucayès, Cuba, and Hispaniola, now called St. Domingo. Ferdinand and Isabella were greatly surpised at seeing him return, seven months afterwards, with Americans from Hispaniola, as well as some of the curiosities of the country, especially gold, with which he presented them. The King and Queen made him sit down covered in their presence, like a grandee of Spain; they named him chief Admiral and Viceroy of the New World. He was treated everywhere as an exceptional being, a man sent from God. Then every one wanted to share in his enterprise, to embark under his flag. He set sail again with a fleet of seventeen vessels [1493] He found more new islands, the Antilles and Jamaica. Admiration had succeeded to distrust on the occasion of his first voyage; but envy took the place of admiration on his return from the second.

"He was Admiral, Viceroy, and might add to his titles that of the benefactor of Ferdinand and Isabella. Nevertheless, the judges who had actually been sent with the fleet to watch over his conduct brought him back to Spain. The people, hearing that Columbus had arrived, ran to meet him as the tutelary genius of Spain; they dragged him from the ship. Columbus appeared with irons on his feet and hands.

"He had been treated in this way by order of Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos, Superintendent of the Armaments.[a] The ingratitude displayed was as great as his services. Isabella was ashamed, and endeavored to repair the affront as well as she was able; but Columbus was kept at home for four years, either because the Court was afraid of his retaining his discoveries for his own benefit, or to gain time for the investigation of his conduct. At length, he was sent back to his New World [1498]. It was on his third voyage that he first sighted the Continent, ten degrees beyond the equator, and the coast on which was founded Carthagena.[b]

[a] "Codice diplomatico Colombo Americano, ossia raccolta di documenti inediti, etc." Genoa, 1823, lib. lv. See in the same collection a letter from Columbus to the Nurse of Prince Juan, when he returned a prisoner to Spain, p. 297.

[b] In his fourth voyage [1501—3] the unfortunate Columbus was refused shelter in the very port which he had discovered. He foundered upon the coast of Jamaica, and remained there a year deprived of all assistance; from thence he wrote a pathetic letter to Ferdinand and Isabella. He returned, exhausted

"The ashes of Columbus are not affected by the glorious achievement of his life—that of doubling the works of creation; but men like to do justice to the dead, either because they flatter themselves that more justice will be done to the living, or from the natural love of truth. Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine merchant, enjoyed the glory of giving his name to the new hemisphere in which he had not an inch of ground. He pretended to have been the first to discover the Continent. Even if it be true that this discovery was his, the glory would not belong to him; it belongs incontestably to the man whose genius and courage induced him to make the first voyage" (Voltaire).

Whilst our hardy navigators were continuing the work of Columbus, the Portuguese and English discovered North America, and Bilbao spied out from the heights of Panama the Southern Ocean [1513]. Meanwhile, the blind cupidity of the Spanish colonists was depopulating the Antilles. These first conquerors of the New World were the dregs of the Old. Mere adventurers, impatient to go back to their own country, they could not wait for the slow returns of agriculture or industry; they believed in no other wealth than gold. This mistake cost America ten millions of her inhabitants. The feeble, effeminate race, which occupied the country, soon fell victims to excessive and unhealthy labor. The population of Hispaniola was reduced by 1507 from 1,000,000 to 60,000. In spite of the benevolent laws of Isabella; in spite of the efforts of Ximenés, and the pathetic

with fatigue, to Spain, and the intelligence of the death of his patroness, Isabella, dealt him the last blow. (1506.)

"Of what profit," says he in this letter, "have been to me these twenty years of labor, fatigue, and peril? At this day I have not so much as a house in Castile. If I want to dine, sup, or sleep, my only shelter is the inn. Oftener than not I have no money to pay my expenses . . . . . If I had not the patience of Job, should I not have died in despair, seeing that in such tempestuous weather, and in the extremity of our danger, I and my young son, my brother and my friends were shut out from the very land and port which I had won for Spain, and in discovering which I had sweated blood.

"However, I climbed to the highest point of the vessel, sending forth cries of distress and calling the four winds to my assistance; but no answer came. Exhausted, I fell asleep, and I heard a voice full of sweetness and pity which pronounced these words: 'O man without sense, slow to believe and serve thy God, how has he not cared for thee ever since thy birth! What more did he do for Moses or for David his servant? The Indies, that rich quarter of the globe, he has given thee to bestow on whomsoever thou pleasest. He has given the keys of the Ocean, until now locked in with such strong bolts, unto thee.' And I, although half dead, could hear everything, but could find no answer. I could only bewail my faults. Whoever it was that was addressing me, concluded in these words: 'Be comforted, restore thy faith; for the tribulations of men are written upon stone and marble.' If it should please your Majesties to do me the favor to send me a ship of sixty-four tons with some biscuits and other provisions, it would be enough to carry me and these poor people back to Spain. I pray your Majesties to have pity upon me. May Heaven and Earth weep for me! Let all who have any charity, who love truth and justice, weep for me. I have stayed here in these Indian Islands, isolated, sick, in great trouble, expecting death every day, surrounded by innumerable cruel savages, far from the sacraments of our Holy Mother Church! I have not one maravedi for a spiritual offering! I implore your Majesties, if God permit me to leave this place, to allow me to go to Rome and to accomplish other pilgrimages. May the Holy Trinity preserve the life and power of your Majesties.—Written in the Indies, in the island of Jamaica—July 7, 1503." Letters from Columbus, reprinted under the direction of Abbé Morelli at Bassano, 1860.

expostulations of the Dominicans, this depopulation extended between the tropics. No one raised his voice in favor of the Americans, with more courage and pertinacity, than the celebrated Bartholomew de Las Casas, Bishop of Chiapa and protector of the Indians. Twice he returned to Europe and solemnly pleaded their cause before Charles V. It is heart-rending to read in the "Destruycion de las Indias" of the barbarous treatment endured by these unhappy natives.*c*

One does not know whether most to admire the daring of the conquerors of America or to detest their cruelty. They had discovered in four expeditions the coasts of Florida, Yucatan, and Mexico, when Fernando Cortez sailed from the island of Cuba to make new explorations on the Continent [1519].

"This simple lieutenant of the governor of a newly-discovered island, followed by less than 600 men, with only eighteen horses, and a few field-pieces, set off to subjugate the most powerful State in America. In the beginning he was so fortunate as to meet with a Spaniard who had been for nine years a prisoner at Yucatan, on the road to Mexico, and who acted as his interpreter. Cortez advanced along the Gulf of Mexico, sometimes caressing the natives, sometimes making war on them. He found polished towns, where the arts were held in honor. The powerful republic of Tlascala, which was flourishing under an aristocratic government, opposed his passage; but

c Las Casas, "Brevissima Relacion de la Destruccion de las Indias," edition of Venice, 1643: "The women were obliged to work in the fields, the men in the mines. Whole generations were perishing. Many Indians strangled themselves. I know one Spaniard whose cruelty induced more than two hundred Indians to kill themselves."—p. 29. "There was one of the King's officers who had three hundred Indians; at the end of three months only thirty remained. Three hundred more were given to him; he caused their deaths. More and more were given to him, till he died, and the devil carried him off. —If it had not been for the Franciscans and a wise tribunal which was established, Mexico would have been depopulated like Hispaniola."—P. 142. "In Peru one Alonzo Sanchez met a troop of women with provisions, who gave them to him without attempting to run away; he seized the food and massacred the women.—(58.) They dug ditches, filled them with stakes and threw in pell-mell the Indians whom they seized alive, old men, women with child, little children, until the ditch was full—(61.) They dragged the Indians after them to force them to fight against their brothers, and obliged them to eat their flesh.—(83.) When the Spaniards dragged them into the mountains and they fell down exhausted, they broke their teeth with the handles of their swords; and the Indians cried out 'Kill us now! we will die now.'—(72.) A Spaniard who was out shooting had nothing to give to his dogs. He met a woman with a little child; he took the child, cut it in pieces, and gave it to the dogs.—(116.) I have seen with my eyes Spaniards cut off hands, noses, and ears from men and women, with no other motive than caprice, in so many places and so often, that it would take too long to enumerate. I have seen them train dogs to hunt the Indians. I have seen them tear infants from their mothers' breasts and throw them into the air with all their strength. A priest named Ocagna took a child out of the fire into which it had been thrown; a Spaniard came by, tore it from his arms, and threw it back. This man died suddenly on the following day. I decided that he ought not to be buried.—(132.) I protest on my conscience and before God that I have not exaggerated the ten thousandth part of what has been done, and is being done.—(134.) Finished at Valencia, 1542, December 8." See also the work entitled: "Aqui se contiene una disputa o controversia entre el obispo Don Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, obispo que fué de la ciudad real de Chiapa, el doctor Ines de Sepulveda, chronista del emperador nuestro, sobre que el doctor contendia que las conquistas de las Indias eran licitas." Valladolid 1550.

the sight of the horses and the noise of the cannon were enough to put these ill-armed multitudes to flight. He made as favorable a peace as he chose; 6,000 of his new allies in Tlascala accompanied him on his Mexican expedition. He entered Mexico without encountering any opposition, in spite of the proclamation of the sovereign, although that sovereign had thirty vassals, each of whom might have appeared at the head of 100,000 men, armed with darts and sharp stones, which they used, instead of steel.

"The town of Mexico, built in the midst of a great lake, was the finest monument of American industry; immense causeways intersected the lake, which was covered with little boats made of bark. In the town were spacious and convenient houses built of stone; markets and shops full of shining gold and silver work, glazed earthenware, cotton stuffs, and tissues of feathers, in which the most striking designs were formed, in the brightest colors. Near the principal market was a town-hall, where summary justice was dealt to traders. Several royal palaces belonging to the Emperor Montezuma increased the splendor of the town; one of them was surrounded by large gardens, in which only medicinal plants were cultivated; managers distributed them gratuitously to the sick; the King received a report of the success which followed their use, and the doctors kept a register of them in their own manner, for writing was unknown. All their other magnificence marked only the development of art; this one denoted moral progress. If it were not in human nature to mingle good and evil, we should be perplexed to reconcile this benevolence with the human sacrifices whose blood welled up at Mexico before the idol Visiliputsli, the god of armies. It is said that Montezuma's ambassadors told Cortez that their master sacrificed in his wars nearly 20,000 enemies every year, in the great temple at Mexico. This is a great exaggeration; we see the intention to excuse the injustice of Montezuma's conqueror; however, when the Spaniards entered the temple they found among its ornaments skulls, hung as trophies. Their government was, in other respects, wise and humane; the education of youth formed one of its chief objects. There were public schools established for both sexes. We admire the ancient Egyptians for knowing that the year consisted of about 365 days; the astronomy of the Mexicans was equally advanced. War with them was reduced to an art; it is this which gave them so much superiority over their neighbors. A wise financial administration maintained the greatness of this empire, which was feared and envied by its neighbors.

"But the warlike animals on which the principal Spaniards were mounted, the artificial thunder which they produced with their hands, those wooden castles which had carried them over

the ocean, the steel with which they were covered, their marches which were as many victories—all these real subjects of admiration, besides the weakness which inclines nations to admire, caused Cortez, when he entered the town of Mexico, to be received by Montezuma as a master, and by the people as a god. If a Spanish servant passed in the street, the people fell on their knees. It is said that a Mexican cazique presented a Spanish captain, who was passing over his land, with slaves and game. 'If thou art a god,' he said, 'here are men, eat them; if thou art a man, here is food, which these slaves will prepare for thee.'

"Little by little Montezuma's courtiers became familiar with their guests, and ventured to treat them as men. Some of the Spaniards were at Vera Cruz on the road to Mexico; one of the Emperor's generals, who had secret orders, attacked them, and, although his troops were beaten, three or four of the Spaniards were killed; the head of one was even carried to Montezuma. Then Cortez performed one of the most daring actions on record; he went to the Palace, followed by fifty Spaniards, carried the Emperor a prisoner to the Spanish quarters, forced him to give up those who had attacked his men at Vera Cruz, and loaded the feet and hands of the Emperor with irons, as a general might punish a common soldier; afterwards he induced him to declare himself publicly as a vassal of Charles V. Montezuma and the principal personages of the empire gave as the tribute attached to their homage 600,000 marks of pure gold, with an incredible amount of jewels, of gold-work, and of the most valuable products of the industry of many centuries. Cortez set aside one-fifth for his master, took another fifth for himself, and distributed the remainder among his soldiers.

"It may be mentioned as one of the most extraordinary facts in history, that, although the conquerors of this New World tried to destroy each other, their conquests did not suffer. Never was fact so contrary to probability. When Cortez had nearly subdued Mexico with the 500 men he had remaining, the Governor of Cuba, Velasquez, more offended by the fame acquired by his lieutenant, Cortez, than by his want of submission, sent almost all his troops, consisting of 800 foot, eighty well-mounted horse, and two small field-pieces, to subdue Cortez, take him prisoner, and supplant him in his victories. Cortez, having, on the one hand, to fight 1,000 Spaniards, and, on the other, to retain the Continent in subjection, left eighty men to answer for the whole of Mexico, and marched against his countrymen with the rest of his troops. He obtained the victory. The remainder of the army, which came to destroy him, took service under his standard, and he returned with it to Mexico.

"The Emperor was still imprisoned in his capital, guarded by eighty soldiers. The officer who commanded them, on a true

or false report that the Mexicans were conspiring to deliver their master, had chosen the opportunity of a festival, during which 2,000 of the chiefs were steeped in drink, to fall upon them with fifty of his men, massacre them and their followers, without encountering any resistance, and strip them of all the jewels, and gold and silver ornaments, with which they were covered for this festivity. This crime, rightly attributed by the people to the greed of avarice, at length tired out their patience; and, when Cortez arrived, he found 200,000 Americans in arms against eighty Spaniards occupied in defending themselves and in guarding the Emperor. They implored Cortez to deliver their King; they precipitated themselves in numbers against the cannon and the muskets. The Spaniards grew tired of killing them, and the Mexicans succeeded each other intrepidly.[d] Cortez was obliged to abandon the town, in which he would have been famished; but the Mexicans had broken up all the roads. The Spaniards made bridges with the bodies of their enemies; in their bloody retreat they lost all the treasures which they had seized for Charles V., as well as for themselves. Having won the battle of Otumba, Cortez prepared to lay siege to Mexico. He made his soldiers and the Tlascalans, whom he had with him, construct nine vessels, to re-enter the town by the very lake which seemed to forbid his entrance. The Mexicans were not afraid of a naval combat; 4,000 or 5,000 canoes, each containing two men, covered the lake and attacked the nine ships of Cortez, on which he had about 300 men. These nine brigantines, armed with guns, soon overpowered the fleet of the enemy. Cortez, with the remainder of his troops, was fighting upon the causeways which traversed the lake. Seven or eight Spanish prisoners were sacrificed in the Temple of Mexico. At length, after renewed struggles, the new Emperor was taken. It was the same Gatimozin who became so famous for his speech when a receiver of the King of Spain placed him on burning coals to discover in which part of the lake he had thrown his riches. While his High Priest, condemned to the same tortures, uttered loud cries, Gatimozin called out: 'And I, am I upon a bed of roses?' "

Cortez was absolute master of the town of Mexico [1521]; all the remainder fell with it under the Spanish dominion, as well as the adjoining provinces. What was the reward of the extraor-

d "I declared to them that if they continued obstinate I should not stop as long as there remained any vestige of the town and its inhabitants. They answered that they were all determined to die in order to finish with us, that I might see the terraces, streets, and squares filled with men and that they had calculated that by sacrificing twenty-five thousand for one we should perish first." Hernando Cortez, "Historia de la Nueva España, par su conquistador." First letter to Charles V. October 30, 1520. "They asked me wherefore I, son of the Sun who travels round the world in twenty-four hours, was longer in exterminating them, in satisfying their desire for death and joining the God of Rest." 2d letter.

dinary services of Cortez? The same that Columbus received—he was persecuted. Notwithstanding the titles with which his country had decorated him, he met with little consideration, and he could scarcely obtain an audience from Charles V. One day he penetrated the crowd which surrounded the Emperor's coach, and got upon the doorstep. Charles asked who that man was. "It is a man," replied Cortez, "who has given you more kingdoms than your fathers left you towns."

The Spaniards, however, sought new countries to conquer and lay waste. Magellan had sailed round Southern America, crossed the Pacific Ocean, and was the first to circumnavigate the globe. But the greatest of the American States after Mexico remained to be discovered. One day when the Spaniards were weighing some gold, an Indian, overturning their scales, told them that in two suns' march southwards they would find a country in which gold was so plentiful as to serve for the vilest usages. Two adventurers, Pizarro and Almagro, one a foundling and the other a keeper of swine who had turned soldier, undertook the discovery and the conquest of the vast countries which the Spaniards have called by the name of Peru.

"From Cusco and the environs of Cape Capricorn to the Isle of Pearls, a single monarch ruled over about thirty degrees; he was of the race of conquerors called Incas. The first of these Incas, who had subdued and given laws to the country, was supposed to be the son of the Sun. The Peruvians transmitted the record of their events to posterity by knots which they placed on cords. They had obelisks and regular gnomons to mark the points of the equinox and the solstices. Their year consisted of 365 days. They had raised prodigies of architecture, and were great in the art of sculpture. It was the most polished and industrious nation in the New World.

"The Inca Huescar, father of Atahualpa the last Inca, under whom the empire was destroyed, had greatly increased and embellished it. This Inca, who had conquered the whole of Quito, had constructed by means of his soldiers and prisoners a high road of 500 leagues from Cusco to Quito, through ravines which had been filled up and hills which had been laid plain. Relays of men, placed at each half league, carried the orders of the sovereign throughout his empire. Such was the administration; the King's magnificence is sufficiently proved by the fact that when he travelled he was carried upon a throne of gold weighing 25,000 ducats; the litter of golden shafts on which the throne rested was borne by the first men in the kingdom.

"Pizarro attacked this empire with 250 foot, sixty horse, and a dozen small cannon. He landed from the Southern Ocean in the latitude of Quito, below the equator. Atahualpa, son of Huescar, reigned at that time [1532]; he resided near Quito, sur-

rounded by 40,000 soldiers, armed with arrows, and gold and silver pikes. Like Cortez, Pizarro began by offering the friendship of Charles V. to the Inca. When the army of Atahualpa and the little Castilian troop were in each other's presence, the Spaniards endeavored to color their conduct with the appearance of religion. A monk called Valverde approached the Inca with an interpreter, and, holding out a Bible, told him that he must believe all that the Book said. The Inca put it to his ear, and, hearing nothing, flung it on the ground. This was the sign of battle.

"The guns, horses, and steel arms made on the Peruvians the same effect as on the Mexicans: they were killed without resistance. Atahualpa, torn from his golden throne by the conquerors, was loaded with irons. To be speedily set at liberty, he promised to give them as much gold as one of the halls in his palace could contain, 'up to the height of his hand,' and he raised his hand in the air. Every Spanish horse-soldier had 240 marks in pure gold; each foot-soldier 160. Ten times as much silver was shared in the same proportions. The officers amassed immense treasures; and they sent to Charles V. 30,000 marks in silver, 3,000 in unwrought gold, and productions of the industry of the country weighing 20,000 marks in silver and 2,000 in gold. The unfortunate Atahualpa was, notwithstanding, put to death.

"Diego of Almagro marched to Cusco through opposing multitudes; he penetrated as far as Chili. Everywhere possession was taken in the name of Charles V. Soon afterwards dissensions broke out between the conquerors, as they had between Velasquez and Hernando Cortez in North America.

"Almagro and the brothers of Pizarro made war upon each other in Cusco itself, the capital of the Incas; all the European recruits took sides, and fought for the chief whom they selected. They had a bloody battle under the walls of Cusco, yet the Peruvians did not venture to profit by the weakness of their common enemy. At length, Almagro was taken prisoner and beheaded by his rival; but soon afterwards the latter was assassinated by the friends of his victim.

"Already the government of Spain was extending throughout the New World; the large provinces had their governors; tribunals, called audiences, were established; archbishops, bishops, tribunals of the Inquisition, the whole ecclesiastical hierarchy was exercising its functions as at Madrid, when the captains who had conquered Peru for Charles V. tried to take it for themselves. A son of Almagro caused himself to be recognized as the Governor of Peru; but some other Spaniards preferring to obey their sovereign in Europe rather than one of their own companions, who had become their master, had him beheaded by the executioner." (Voltaire.)

A new civil war was also suppressed. Charles V., yielding at length to the representations of Las Casas, had guaranteed the personal liberty of the Indians, while he imposed tribute and services upon them [1542]. The Spanish colonists took up arms and chose Gonzalo Pizarro for their chief. But the name of the King was so much respected that it was sufficient to send an old man, an inquisitor (Pedro de la Gasca), to restore order. He rallied round him most of the Spaniards, overcame some by persuasion, and others by force, and secured the possession of Peru to Spain [1546].

Extent of the Spanish empire in America.—If we except Mexico and Peru, Spain really possessed only the coasts. The nations in the interior could only be subdued gradually, as they were converted by missionaries and attached to the soil.

Discoveries and establishments of different kinds.—1540. Enterprise of Gonzalo Pizarro for discovering the country to the east of the Andes; Orellana sails round South America, a voyage of 2,000 leagues. Establishments: 1527, province of Venezuela; 1535, Buenos Ayres; 1536, province of Granada; 1540, Santiago; 1550, the Concession; 1555, Carthagena and Porto Bello; 1567, Caracas.

Administrations.—Political government: In Spain, Council for India, and Court of Commerce and Justice; in America, two Viceroys, Audiences, Municipalities, Caziques, and Protectors of the Indians, Ecclesiastical Government (entirely dependent on the King), Archbishops, Bishops, Curates or Doctors, Missionaries, Monks.—Inquisition established in 1570 by Philip II.

Commercial administration: Monopoly. Privileged ports: in America, Vera Cruz, Carthagena, and Porto Bello; in Europe, Seville (later on, Cadiz); Fleet and Galleons. Agriculture and manufactures neglected in Spain and in America for the sake of mining operations; slow growth of the colonies, and ruin of the metropolis before 1600. But during the course of the sixteenth century the enormous quantity of precious metals which Spain obtained from America contributed to make her the preponderating power in Europe.

CHAPTER XVI.

LEARNING IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

INFLUENCE OF LEO X. AND FRANCIS I.

The fifteenth century was devoted to classical learning; enthusiasm for antiquity caused the road which had been so happily opened by Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch to be abandoned. In the sixteenth century the genius of the moderns shone once more, and was never again extinguished.

The progress of intellect at this time presents two perfectly distinct movements; the former, favored by the influence of Leo X. and Francis I., was peculiar to Italy and France; the latter was European. The former, characterized by the progress of literature and the arts, was interrupted in France by civil, and diminished in Italy by foreign, wars; in the latter country the genius of literature was crushed under the yoke of Spain; but the impulse given to art was felt into the middle of the following century. The second movement was the development of an entirely new spirit of doubt and inquiry.

In the seventeenth century this spirit was checked partly by a return to religious belief, partly by a diversion in favor of natural sciences; but it reappeared in the eighteenth.

Section I.—Literature and Art.

Besides the general causes which produced the revival of letters, such as the progress of security and opulence, the discovery of the monuments of antiquity, etc., several special causes united to give new life to literature in the Italy of the sixteenth century. 1. In consequence of the art of printing, books became common; 2. The people of Italy, having no longer any influence in politics, sought for consolation in the pleasures of the intellect; 3. A number of Princes, especially the Medici, encouraged scientific men and artists; the great writers profited less by their protection.

Poetry, with the arts, was Italy's chief glory in the sixteenth century, and was distinguished by both genius and elegance in

the first part of this period. The epic muse raised two immortal monuments. Comedy and tragedy made some rather mediocre attempts. The most opposite styles, satires and pastorals were cultivated. The rapid decline of good taste is most remarkable in the latter.

	Died in		Died in
Boiardo	1490	Trissino	1550
Macchiavelli	1529	Tasso	1596
Ariosto	1533	Guarini	1619

Eloquence, that tardy offspring of literature, had not had time to form itself. But many historians rivalled the ancients in excellence.

	Died in		Died in
Macchiavelli	1529	Paolo Giovio	1552
Guicciardini	1540	Baronius	1607
Bembo	1547		

The dead languages were cultivated as much as in the preceding period, but this distinction is lost sight of among so many others.

	Died in		Died in
Pontanas	1503	Sado Petus	1547
Aldus Manutius	1516	Fracastorius	1553
Johannes Secundus	1523	J. C. Scaliger	1558
Sannazarius	1530	Vida	1563
A. J. Lascaris	1535	Paulus Manutius	1574
Bembo	1547	Aldus Manutius	1597

Superiority in art was the characteristic feature of the Italy of the sixteenth century. The ancients remained unrivalled in sculpture; but the moderns equalled them in architecture, and in painting probably surpassed them. The Roman school was celebrated for perfection in design; the Venetian for beauty of color.

	Died in		Died in
Giorgione	1511	Primaticcio	1564
Bramante	1514	Palladio	1568
Leonardo da Vinci	1518	Tiziano	1576
Raphael	1520	Paulo Veronese	1588
Correggio	1534	Tintoretto	1594
Parmegiano	1534	Augustino Carracci	1601
Giulio Romano	1546	Caravaggio	1609
Michael Angelo	1564	Annibale Carracci	1609
Giovanni of Udino	1564	Ludovico Carracci	1610

France followed Italy at a great distance. The historian Comines died in 1509. Francis I. founded the Collége de France and the Imprimerie Royale. He encouraged the poet Marot [1504], and the brothers du Bellay [1543—1560], diplomatists and historians. His sister, Marguerite of Navarre [1549], herself cultivated letters. Francis I. honored Titian, and invited Primaticcio and Leonardo da Vinci to France. He built Fon-

tainebleau, St. Germain, and Chambord, and began the Louvre. Under him flourished Jean Cousin [1589], designer and painter; Germain Pilon, Philibert de l'Orme, Jean Goujon [1572], sculptors and architects; scholars—Budæus [1540], Turnebus [1563], Muretus [1585]; Henry Stephens, the celebrated printer; the illustrious lawyers, Dumoulin [1566], and Cujas [1590]. After the reign of Francis I., the poet Ronsard [1585] enjoyed a short-lived fame; but Montaigne [1592], Amyot [1593], and the Satire Ménippée gave a new character to the French language.

Other countries were less rich in illustrious men. Germany, however, may boast of her Luther, the poet shoemaker; Hans Sachs, and the painters, Albert Dürer and Lucas Cranach. Portugal and Spain had their illustrious writers—Camoens, Lope de Vega, and Cervantes; Flanders and Scotland their scholars and historians—Juste Lipsius [1616], and Buchanan [1592]. Of the forty-three universities founded in the sixteenth century, fourteen were founded by the Kings of Spain alone, and ten of them by Charles V.

Section II.—Philosophy and Science.

In the preceding century philosophy was cultivated only by the learned. It contented itself with attacking scholastic, and setting up Platonic philosophy in its stead. Swept away gradually into a more rapid current, it carried the spirit of inquiry into every subject. But sufficient observations had not been made; there was no method; human intellect was searching at random. Many men were discouraged, and afterwards became the most audacious sceptics.

	Died in		Died in
Erasmus	1533	Montaigne	1592
Vives	1540	Gordano Bruno	1600
Rabelais	1553	Charron	1603
Cardan	1576	Boehm	1624
Telesio	1588	Campanello	1639

Theoretical politics began with Macchiavelli; but in the commencement of the sixteenth century the Italians had not made sufficient progress in this science to find that it was reconcilable with morality.

	Died in		Died in
Macchiavelli	1529	Bodin	1596
Thomas More	1533		

The natural sciences left the fruitless systems they had hitherto accepted to follow the road of observation and experience.

	Died in		Died in
Paracelsus	1541	Gessner	1565
Copernicus	1543	Paré	1592
Fallopius	1562	Visto	1605
Vesalius	1564	Van Helmont	1644

CHAPTER XVII.

THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIII.

RICHELIEU'S INFLUENCE AND CHARACTER.

The chief characteristic of the seventeenth century is the simultaneous progress of the monarchy and of the lower classes *(tiers état)*. The progress of monarchy was twice suspended by the minorities of Louis XIII. and Louis XIV. That of the *tiers état* was stopped only towards the end of the reign of Louis XIV., when the King, who no longer feared the nobles, allowed the government to fall into their hands. Until that time all the ministers, Concini, Luynes, Richelieu, Mazarin, Colbert, and Louvois, had been plebeians, or, at the most, belonged quite to the inferior nobility. A few of the admirals and chief officers in the armies of Louis XIV. came from the very lowest ranks of the people.

In the first portion of this century political action may be said to have been negative. The object was to destroy the obstacles to monarchical centralization—the higher nobles and the Protestants; this was the work of Richelieu. In the second portion there was under Colbert an attempt at legislative, and especially at administrative, organization. Manufactures took their rise. France was active both at home and abroad; she fought as well as produced. But her productions did not equal her consumption. France exhausted herself in enlarging her territory by means of necessary and glorious victories. Her interior prosperity was retarded by the pressure of her wars and conquests, and by aristocratic reaction. The nobility seized upon the power of the crown, stood between the King and the people, and communicated their own decrepitude to the monarchy.

Henri IV. found great difficulty in holding the balance between the Protestants and Catholics. At the time of his death he could no longer have maintained this indecision, he must have joined one of the two parties, and he would have chosen the Protestants; for the great German war, which was just beginning, offered him the magnificent part of chief of the European opposition against the house of Austria—the part which was played twenty years later by Gustavus Adolphus. After the

L'EMINENCE GRISE.

(*His Gray Eminence.*)

Photogravure from the original painting by J. L. Gérôme.

L'Eminence Grise is no other than Cardinal Richelieu. When the courtiers bowed to him he would pretend to be reading his breviary in order to convey the impression that he had not seen them.

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King's death, Louis XIII., a child; an Italian regent, Marie de Medicis, and her Italian minister, Concini, were not able to continue the policy of Henri IV. This child and this woman could not mount on horseback and fight against Austria. As they could not oppose, they were obliged to make friends with Austria. They could not lead the nobles and Protestants into Germany on a Protestant crusade; they were therefore obliged to try to gain the nobles and weaken the Protestants. This policy of Concini's, justly blamed by the historians, is defended by Richelieu in one of his writings. The nobles whom Henri IV. had not been able to deprive of their fortresses, such as Condé, Epernon, Bouillon, and Longueville, were all in arms on his death; they demanded money, and, in order to avoid civil war, it was necessary to give up to them the treasure amassed by Henri IV. (twelve million, and not thirty, according to Richelieu). They next called for the States-General [1614].

This assembly of the States, which after all effected nothing, did not answer the expectations of the nobles; it showed a devotion to the monarchy; and the *tiers état* called on the crown to proclaim its independence of the Pope. The nobles, as they could obtain nothing from the States-General, had recourse to force, and allied themselves with the Protestants [1615]; a strange alliance between old feudalism and the religious reformation of the sixteenth century! Concini, tired of middle courses, arrested the Prince of Condé, the chief of the coalition. This daring step was the beginning of a new policy; Concini had just enlisted the services of the young Richelieu [1610].

A court intrigue overthrew Concini for the benefit of the young Luynes, the little King's favorite servant, who persuaded him to emancipate himself from his mother and his minister [1617]. Concini was assassinated, and his widow, Leonora Galigaï, executed as a sorceress. Their real crimes were theft and venality. Luynes only continued the ministry of Concini. He had one more enemy in the Queen mother, who twice nearly brought on civil war. The Protestants became every day more formidable. They demanded, arms in hand, the execution of the Edict of Nantes, which allowed a republic to exist within the kingdom. Luynes pushed them to extremities by uniting Béarn to the crown, and declaring that in that province the ecclesiastical property should be restored to the Catholics. This is precisely what the Emperor tried to do in Germany, and it was the principal cause of the Thirty Years' War. Richelieu was afterwards more prudent in his measures. He did not annoy the Protestants with regard to their usurped possessions; he attacked only their fortresses. Their Assembly at La Rochelle, in 1621, published a declaration of independence, divided into eight circles the 700 reformed churches in France, regulated the levies

of money and men—in a word, organized the Protestant Republic. They offered 100,000 crowns a month to Lesdiguières to place himself at their head and organize their army. But the old soldier would not at eighty years of age quit his little sovereignty of Dauphiné to accept the government of such an undisciplined party. Luynes, who had taken the command of the royal army and the title of Constable, failed miserably before Montauban, whither he had led the King. He died in this campaign [1621].

It was only three years afterwards that the Queen mother succeeded in introducing her creature Richelieu into the council [1624]. The King had an antipathy against this man, in whom he had a presentiment that he would find a master. Richelieu's first thought was to neutralize England, the only ally of the Protestants in France. He did this in two ways. On the one hand, he supported Holland and lent her money to build ships; on the other, the marriage of the King of England with the beautiful Henrietta of France, daughter of Henri IV., increased the natural indecision of Charles I., and the distrust of the English in his government. The cardinal thus began by an alliance with the English and Dutch heretics, and a war against the Pope; from this, we may see how free his policy was from prejudice. The Pope, who was entirely under the influence of Spain, occupied in her favor the little Swiss canton of the Valteline, thus holding for her the door of the Alps, through which her Italian possessions communicated with Austria. Richelieu hired Swiss troops, sent them against the Pope's army, and restored the Valteline to the Grisons; but not until he had assured himself by a decision of the Sorbonne, that he might do so with a clear conscience. After having beaten the Pope, in the following year [1625] he conquered the Protestants, who had again taken up arms; he subdued them and temporized with them, not being able as yet to destroy them. He was embarrassed in the execution of his great projects by the most despicable intrigues. The young followers of Gaston, Duke of Orleans, who were under the influence of women, stimulated their master's lazy ambition. They wanted to give him an external support by marrying him to a foreign Princess. Richelieu at first attempted to gain them over. He gave a marshal's bâton to Ornano, Gaston's governor. This encouraged them still further, and they plotted Richelieu's death. The cardinal sent for their chief accomplice, Chalais, but could get nothing from him. Then, changing his policy, he gave Chalais up to a commission of the Parliament of Brittany and executed him [1626]. Gaston, while his friend was being beheaded, married, without saying a word, Mademoiselle de Montpensier. Ornano, imprisoned in the Bastille, soon afterwards died there, no doubt of poison. Gaston's favorites

were in the habit of dying in the Bastille [Paylaurens, 1635]. Such was the policy of the time, as we read in the Machiavelli of the seventeenth century, Gabriel Naudé, Mazarin's librarian. The device of these politicians, as given by Naudé, was *Salus populi suprema lex esto.* In other respects, they agreed well in the choice of means. It was the same doctrine that inspired the terrorists in 1793. It seems to have been followed by neither remorse nor doubt in the mind of Richelieu. As he was expiring, the priest asked if he forgave his enemies. "I have never had any," he replied, "except those of the State." At another time he uttered the following terrible words: "I never venture to undertake anything without have well reflected upon it; but, when once I have resolved, I go straight to my object; I cut through everything; I hew down everything, and afterwards cover all with my red robe."

He did in truth walk in a straight line with a terrible inflexibility. He suppressed the post of constable; that of high admiral he took for himself, under the name of general superintendent of the navy. This title meant, from the first, the destroyer of La Rochelle. On the pretence of economy, he ordered the reduction of pensions, and the demolition of fortresses. The fortress of Protestantism, La Rochelle, was at length attacked. A fop who governed the King of England, the handsome Buckingham, had solemnly proclaimed his love for Anne of Austria; he was forbidden to enter the kingdom of France, and he caused war to be declared between the two countries. The English promised assistance to La Rochelle; it revolted and fell under the claws of Richelieu [1627—1628]. Buckingham came with a few thousand men to be beaten in the Isle of Rhé. Charles I. had soon something else to do. With the famous "Petition of Right" [1628], the English revolution began; and Richelieu was by no means foreign to it. La Rochelle, abandoned by the English, found herself divided from the sea by a prodigious dyke—the remains may still be seen at low tide. It had taken more than a year to construct; more than once the sea carried the dyke away—Richelieu would not desist. The Amsterdam of France, of which Coligni had intended to make himself the William of Orange, was seized in the midst of her waters and enclosed by land; parted from her native element, she did nothing from this time but waste away. Protestantism, at least, as a political party, was killed with the same blow. The war still lingered in the South, but the famous Duke of Rohan at length came to terms.

After having broken the Protestant party in France, Richelieu conquered the Catholic party in Europe; he beat the Spaniards in the corner of Italy where they had reigned ever since Charles V. By means of a sharp, short war, he cut the knot of

the succession to Mantua and Montferrat—small countries, but strong military positions. The last duke had bequeathed them to a French Prince, the Duke of Nevers. The Savoyards, fortified at Susa, thought themselves impregnable, and Richelieu himself believed them to be so. The King, in his own person, carried this terrible barrier. The Duke of Nevers was secured, France obtained an advanced post in Italy, and the Duke of Savoy knew that the French might march through his dominions whenever they pleased [1630].

During this splendid war, the Queen mother, the courtiers, the ministers even, were waging an underhand and cowardly opposition against Richelieu. They thought that they had dethroned him. He met Louis XIII., talked to him for a quarter of an hour, and found himself master again. This day was called the Day of the Dupes. It was a comedy. The cardinal packed up his goods in the morning, and his enemies did the same in the evening. But the play had its tragic side; the cardinal seized the two Marillacs, as well as the superintendent—both creatures of his own, who had turned against him. Without mentioning the crimes of peculation and extortion, so common at this period, they were guilty of having endeavored to cause the failure of the Italian war by keeping back sums intended for its support. One of them was beheaded. The odious part of the business was that he was tried by a commission of his personal enemies in a private house, the palace of the cardinal himself, at Ruel.

The Queen-mother, who was more embarrassing, was arrested and intimidated. She was persuaded to escape to Brussels, with her son Gaston. The latter, assisted by the Duke of Lorraine, whose daughter he had married after the death of his first wife, collected a few vagabonds, and fell upon France. He had been invited by the nobles, among others by Montmorency, the governor of Languedoc. The nobles were determined this time to stake all on their game. In order to join Montmorency, it was necessary to march across the whole kingdom. Gaston's ill-paid soldiers supplied themselves by their exactions as they went. All the towns shut their gates against these robbers. The encounter took place at Castelnaudry, and they were beaten [1632]. Gaston threw down his arms, and made peace by giving up his friends; he swore emphatically "to love the King's ministers, especially His Eminence the Cardinal." Montmorency, wounded and taken prisoner, was cruelly beheaded at Toulouse. The fate of this last representative of chivalry and feudalism excited commiseration. His relation, the Duke of Bouteville, father of the celebrated Luxembourg, had been beheaded in 1627 for fighting a duel. When heads of such importance were seen to fall, the nobles began to understand that the State and the laws were no longer to be trifled with.

The Thirty Years' War was raging at that time. Richelieu would not take a direct part in it as long as he had the nobles on his hands. The Emperor had by that time damaged the Protestant party; the Palatine was ruined [1623]; the King of Denmark was giving up the war [1629]. The Catholic armies were under the command of their greatest generals—the tactician, Tilly, and that demon of war, Wallenstein. To give the Protestants a lift, to excite the phlegmatic Germans, some external movement was necessary. Richelieu searched for an ally northward of Denmark, and summoned Gustavus Adolphus from Sweden. First, he relieved him from the war with Poland; he gave him money, and negotiated for him an alliance with the United Provinces and the King of England. He was skilful enough at the same time to persuade the Emperor to disarm. The Swede, whose poverty was so great that he had more probabilities of gaining than losing, precipitated himself into Germany, let loose all the thunders of war, disconcerted the famous tacticians, and beat them easily while they were studying his manœuvres; with one blow he deprived them of the Rhine and all the west of Germany. Richelieu had not foreseen that his success would be so rapid. Fortunately Gustavus perished at Lützen; happily for his enemies, his friends, and his own glory. He died pure and invincible [1632].

Richelieu continued his subsidies to the Swedes, closed France on the side of Germany, by confiscating Lorraine, and declared war against Spain [1635]. He thought that he had subdued Austria so thoroughly that he might venture upon despoiling her. He had bought the best pupil of Gustavus Adolphus, Bernard of Saxe-Weimar. Nevertheless, the war presented some difficulty at first. The Imperialists entered by way of Burgundy, and the Spaniards by Picardy. They were only thirty leagues from Paris. The inhabitants were preparing to leave the capital; the minister himself seems to have lost his head. The Spaniards, however, were repulsed [1636]. Bernard of Weimar gained for the benefit of France the famous battles of Rheinfeld and Brisach. Brisach and Fribourg, considered as impregnable fortresses, were nevertheless taken. The temptation was becoming too strong for Bernard; he wished with the money of France to create for himself a little sovereignty on the other side of the Rhine; his master, the great Gustavus, had not had time for this, nor had Bernard. He died at the age of thirty-six, very opportunely for France and for Richelieu [1639].

In the following year [1640] the cardinal found means of simplifying the war. It was to create more than one civil war in Spain. The East and the West, Catalonia and Portugal, caught fire at the same time. The Catalans placed themselves under the protection of France. Spain tried to imitate Richelieu by

fostering for him an embarrassing civil war. She treated with Gaston and the nobles. The Count of Soissons, who also rose in revolt, soon was obliged to take refuge with the Spaniards, and was killed in fighting for them at Sedan [1641]. The party was not discouraged; and a new conspiracy was framed in concert with Spain. The young Cinq-Mars, chief equerry and favorite of Louis XIII., threw himself into it with the same thoughtlessness which ruined Chalais. The discreet De Thou, son of the historian, knew of the plot, and concealed it. The King himself was aware that his minister's life was conspired against. Richelieu, who was then very ill, seemed to be hopelessly lost. He succeeded, however, in obtaining a copy of the treaty with Spain, and had just time to bring his enemies to justice before his death. He beheaded Cinq-Mars and De Thou. The Duke of Bouillon, who already felt the knife at his throat, purchased his life by giving up his town of Sedan, the hot-bed of all these intrigues. At the other extremity of France, Richelieu was taking Perpignan from Spain. These two strongholds, which cover France on the north and south, were the cardinal's legacy to the country. In the same year the great Richelieu died [1642].

MODERN HISTORY.

THIRD PERIOD, 1648–1789.

CHAPTER XVIII.

LOUIS XIV.

TROUBLES UNDER MAZARIN.—BEGINNING OF COLBERT'S MINISTRY.

First Division of the Third Period.—1648—1715.

The death of Richelieu was a deliverance for every one. The world began to breathe again. The people composed songs, in which the King on his death-bed took part. His widow, Anne of Austria, became regent in the name of the young King Louis XIV., who was six years old. France, after the deaths of Richelieu and Louis XIII., found herself, as after that of Henri IV., under the soft hand of a woman who could neither resist nor retain. "The French language," says a contemporary, "seemed to consist of these little words: 'The Queen is so kind.'" The Concini of this new Medicis was an extremely clever Italian, Cardinal Mazarin. His administration, as deplorable at home as it was glorious abroad, was disturbed by the revolution of the Fronde, and crowned by the two treaties of Westphalia and the Pyrenees—the former of which continued to be the diplomatic map of Europe until the French revolution. Both the good and the evil of this time were equally the heritage of Richelieu. He had stretched the springs of government too far—they gave way of themselves under Mazarin. Richelieu, who had every day to wage some mortal combat, supplied his finances by means of tyrannical expedients; he devoured the present and even the future by destroying credit. Mazarin, receiving them in this condition, increased their disorder by allowing plunder and plundering himself. When he died he left wealth to the amount of 200,000,000. He had too much sense, however, to despise economy. On his death-bed he told Louis XIV. that he considered that he had discharged all his obligations to him by giving him Colbert. Some of this stolen money was, however, honorably employed. He sent Gabriel Naudé all over Europe to buy valuable books at any price; in this way he formed his admirable Bibliothèque Mazarine, and opened it to the public. This was the first public library in Paris. At the same time he

gave a pension of 1,000 crowns, which he caused to be paid regularly, to Descartes, who had retired to Holland.

The new reign was inaugurated by victories. The French infantry took its place in the world for the first time at the battle of Rocroi [1643]. This was much more than a battle; it was a great social event. Cavalry is the aristocratic, infantry the democratic, arm of the service. The birth of the infantry is that of the people. Whenever the people rises in importance, the infantry distinguishes itself. During the century and a half that Spain had been a nation the Spanish foot-soldier had reigned in every battle-field, brave under fire, respecting himself even in rags, and making the *señor soldado* respected everywhere. He was gloomy, avaricious, and greedy, ill-paid, but patient while waiting to plunder some fine town in Germany or Flanders. In the time of Charles V. the troops had sworn by the "sack of Florence;" they had pillaged Rome, Antwerp, and numberless towns in the Low Countries. Among the Spanish troops there were men of every nation, especially Italians. National character was disappearing, but the army was still sustained by its *esprit de corps* and ancient honor when it was demolished at the battle of Rocroi. The soldier who took the place of the Spaniard was the French soldier, the ideal soldier—disciplined impetuosity. Although still far from understanding the sentiment of patriotism, he had an ardent love for his country. This dashing troop was composed of sons of laborers, whose grandfathers had been engaged in the last religious wars. Those party strifes and pistol skirmishes made soldiers of the whole nation; they left traditions of honor and bravery in families. The grandsons of these combatants enlisted and led by a young man of twenty—the great Condé—broke through the Spanish lines at Rocroi, cutting to pieces the veterans bands as gaily as their descendants, under another young hero, crossed the bridges of Arcola and Lodi.

From the time of Gustavus Adolphus war had been carried on in a freer spirit. Less was thought of material and more of moral strength. Tactics had become, so to speak, more spiritual. As soon as men felt the divine spark within them, they marched on without considering the enemy. They required for their leader a daring young man, one who believed in success. Condé, at Fribourg, threw his bâton into the enemy's ranks; and every Frenchman ran to pick it up.

Victory begets victory. The lines at Rocroi once broken, the barrier of Spanish and imperial honor was broken forever. In the following year [1644] the skilful veteran, Mercy, allowed the lines at Thionville to be carried; Condé took Philipsburg and Mayence, the central position of the Rhine. Mercy was again and completely beaten at Nordlingen [1645]. In 1646

Condé took Dunkirk, the key of the Low Countries, and of the Channel. Finally, on August 20, 1648, he gained in Artois the battle of Lens. The Treaty of Westphalia was signed on the twenty-fourth of October. Condé had simplified the negotiations.

These five years of unparalleled success were fatal to the good sense of Condé. He never thought of the soldiers who had gained his victories for him; he claimed them for himself, and every one, it must be owned, thought as he did. This is what made him play in the Fronde the part of a matamore, a stage-hero; and afterwards, deceived, disappointed, powerless, and ridiculous, he lost his temper and joined the enemy; but he was beaten as soon as he ceased to command Frenchmen.

This revolution broke out in the very year of the glorious Treaty of Westphalia, which terminated the European war, and gave Alsace to France. The Fronde[a] (so childish a war was well named after a childish game) was no doubt comic in its details, but still more so in its principle; it was, in truth, a revolt on the part of the lawyers against the law. The Parliament took up arms against the royal authority whence it derived its power. It seized on the power of the States-General, and pretended to be the delegate of the nation which had nothing to do with it. At this time the English Parliament—a real Parliament in the political sense of the word—beheaded its King [1649]. On the other hand, the Neapolitan populace was crowning a fisherman [Masaniello, 1648]. Our Parliament, composed of lawyers who purchased their charges, had no antipathy to the dynasty or to royalty, but only to the royal authority. Their conduct for two centuries had led to no such anticipations. During the wars of religion they had exhibited much timidity and docility. Favorable for the most part to the new ideas, they nevertheless registered the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

Under Richelieu they were equally docile; the Parliaments had furnished him with commissions for his sanguinary justice, and nevertheless had been ill-treated, subjected to compulsion, and interdicted [Paris, 1635; Rouen, 1640]. At this time they hung their heads very low. When they raised them and found them still upon their shoulders, and saw that their master was really dead, they felt brave and spoke loud. It resembled the noisy outbreak of merriment among schoolboys between the lessons of two severe masters—Richelieu and Louis XIV.—violence and strength.

In this tragi-comedy the most amusing figures after that of the French Mars, as Condé was called, were the chiefs of the opposite parties in Parliament; on the one hand, the impassable President Molé, a simple bar of iron, who softened under the

[a] A fronde is a sling with which the children in Paris used to throw stones.

influence neither of men, nor of opinions; on the other hand, restlessness itself personified in the coadjutator-archbishop of Paris, the famous Cardinal de Retz. This petulant young man had begun by writing at seventeen a history of the conspiracy of Fiesco; afterwards in order to unite practice with theory, he entered into a conspiracy against Richelieu. His delight was to hear himself called the little Catilina. When he entered the Parisian Senate he allowed a dagger to peep out of his pocket. As he read that Cæsar had debts, he also had debts. Like Cæsar he left commentaries. Only Pharsalus was wanting to him.

The extreme poverty of the people admitting of no new taxes, Mazarin lived by means of chance resources and vexatious exactions. His superintendent, Emery, another Italian, having cut off four years' pay from the sovereign companies in exchange for an onerous tax, he exempted the Parliament. The Parliament did not choose to be alone exempted, and refused to register the edict. It declared its union with the sovereign companies and invited the other Parliaments to agree [thirteenth of May, fifteenth of June, 1648]. Mazarin thought that he struck a great blow when he arrested four councillors while the Te Deum was being sung, and the standards taken at the battle of Lens were being carried into Notre Dame. This was the beginning of the insurrection. Of the four prisoners, the one whom the people liked best was an old councillor, who pleased them by his bluntness and his white hair. His name was Broussel. The people crowded before his door. An old servant held forth to the mob. The disturbance spread, and 100,000 voices cried "Liberty and Broussel."

The Princes, the nobles, the Parliament, and the populace were all of one mind, against Mazarin. The Queen was obliged to leave Paris with her little son. They slept upon straw at St. Germain. It was a bad time for Kings. The Queen of England, who had taken refuge in Paris, spent the winter in bed for want of fuel. The Parliament, however, raised troops, the lawyers mounted on horseback; every large house furnished an armed lackey. Viscount Turenne, a member of the intriguing house of Bouillon, believed the moment come for recovering Sedan, and for a short time became the General of the Fronde. This cold, grave man hoped by this means to please Madame de Longueville; every general, every party leader, every hero of romance or history thought it necessary to have a "*dame de ses pensées*," and to be in love.

The Spaniards, who took adavantage of this crisis [1649] to enter France, reconciled the two parties for a short time by fear. Condé, who until then had remained faithful to the court, thought that they could not do without him, and became insupportably exacting. It was then that the name of *petits maîtres*

was invented for him and the young men who surrounded him. He made both parties bid for him at the same time; it was necessary to arrest him [1650]. This was a pretext for Turenne, who had just gone over to the Spaniards, and who declared that he was fighting for his deliverance. The Prince's party, that of the Frondeurs, was united and sustained by Spain, and Mazarin was forced to yield. He withdrew for a time from France, and let the storm pass by; in the following year he returned, gained over Turenne, and tried in vain to carry the King back to Paris [battle of the Porte St. Antoine, 1652]. In one more year both parties were thoroughly tired out, and the Parisians themselves pressed the King to return [1653]. The Frondeurs crowded into Mazarin's ante-chamber. Condé and the Spaniards were beaten by the royal army, commanded by Turenne. Mazarin, allying himself without scruple with the English republic under Cromwell, overpowered the Spaniards. Turenne defeated them in the battle of the Dunes [1658], which gave Dunkirk to the English, and the Peace of the Pyrenees to France [1659]. The Treaty of Westphalia had guaranteed to her the barriers of Artois, Alsace, and Roussillon; that of the Pyrenees gave her Gravelines, Landrecies, Thionville, and Montmédy in addition.

The young King of France married the Infanta with a dowry of 100,000 crowns, which was never paid. The Infanta renounced her right of succession to the crown of Spain. Mazarin did not object; he foresaw the value of these renunciations [1659].

Then followed the most complete triumph of royalty, the most perfect acquiescence of a people in the sovereignty of one man, that had ever existed. Richelieu had subdued the nobles and the Protestants; and the Fronde ruined the Parliament by showing what it was worth. Only the King and the people were left standing in France; the latter lived in the former.

The young Louis XIV. was perfectly suited for this magnificent part. His cold and dignified countenance reigned over France for fifty years with unimpaired majesty. During the first thirty years he sat eight hours a day at the council, reconciling business with pleasure, listening, consulting; but deciding for himself. His ministers changed, or died; but he remained always the same, accomplishing the duties, ceremonies, and festivities of royalty with the regularity of the sun, which he chose for his emblem.

One of the merits of Louis XIV. was that he kept in office for twenty-two years one of the ministers who have done most for the glory of France—Colbert. He was the grandson of a wool-merchant of Rheims; his character was somewhat stiff and heavy, but he was full of solid qualities, active and indefatigable. He united the duties of Minister of the Interior, of

Commerce, of the Exchequer, and even of the Admiralty, to which he appointed his son; the departments of War and Justice were all that was wanting to make him ruler of France. From the year 1666 the war office was in the hands of Louvois, an exact, violent, and unbending administrator, whose influence balanced that of Colbert. Louis XIV. seemed to stand between them as between his good and his bad genius; together they held this illustrious reign in equilibrium.[a]

When Colbert came into office, in 1661, the taxes amounted to eighty-four millions, and the King received of them hardly thirty-two. In 1670, in spite of wars, he had raised the net revenue to seventy millions, and reduced the charges to twenty-five. His first financial operation, the reduction of interest on the debt, gave a severe shock to credit. His industrial regulations were singularly vexatious and tyrannical, but his commercial views were enlightened. He created chambers of commerce, established free markets, made roads, and secured commerce on sea by destroying the pirates. At the same time he carried a bold reform into the civil service. He forbade sales or legacies to religious bodies.

He restricted the exemptions from taxes extended by the nobles and citizens of free towns to their farmers, whom they registered as servants. He revoked in 1664 all the patents of nobility granted since 1630. He declared all salaried offices to be temporary, so as in time to suppress them.

Colbert has been reproached with encouraging commerce more than agriculture. He, however, forbade the seizure, in payment of taxes, of the beds, clothes, horses, oxen, and tools of laborers, and took only a fifth of their flocks. He maintained corn at a low price, by forbidding exportation. It must be remembered that, as the greater portion of the land was at that time in the hands of the nobles, encouragement to agriculture would have benefited the people less than the aristocracy; commerce

a Administration of Louis XIV.—Finances.—Development of national wealth under the Ministry of Colbert, 1661—1683. Multiplied regulations. Encouragement given to manufactures (linen, silk, tapestry, mirrors, etc.), 1664—1680. Canal in Languedoc. Embellishment of Paris, 1698. Description of the kingdom, 1660. Obstacles to trade in cereals, 1664. Reduction of interest on the National Debt, towards 1691. Financial disorder, 1695. Poll-tax, 1710. Tithe and other taxes, 1715. The National Debt amounts to 450,000,000 francs. Admiralty. — Large Merchant Navy, 160,000 sailors, 1672. 100 men-of-war, 1681; 230, 1692. First defeat at La Hogue. War.—1666—1691. —Ministry of Louvois. Military Reform. Uniform, 1667.—Establishment of studs for breeding horses, 1671. Use of the bayonet. Companies of grenadiers. Regiment of hussars. *Corps* of engineers. Schools of artillery. 1688.—Militia. Regular Commissary Department. Invalides, 1693. Order of St. Louis. The army raised to 450,000 *men*. Legislation, 1667.—Civil ordinances, 1670. Criminal ordinance, 1673. Commercial code, 1685. *Code noir*.—Towards 1663. Repression of duelling. Religious Affairs.—Struggles of Jansenism, which survives throughout the reign of Louis XIV., 1648—1709. Port Royal des Champs, 1661. Formula dictated by the French clergy, 1713. Bull *Unigenitus*, 1673. Controversy respecting the Regalia, 1682. Assembly of clergy in France, 1685—1699. Quietism, 1685. Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1701—1704. Revolt of the Cévennes.

was in the hands of the middle class, which was beginning to rise into importance.

This man, who had risen from a counting-house, had a sense of the grandeur of France. The principal edifices erected by Louis XIV., his finest establishments, the observatory, library, and academies, all were the work of Colbert. He gave pensions to men of letters, and to artists in France, and even in other countries. "There was not one distinguished scholar," says a contemporary, "however far from France, who was not reached by the King's munificence." "Although the King is not your sovereign," Colbert wrote to Isaac Vossius, of Holland, "he chooses to be your benefactor."

Such letters are admirable testimonies. One may add to them the Invalides, Dunkirk, and the canal which united the two seas. Versailles, likewise, may be included. This prodigious edifice, with which no country in the world has anything to compare, testifies to the greatness of France—united for the first time in the seventeenth century. Those wonderful erections of architecture and verdure, terrace above terrace, and fountain beyond fountain, those ranks of bronzes, marbles, jets, and cascades marshalled on the royal mountain; from the monsters and tritons which proclaim at its base the triumphs of the Great King, to the beautiful antique statues which crown the platform with the tranquil images of the gods—in all this there is a grandiose idea of monarchy. Those waters which rise and fall with so much grace and majesty express the wide social circulation which then took place for the first time, power and wealth flowing from the people to the King, to return from the King to the people. The charming Latona, who presides over the garden, silences with a few drops of water the insolent clamors of the group which surrounds her; they are transformed from men into croaking frogs—an emblem of royalty triumphing over the Fronde.

CHAPTER XIX.

FRANCE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIV.

Strong and united, while most of the States of Europe were growing weaker, France claimed and obtained the supremacy. The Pope, having suffered the French ambassador to be grievously insulted and his hotel plundered, Louis XIV. insisted upon the most public reparation. The Pope was obliged to send away his own brother, and to raise a pyramid to perpetuate his humiliation [1664]. While he was treating the spiritual head of Christendom so severely, he defended Christian interests by sea and land; he swept the sea of the Barbary pirates [1664]. He sent to the Emperor Leopold, who was engaged in a war against the Turks, some troops, who played the most brilliant part in the battle of St. Gotthard.

Against whom did France intend to exercise the strength which she thus exhibited? There were only two Western powers; the return of the Stuarts having rendered England insignificant. These powers were Spain and Holland, the conquered and the conquerors. Spain was still the great ship whose prow was in the Indian Ocean, and whose poop was in the Atlantic; but the vessel had been dismasted and unrigged and had foundered on the coast, in the tempest of Protestantism. A gale of wind had carried away her long-boat Holland; another had deprived her of Portugal and uncovered her side; a third had torn away the East Indies. The remainder, vast and imposing, but inert and motionless, was calmly awaiting its destruction.

On the one hand, there was Holland, a little nation, but obstinate, laborious, and taciturn, and effecting many great things. First of all they lived, in spite of the ocean—this was the first miracle; they next salted their cheese and their herrings, and transmuted their unsavory barrels into barrels of gold; they then made this gold fruitful by putting it out to interest. Their gold pieces begot others. By the middle of the seventeenth century they had taken as much as they pleased of the spoils of Spain, had deprived her of the sea and of the Indies. The Spanish

Netherlands were declared in a state of siege, by virtue of a treaty. Spain had signed the closing of the Scheldt and the ruin of Antwerp [1648]. The Belgians were forbidden to sell the produce of their soil.

Such was the condition of the West when France attained the summit of her strength. The land still belonged to Spain, and the sea to Holland. The work of France in the seventeenth century was to dismember the one and enfeeble the other. The former task was easier than the latter. France had already an army, but not yet a navy. She began therefore by Spain. At first France allied herself apparently with Holland against Spain and England, who were fighting for the dominion of the sea. France promised assistance to the Dutch, but she allowed the three powers to damage each other's vessels and to exhaust their fleets in some of the most obstinate naval battles which had ever been waged. Then, Philip IV. being dead [1667], Louis XIV., in virtue of the civil law in the Low Countries, pretended that his wife, the eldest daughter of the deceased, ought to succeed in preference to the youngest son (right of devolution). She had, indeed, renounced the succession, but the promised dowry had not been paid. The French army entered Flanders in all the pomp of the new reign: Turenne at the head, the King, ministers, and ladies in the gilded court equipages; then Vauban, who, as fast as they advanced, established himself in the towns and fortified them. Flanders was taken in two months. Even in the winter, when war was supposed to be suspended [January, 1668], the troops defiled through Champagne into Burgundy, and fell upon Franche-Comté. Spain had not expected an attack. The authorities of the country had been bought up beforehand. It was all over in seventeen days. The court of Spain wrote in indignation to the governor that the King of France should have sent his lackeys to take the province, instead of coming himself. This rapid success reconciled Spain to Holland. The latter did not care to have the great King for a neighbor. The Dutch began to take an interest in Spain, to defend her, and to unite in her favor with England and Sweden; the Dutch had the dexterity to induce England to ask them to form this union. Three Protestant nations took up arms to defend Catholic Spain against Catholic France. This curious event shows how far they already were from the sixteenth century and the religious wars [triple alliance of the Hague, 1668]. Louis XIV. was obliged to content himself with French Flanders, and to restore Franche-Comté.

Holland had protected Spain and forced France to retire. A citizen, an alderman of Amsterdam, came to warn the King, in the midst of his glory, to go no further. Insulting medals had been struck. It was said that the chief alderman of Amsterdam

had himself represented with a sun, and this motto, *In conspectu meo stetit sol.*

Henceforth the struggle was between France and Holland. The former could not advance a step without encountering the latter. To begin with, the King bought, for a sum down, the alliance of England and Sweden. Charles II., who had already betrayed England by selling Mardyck and Dunkirk to France, once more sold the interests of his country. The nation was promised some of the Dutch islands, the King money for his festivities and his mistresses—the young and fascinating Duchess of Orleans, sister-in-law of Louis XIV. and sister of Charles II., negotiating, in a triumphal visit, her brother's shame. She was the princess who died so young and so lamented, in honor of whom Corneille and Racine each composed their tragedies of "Bérénice," and Bossuet recited his famous funeral oration.

The army of Louis XIV. had been carried to 180,000 men. It received its formidable organization from Louvois. The bayonet, which became such an effective weapon in French hands, was introduced at this period. The indefatigable genius of Colbert had created a navy. France, which had formerly been obliged to borrow ships from Holland, had one hundred vessels of her own in 1672. Five naval arsenals were established —Brest, Rochefort, Toulon, Dunkirk, and Havre. Dunkirk was unfortunately destroyed; but Toulon, and likewise Brest— with its vast establishment and mountains cut down to make room for vessels—still testify to the herculean efforts made at that time by France in her perilous struggle with Holland for the dominion of the ocean.

Holland held the sea and thought that she held everything. The naval party governed, the De Witts at the council, and Ruyter on the waves; the De Witts, statesmen, geometricians, and pilots, were sworn enemies of the land-party, of the house of Orange, and of the Stadholders. They seemed to forget that Holland was connected with the Continent; they considered her as an island. The fortresses were falling into ruins, Holland had 25,000 worthless troops, and this when the French frontier had advanced until it almost touched her own.

Suddenly, 100,000 men moved from France towards Holland [1672]. "It was," says Temple, "a thunder clap in a fair sky." They left behind them Maestricht, which they did not care to take; seized Guelder, Utrecht, and Over-Yssel; they were four leagues distant from Amsterdam. Nothing could save Holland; her only allies, Spain and Brandenburg, would not have stayed the hand of Louis XIV. The conqueror alone might save her by his blunders, and he did so. Condé and Turenne wished the fortresses to be dismantled; Louvois that they might be garrisoned, the effect of which was to scatter the army. The King

listened to Louvois. They trusted in stone walls to secure the possession of Holland: thus Holland escaped. In the first moment the amphibious republic wanted to throw herself into the sea and embark with her wealth for Batavia. The war diminished its fury, and she regained the hope of resisting on land; the people fell upon the chiefs of the naval party—the De Witts. They were torn in pieces; and De Ruyter expected the same fate. All the forces of the republic were confided to the young William of Orange.

This general of twenty-two, who for his essay undertook, almost without an army, to make head against the greatest sovereign in the world, concealed within a feeble, sickly body the cold, hard obstinacy of his grandfather, William the Taciturn, the adversary of Philip II. He was a man of bronze, strange to every feeling of nature and humanity. Brought up by the De Witts, he compassed their ruin. Stuart by his mother's side, he overturned the Stuarts; son-in-law of James II., he dethroned him, and left the England which he had taken from his own relations to the objects of his hatred, the Princes of the house of Hanover. He had but one passion, but that was overwhelming—hatred of France. It is said that at the peace of Nimeguen, when he endeavored to surprise Luxembourg, he was already aware of the treaty, but he still thirsted for French blood. He was not more successful than usual. It is a remarkable fact that this great and intrepid general always made war in retreat; but his admirable retreats were as good as victories.

At first, in order to defend Holland, he drowned her; he opened the sluices, while Ruyter held the sea by beating the English and French, and bringing his victorious fleet to anchor in the inundated plain of Amsterdam. William next armed against France, Spain, and Austria. He separated England from Louis XIV. Charles II. was forced by his Parliament to sign a peace. The Catholic neighbors of Holland, the Bishop of Münster, the Elector of Cologne, then Brandenburg; Denmark, the Empire, and the whole of Europe, declared themselves against Louis XIV. [1674].

It was then necessary to abandon the Dutch fortresses; Louis was obliged to retreat. As usual, compensation was made at the expense of Spain. Louis XIV. took Franche-Comté, which has continued to be part of France. In the Low Countries, Condé, whose force was the weaker by 20,000 men, challenged the Prince to the furious battle of Senef. Condé conquered; but it was a victory for the Prince of Orange to have held his ground with no more loss than was sustained by Condé. On the Rhine, Turenne, who, according to Bonaparte, became more daring as he grew older, held the whole empire in check. Twice he saved

Alsace; twice he penetrated into Germany. It was then that, on an order from Louvois, the Palatinate was ravaged. The Palatine was secretly allied with the Emperor; Louis wished to leave only a desert to the Imperialists.

Turenne, on his return to Germany, was about to strike a decisive blow, when he was killed at Salzbach [1675]. Condé's infirmities obliged him to retire in the same year.

The destiny of France was then seen not to depend on a single man. The allies, who fancied her disarmed by the retirement of the two great generals, failed to break through the frontier of the Rhine, and lost in the Low Countries the towns of Condé, Bouchain, Aire, Valenciennes, Cambray, Ghent, and Ypres. Duquesne, who had been sent to succor Messina, in revolt against Spain, fought a terrible naval battle with Ruyter within sight of Mount Etna; the allies alone lost in it twelve ships, six galleys, 7,000 men, 700 guns, and, what was worth all the rest, Ruyter. Duquesne destroyed their fleet in a second battle [1677].

The allies at that time wished for peace: France and Holland also were exhausted. Colbert determined to resign if the war went on. The peace of Nimeguen was once more favorable to France. She kept Franche-Comté and twelve strong places in the Netherlands; she received Fribourg in exchange for Philipsburg. Denmark and Brandenburg restored what they had taken from Sweden, the ally of France. Holland alone lost nothing, and the great European question remained unaltered [1678].

This was the culminating point of the reign of Louis XIV. Europe had risen against him and he had resisted her attack; he was greater than ever. It was then that he accepted the title of Louis "the Great." The Duke of La Feuillade went still further. He kept a light burning before the King's statue, as if on an altar. It was like the worship of the Roman Emperors.

The brilliant literature of this period is nothing but a hymn in praise of royalty. The voice heard above all others was that of Bossuet. It is thus that Bossuet himself, in his "Discourse on Universal History," describes the Kings of Egypt as praised in the temples by the priests in the presence of their gods. The first period of the great reign, that of Descartes, of Port Royal, of Pascal, and Corneille, did not present the same unanimity; literature was still animated by a ruder and freer spirit.

At the period we have now reached Molière had just died [1673], Racine had completed "Phèdre" [1677], La Fontaine was writing the last six books of his Fables [1678], and Madame de Sévigné her Letters. Bossuet was composing his "Knowledge of God and of Oneself" and preparing the "Discourse on Universal History" [1681]. The Abbé Fénelon, still young, and

only the director of a convent of young girls, was living under the patronage of Bossuet, who fancied him his disciple. Bossuet was the leader of the triumphal chorus of the great century, secure with regard both to the past and the future, between Jansenism, which was disappearing, and Quietism, which had not yet risen—between the austere Pascal and the mystic Fénelon. Cartesianism, however, was being pushed to its most formidable extremities; Malebranche made the human mind return to God; and in Protestant Holland, now struggling with Catholic France, there was about to open—for the absorption alike of Catholicism, of Protestantism, of liberty, of morality, of religion, and of the whole world—the bottomless gulf of Spinoza.

Meanwhile, Louis XIV. reigned over Europe. The proof of sovereignty is jurisdiction. He chose that other powers should recognize the decisions of his Parliaments. The court called "Chambres de Réunion" interpreted the Treaty of Nimeguen to mean that with the strong places the dependencies belonging to them should be reunited. One of these dependencies was no less than Strasburg [1681]. Obedience was delayed; Louis bombarded Luxembourg [1684]. He bombarded Algiers [1683], Tripoli [1685]; he bombarded Genoa, and would have crushed her in her marble palaces, if the Doge had not come to Versailles to ask pardon [1684]. He bought Casale, the gate of Italy; he built Huninguen, the door of Switzerland. He interfered in the empire; he wished to make an Elector of Cologne [1689]. In the name of his sister-in-law, the Duchess of Orleans, he claimed a portion of the Palatinate, invoking in this, as in the case of Flanders, civil against feudal rights. The decisions of civil law were sustained by force; Europe disarmed, while Louis XIV. remained in arms; he carried his fleet to 230 ships; towards the end of his reign his army amounted to more than 400,000 men.

At the same time the monarchy attained the highest possible centralization. The two obstacles, papal power and Protestant opposition, were annulled. In 1673 an edict declared all the bishoprics in the kingdom subject to the "régale."[a] In 1682 an assembly of thirty-five bishops, of whom Bossuet was the soul, decided that "the Pope has no authority, except in spiritual matters;" "that in these very matters the General Councils are superior to him, and that his decisions are infallible only after they have been accepted by the Church." From that time, the Pope refused bulls to all the bishops and abbés appointed by the King, so that in 1689 there were twenty-nine dioceses in France without bishops. There was a question of establishing a patriarchate. In 1687 the Pope wanted to abolish the right of asylum enjoyed by all the ambassadors in Rome for their own

[a] In the gift of the crown.

residences. Louis XIV. alone stood out, and the French ambassador entered Rome at the head of 800 men, and maintained his privileges at the point of the sword.

Louis XIV. silenced his conscience in this matter by crushing the Protestants while he humiliated the Pope. Richelieu had destroyed them as a political party, but he left them their places in Parliament, their synods, and a portion of their interior organization. He vainly flattered himself that he would overcome them by persuasion. Louis XIV. tried money, and thought that he had made great progress by this means; every morning he was told that a new centre or town had been converted; only a little vigor was requisite, it was said, to accomplish the unity of the Church and of France [Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685]. This was the idea of most of the great men of the time, particularly of Bossuet. The employment of violence in matters of faith, the application of temporal evil to cure eternal evil, shocked nobody. It must be owned that there still was great exasperation against the Protestants. France, limited in her victories by Holland, felt that there was another Holland in her bosom, which, it was said, rejoiced over the success of the former. As long as Colbert lived he protected them; excluded from posts under government, they had turned their activity towards manufactures and commerce; they no longer troubled France; they enriched her. After Colbert, Louis XIV. was governed by Louvois, the enemy of Colbert, and by Madame de Maintenon, whom he secretly married towards 1685. Born a Calvinist, and the grand-daughter of the famous Theodore Agrippa d'Aubigné, one of the chiefs of the Huguenot opposition against Henri IV., this discreet and judicious person had abjured her creed, and wished to force her fellow-Protestants to do likewise; she had a cold heart, which the privations of her early life seem to have hardened and dried up. She had been married to the author of "Æneid Travestied"—Scarron the Cripple—before she became the wife of Louis the Great. She never had a child; she was unacquainted with maternal love. It was she who advised the most odious measure in this persecution, to take away children from their parents in order to convert them.

The power of Louis XIV. met its boundary abroad in the Protestant opposition of Holland. At home he found it in the resistance of the Calvinists. The government, finding itself disobeyed for the first time, exhibited a savage violence which was not natural to Louis XIV. Vexations of every kind, confiscation, the galleys, the wheel, the gibbet—every means was employed. The dragoons, who were quartered in numbers upon the Calvinists, helped the missionaries after their fashion. The King did not know the tenth part of the excesses which were

committed. It was in vain that exit from the kingdom was forbidden, the possessions of the fugitives confiscated, and those who favored their escape sent to the galleys. The State lost 200,000 subjects—some say 500,000. They escaped in crowds; they established themselves in England, Holland, Germany, especially in Prussia, and became afterwards the most inveterate enemies to France. William of Orange charged the French more than once at the head of a French regiment. He owed his success in Ireland in a great measure to old Marshal Schomberg, who preferred his religion to his country. The infernal machine, which nearly blew up St. Malo in 1693, was invented by a refugee.

It was just at this time that most of the European powers formed the Alliance of Augsburg [1686]. Catholics and Protestants, William and Innocent XI., Sweden and Savoy, Denmark and Austria, Bavaria, Saxony, Brandenburg—all the world combined against Louis XIV. Among other things he was accused of having, by his intelligence with the revolutionists in Hungary, opened Germany to the Turks, and brought about the frightful invasion from which Vienna was saved by John Sobieski. Louis XIV. had only the King of England, James II., on his side. An unexpected revolution overthrew James and gave England to William. The second and last catastrophe of the Stuarts, prepared long before by the shameful government of Charles II., occurred under his brother's reign. James did not imitate the hypocritical tergiversations of Charles; he was brave, narrow-minded, and obstinate; he declared himself a Catholic and a Jesuit (this was the literal truth); he did all he could to insure a fall, and he fell. His son-in-law, William, was called from Holland, and took his place without striking a blow [1688].

Louis XIV. gave James II. a magnificent reception and took up his cause; he challenged the whole of Europe; he declared war on England, Holland, on the Empire, and on Spain. While the French Calvinists were strengthening the armies of the League, crowds of all nations came to serve in the armies of Louis XIV. He had regiments of Hungarians and Irish. One day that he was complimented on the success of the French army, "Say, rather," he replied, "the army of France."

This second period of the reign of Louis XIV. was filled by two Wars of Succession: succession to the English and succession to the Spanish crown. The former war was terminated honorably for France, by the Treaty of Ryswick [1698]; and yet the result was against her, for William was recognized. In the second war [terminated by the peaces of Utrecht and Rastadt, 1712—1714] France sustained the most humiliating reverses, and the result was in her favor. Spain, secured to a grandson of Louis XIV., was henceforth open to the influence of France.

To these results we must add the elevation of two secondary States, indispensable in future to the balance of power in Europe —Prussia and Piedmont—which may be defined as German and Italian resistance. Prussia, at the same time German and Sclavonic, gradually absorbed Northern Germany, and served as a counterpoise to Austria. The kingdom of Savoy and Piedmont guarded the Alps and closed them in her Italian character against France, and in her French character against Italy.

One must note beforehand these excellent and useful results as a consolation for the many reverses in store for France.

In 1689 she gave a cruel defiance to Germany. She placed a desert between herself and her enemies. The whole Palatinate was burned for the second time—Spires, Worms, more than forty towns and villages, were fired. Two generals reigned in Flanders and in the Alps—Luxembourg and Catinat; it was Condé and Turenne over again. Luxembourg, full of inspiration, and sudden in his movements, made war like a fine gentleman; he was often surprised, but never beaten. After the skilful battles of Fleurus, Steinkirk, and Neerwinden [1680, 1692, 1695], whence he carried away so many standards, he was called the "Upholsterer of Notre Dame." This brilliant general was ill-favored by nature. William of Orange said: "Shall I never be able to beat that little hunchback?"

Catinat treated war as a science. He was a soldier of fortune, one of a family of lawyers; he began life as an advocate, and was the first instance of a plebeian general. He bore some resemblance to the generals of antiquity. He made his way slowly by force of merit; it was long before he obtained a command, and he never was a favorite. He asked for nothing, received little, and often refused. The soldiers, who liked his simplicity and good nature, called him "Father Thoughtful" *(le Père la Pensée)*. The court made use of him with regret. When he had beaten the Duke of Savoy at Staffarde, taken Saluces, and forced the enemy at Susa [1690], Louvois wrote to him: "Although you have served the King rather ill in this campaign, his Majesty is willing to confer on you the ordinary gratification." Catinat never took offence at anything; he bore with the same patience the rough speeches of Louvois, and the hardships of the Alpine war.

The severest blows were dealt in Ireland and on sea. Louis XIV. wanted to restore the influence of France in England; he conveyed James to Ireland; he sent him one reinforcement after another, and fleet upon fleet. James failed. The odious assistance of the French and Irish confirmed the English in their hatred of him. Instead of stirring up Scotland, where he was expected, he remained in Ireland; he amused himself by sieges, and was beaten at the Boyne. Louis XIV. was not discouraged; he gave James money to arm and

equip 30,000 men, and he tried to send 20,000; Tourville and d'Estrées were to escort them with seventy-five ships. D'Estrées was delayed by the wind, and Tourville found himself with forty-four vessels against eighty-four. He asked the court for orders; Louis XIV. believed in his own good fortune, and ordered him to force the passage. This terrible battle of La Hogue cost France only seventeen ships, but the pride and confidence of her navy perished. It was reduced, in 1707, to thirty-five vessels; and revived only a short time under Louis XVI. England may date her dominion of the seas from the battle of La Hogue [1692]. Louis XIV. struck one of his medals with a figure of Neptune in a menacing attitude, and these words of the poet, "*Quos ego.*" The Dutch struck another with the following legend: "*Maturate fugam, regique hæc dicite vestro: Non illi imperium pelagi.*"

The terrible ravages of the Corsairs, of such men as John Bart and Duguay Trouin, the bloody battle of Neerwinden gained by Luxembourg, and the success of Catinat at Marsiglia [1693], gradually disposed the allies to treat. The Duke of Savoy was the first to yield. The war was over for him; all his fortresses were in the hands of the French. He was offered them back again, and for his daughter the reversal of the crown of France. She was to marry the Duke of Burgundy, the grandson of Louis XIV., and heir to the throne. The defection of Savoy [1696] was followed in time by that of the other allies. France kept Roussillon, Artois, the Franche-Comté, and Strasburg; but she recognized William—in reality she was beaten [Peace of Ryswick, 1696].

This peace was no more than a truce granted to the sufferings of the people. Europe was occupied with a great event; the question was no longer of some province or other of Spain, but of the whole of the Spanish monarchy, including Naples, the Low Countries, and the Indies. Charles V. extended himself alive in his coffin, and was present at his own funeral. Charles VI., the last of his descendants, beheld that of the monarchy. This man, decrepit, at thirty-nine, governed by his wife, his mother, and his confessor, under the influence of all who approached him, was constantly making and unmaking his will. The King of France, the Emperor, the Elector of Bavaria, and the Duke of Savoy, all sons of Spanish Princesses, were disputing his spoils beforehand. Sometimes the Bavarian gained the ascendant, sometimes the Austrian prince; sometimes they talked of partition. The poor King saw it all, and was indignant. He was determined, in spite of his ignorance and indecision, to guarantee the unity of the monarchy of Spain. He chose the Prince who would be most able to maintain this unity —a grandson of Louis XIV. He then had the tombs in the Escurial opened, exhumed his father and mother and his first

wife, and kissed their bones. It was not long before he joined them [1700].

Louis XIV. accepted the legacy with all its difficulties. He sent his second grandson to Spain—the Duke of Anjou, afterwards Philip V. On his departure he addressed these words to him: "The Pyrenees have disappeared." The immediate consequence was an European war. At the same time, in spite of the advice of his ministers, he decided on recognizing the son of James II. as Prince of Wales, thus supporting simultaneously the succession to Spain and to England.

It was, however, very late for undertaking such a war. He had reigned for fifty-seven years, he had grown old himself, and all around him was old. France seemed to have faded with the old age of her King. One by one his glories semed to be vanishing—Colbert was dead, and Louvois was dead [1682—1691]; likewise Arnaud, Boileau, Racine, La Fontaine, and Madame de Sévigné. Soon the grand voice of the century (Bossuet) would be no more heard [1704]. Instead of Colbert and Louvois, France had Chamillart, who united their offices. Chamillart was governed by Madame de Maintenon, and Madame de Maintenon by Babbien, her old maidservant. It was strange that England likewise was governed by a woman after William and Mary—by Queen Anne, the daughter of James II. and granddaughter, through her mother, of the historian, Clarendon; as Madame de Maintenon was of Agrippa d'Aubigné.

The government, although in the hands of citizens recently raised to the nobility (Chamillart, Le Tellier, Pontchartrain, etc.), was none the less favorable to the nobles. Prodigiously increased of late, standing aloof from commerce and manufactures, scornful and incapable, they had invaded the ante-chamber, the army, and especially the government offices. The lesser nobles had their choice between becoming officers or officials. There were soon as many officers as soldiers, as many administrators as administered. The great nobles bought regiments for their little children, commanded armies, and allowed themselves to be beaten at Cremona and Hochstadt.

There were at that time at the head of the allied armies two men who were capable of taking advantage of all this, an Englishman and a Frenchman—Marlborough and Eugène. The latter, a cadet of the house of Savoy, but son of the Count of Soissons and one of Mazarin's nieces, may be called a Frenchman. Marlborough, the "handsome Englishman," was cold and acute; he had studied under Turenne, and gave back to France the lessons which he had learnt from her. Eugène, although Vendôme called him "a miserable charlatan," was a man of extraordinary tact, who cared little for rules, but who was thoroughly acquainted with places, things, and people, and

knew the strong and weak points of the enemy. His most splendid and easiest victories were over the half-civilized Ottomans. This gifted general, who always appeared at the right moment, gained his victories alternately at both ends of Europe, over Louis the Great and over the Turks, and apparently saved both liberty and Christianity.

Both these generals had this great advantage in war, that they were supreme in their own countries; in the summer they fought, and in the winter they governed and negotiated; they had carte blanche, and were not forced on the eve of a battle to write to Versailles to obtain leave to conquer.

In 1701, Catinat gave up his command to the magnificent Villeroi, whom the Prince Eugène seized in his bed at Cremona. Eugène gained nothing by this feat. Villeroi was replaced by Vendôme, a grandson of Henri IV., and a thorough soldier, although effeminate in his habits. Vendôme, like his brother, the Grand Prior, stayed in bed till four in the afternoon. He was one of the youngest generals of Louis XIV.; he was only fifty. The soldiers adored him even for his faults. There was little order, foresight, or discipline in his army, but much daring and gaiety. He repaired all his blunders by his gallantry.

Catinat commanded in the German campaign, and under him was Villars. The latter, impatient of the prudence of his chief, won rashly the battle of Friedlingen [1702]; then penetrating into Germany, he gained once more, in spite of the Elector of Bavaria, the ally of Louis XIV., the battle of Hochstadt [1703]. Villars excited the enthusiasm of his soldiers by his bravery, his boasting, and his fine military figure. At Friedlingen they proclaimed him Marshal of France on the field of battle.

The road to Austria was just open when they heard that the Duke of Savoy had placed himself in opposition to France and Spain—against his two sons-in-law [1703]. Until this movement, the allies had reaped no signal advantage over France, notwithstanding that she was fighting on all her frontiers and at home—against the world and against herself. The Calvinists of the Cévennes, exasperated by the clergy and by their governor, Basville, had been in arms ever since 1702. Villars and Berwick, among other generals, were sent to subdue them. The latter was a Stuart, a natural son of James II., and became one of the first tacticians of the time.

Villars was away in Languedoc, and Catinat had retired, when the army in Germany, under Generals de Marsin and Tallard, suffered at Hochstadt, on the very theatre of Villars' victory, one of the most terrible defeats ever experienced by France. They had entered Germany incautiously, and were on the road to Vienna when Marlborough and Eugène cut them off. Their disposition was so unskilful that, besides those who were killed,

14,000 men yielded without the possibility of striking a blow [1704]. Villars arrived in time to cover Lorraine, while Vendôme gained an advantage over Eugène in the bloody engagement of Cassano [1705]. In 1706 Vendôme was replaced in Italy by La Feuillade. France suffered two signal defeats. At Turin, Eugène deprived her of all her Italian possessions; at Ramillies, Marlborough drove her out of the Spanish Netherlands.

In 1707, the Allies penetrated into France through Provence; in 1708, through Flanders (defeat of Oudenarde). 1709 was a terrible year—first a deadly winter, followed by a famine. Want was felt in all directions. The King's servants were begging at the doors of Versailles; Madame de Maintenon ate black bread. Whole companies of cavalry deserted, their colors flying, to gain their bread by plunder. The recruiting officers had to take men by force. Taxation assumed every form, in order to reach the people—the common incidents of their lives were taxed; they paid for being born and for dying. The peasants, pursued into the woods by the tax-gatherers, armed themselves and took the town of Castries by assault. The King could no longer borrow, even at 400 per cent. Before the death of Louis XIV. the debt reached nearly three billions.

The Allies also suffered. England ruined herself in order to ruin France. But Europe was led by two men who chose to have war, and the humiliation of Louis XIV. was a delightful sight to them. His ambassadors were answered only by derisive proposals. He was told that he must undo his own work and dethrone Philip V. He condescended even to offer money to the Allies to support the war against his grandson. But this was not enough, they insisted upon his driving Philip out himself, and that a French army should be sent against a French Prince.

The venerable King then declared that he would put himself at the head of his nobles and go to the frontier to die. For the first time he turned to his people, he took them for his judges, and rose by his own humiliation. The way in which the French fought this year [1709], shows how national the war had become.

On the ninth of September, near the village of Malplaquet, the soldiers, who had had no food for a whole day, had just received their rations; they threw their bread away in order to fight again. Villars was carried, seriously wounded, off the field; the army retired in good order, having lost less than 8,000 men; the Allies left 15,000 or 20,000 on the ground. In Spain, the throne of Philip V., founded by Berwick at Almanza [1707], was secured at Villaviciosa by Vendôme [1710]; he put the young King to sleep upon a bed of standards. Nevertheless, the elevation of the Archduke Charles to the imperial crown [1711], caused

Europe to fear the reunion of Spain to the Empire. It was not worth while to have pulled down Louis XIV. in order to set up a Charles V. England was tired of spending; she saw Marlborough, who had been seduced by the Dutch, fighting in their interests. Finally, the unexpected victory of Villars at Denain damaged the reputation of Prince Eugène [1712]. This terrible war, by means of which the Allies expected to dismember France, did not deprive her of a single province. [Treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt, 1712; Barrier Treaty, 1715.]

She gave up only a few colonies. She maintained the grandson of Louis XIV. on the throne of Spain. The Spanish monarchy lost, it is true, its possessions in Italy and the Low Countries; it yielded Sicily to the Duke of Savoy, and the Spanish Netherlands, Naples, and the Milanese to Austria; but it gained by compression, by getting rid of the distant possessions which it could neither govern nor defend; the two Sicilies soon, however, were restored to a branch of the Spanish Bourbons. Holland received several strongholds in the Netherlands, with the obligation to defend them in concert with Austria. The new dynasty was recognized in England, which took possession of Gibraltar and Minorca, thus securing a footing in Spain and the Mediterranean. She obtained for herself and Holland a commercial treaty which was disadvantageous to France. She exacted the demolition of Dunkirk, and prevented France from supplying its loss by the canal of Mardyck. She sent, and this was the most humiliating part, an English commissioner to watch lest France should restore the ruins of Jean Bart's town. "They are setting to work to demolish Dunkirk," says a contemporary; "they ask 800,000 francs to pull down only the third part." To this day one cannot read without scorn and indignation the pathetic supplication addressed to the Queen of England by the inhabitants.

Such was the end of this famous reign. Louis XIV. survived only for a short time the Treaty of Utrecht [he died in 1715]. In the course of a few years he had witnessed the deaths of almost all his children, of the Dauphin, of the Duke and Duchess of Burgundy, and of one of their sons. In the deserted palace there remained only one old man, nearly eighty, and a child of five years of age. All the great men of the age had gone before him, a new generation had sprung up. The ancient landmarks of society and literature were about to be moved. This period of softness and laxity had been anticipated by the mild quietism of Madame Guyon, who reduced religion to love. The clever and eloquent Massillon set aside dogma and spoke only of morality in his sermons, and the bold political ideas of Fénelon already belonged to the eighteenth century.

CHAPTER XX.

EUROPEAN CULTURE.

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART, IN THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIV.

The genius of literature and art was still shining in the South during the first half of the eighteenth century. The genius of philosophy and science illuminated the North, especially during the second half. France, placed between the two, concentrated the rays of both, extended her language over every polished nation, and assumed in future the lead in European civilization.

Section I.—France.

In France, as in Italy, the great literary age was preceded by a period of considerable agitation. Under Louis XIV. genius was animated and encouraged by a monarch who was the object of national enthusiasm. The religious spirit was at this time the chief inspirer of letters. Catholicism, in the interval between the attacks of the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, animated its defenders with new energy. Another impulse was likewise given to letters by the social spirit natural to the French, but which requires well-being and security for its development; this tendency is the source of the superiority of French literature in dramatic poetry, and in all representations of manners. A capital and a court form the best school of criticism for literary art; perhaps it may not be favorable to originality, but it cultivates the perfection of taste and style.

The seventeenth century presents two distinct periods. In France the first period ends in the year 1661, when Louis XIV. began to reign for himself, and to exercise some influence over letters. The writers who flourished, or were maturing, in this period, retained some of the energy of the sixteenth century; their speculations were more daring and often more profound. Taste was still the privilege of a few men of genius. To this period belonged the painters Poussin and Le Sueur, and a great many writers—Malherbe, Racan, Brèbœuf, Rotrou, and the

great Corneille. Balzac and Voiture, Sarrazin and Mézérai, Descartes and Pascal, Cardinal de Retz and Molière, extend from the first to the second period.

Tragedy first attained majesty, strength, and sublimity; she afterwards added grace and pathos.—Comedy of life and manners (genteel comedy) unrivalled by other nations now arose. There were three phases of French comedy: Profound philosophy and natural gaiety, gaiety without philosophy, and interest without gaiety.—The opera rose to the rank of literature. Didactic poetry was remarkable for its wisdom and elegance. Satire was directed more against foibles than vices, and especially against literary absurdities. Apologues became little dramatic poems. Lyrical poetry flourished later, and exhibited more art than passion. Pastoral poetry was feeble and too ingenious. Light, occasional verses had more grace than force in them.

Dramatic Poets.

	Died in		Died in
Rotrou	1630	Th. Corneille	1709
Molière	1673	Regnard	1709
Pierre Corneille	1684	Brueys	1723
Quinault	1688	Campistron	1723
Racine	1699	Dancourt	1726
Boursault	1708	Crébillon	1762

Poets of other kinds.

	Died in		Died in
Malherbe	1628	Racan	1670
Bréboeuf	1661	Benserade	1691
Madame Deshoulières	1694	La Fare	1713
La Fontaine	1695	Chaulieu	1720
Ségrais	1701	J. B. Rousseau	1741
Boileau	1711		

The eloquence of the bar was checked in its development [Le Maistre, 1658; Patrie, 1681; Pélisson, 1693]. The eloquence of the pulpit surpassed the models of antiquity. Funeral orations reappeared in a form unknown to the ancients.

Orators.

	Died in		Died in
Cheminais	1689	Fléchier	1710
Mascaron	1703	Fénelon	1715
Bourdaloue	1704	Massillon	1743
Bossuet	1704		

History was written with stiff elegance and little regard to truth, or else it was valuable only for its research. The "Discourse on Universal History" seems to have opened a new path. —Abundant materials were stored up in memoirs and in mer-

cantile correspondence. Many other walks of literature were pursued with success. Novels rivalled comedy. In the carelessness of intimate correspondence women attained the perfection of familiar style. Translation made some progress. Finally, literary criticism sprang into existence.

Historians.

	Died in		Died in
Sarrazin	1654	Amelot de la Houssaie	1706
Péréfixe	1670	Boulainvilliers	1722
Cardinal de Retz	1679	Fleuri	1723
Mézérai	1683	Rapin de Thoiras	1725
Père Maimbourg	1686	Daniel	1728
Madame de Motteville	1689	Vertot	1735
Saint Réal	1692	Dubos	1742
Varillas	1696	St. Simon	1755
P. d'Orléans	1698		

Historic Scholars.

	Died in		Died in
Th. Godefroi	1646	Herbelot	1695
Soimond	1651	Tillemont	1698
Pétau	1652	Cousin	1707
Labbe	1667	Mabillon	1707
Valois	1676	Ruinard	1709
Moréri	1680	Baluze	1718
Godefroi	1681	Basnage	1723
Ducange	1688	Le Clerc	1736
Pagi	1695	Montfaucon	1741

Writers of different kinds.

	Died in		Died in
Voiture	1648	Scarron	1660
Vaugelas	1649	D'Ablancourt	1664
Balzac	1654	Arnault d'Andilly	1674
Du Ryer	1656	Le Bossu	1680
De Saci	1684	Tourreil	1715
Chapelle	1686	Madame de Maintenon	1716
Ant. Arnaud	1694	Hamilton	1720
Lancelot	1695	Dufresni	1724
Madame de Sévigné	1696	La Motte Houdard	1731
Madame de la Fayette	1699	Dubos	1742
Bachaumont	1702	Mongault	1747
Bouhours	1702	Le Sage	1747
Perrault	1703	Madame de Lambert	1753
St. Evremond	1703	Fontenelle	1757
Fénelon	1715		

Intellect received a new impulse from the study of metaphysics. The moralists accumulated facts without trying to establish a system of moral science. The philosophical spirit began to enter the domain of natural science. A few sceptics, rare in this age, united the sixteenth with the eighteenth century.

Philosophers.

	Died in		Died in
Descartes	1650	Bayle	1706
Gassendi	1655	Malebranche	1715
Pascal	1662	Huet	1721
La Motte le Vayer	1672	Buffier	1737
La Rochefoucauld	1680	Abbé St. Pierre	1743
Nicole	1695	Fontenelle	1757
La Bruyère	1696		

Science was not neglected. Mathematics was developed, and geography first systematized. Travels were for the first time undertaken for scientific purposes.

Scholars and Mathematicians.

	Died in		Died in
Descartes	1650	L'Hôpital	1704
Fermat	1652	Jacques Bernouilli	1705
Pascal	1662	Nicolas Bernouilli	1726
Pecquet	1674	Jean Bernouilli	1748
Rohault	1675		

Geographers and Travellers.

	Died in		Died in
Samson	1667	Tournefort	1708
Bochard	1669	Chardin	1713
Bernier	1688	De l'Isle	1726
Vaillant	1706		

Classical literature was cultivated as much as in the sixteenth century, but it was less conspicuous.

Students of Classical Literature.

	Died in		Died in
Saumaise	1653	Jouvenci	1716
Lefèvre	1672	Madame Dacier	1722
Rapin	1687	Dacier	1722
Furetière	1688	De la Rue	1725
Ménage	1691	De la Monnaie	1728
Santenil	1697	Cardinal Polignac	1741
Commire	1702	Brumoi	1742
Danet	1709		

Although the fine arts were not the most striking features of the age of Louis XIV., they contributed to the splendor of this brilliant period. Architecture flourished exceedingly. Painting, at first pursued with genius, fell into a decline which became still more rapid in the following century.

Painters.

	Died in		Died in
Le Sueur	1655	Mignard	1695
Poussin	1665	Jouvenet	1717
Le Brun	1690	Rigaud	1744

Sculptors.

	Died in		Died in
Puget	1695	Coysevox	1720
Girardon	1715	Coustou	1733

Architects.

	Died in		Died in
Fr. Mansard	1666	Claude Perrault	1703
Le Nôtre	1700	H. Mansard	1708

Engravers.

	Died in		Died in
Callot	1635	Audran	1703
Nanteuil	1678		

Musical Composer.

Lulli, Died in 1687.

Section II.—Other Countries of Europe.

England, Italy, and Spain followed closely upon France in the career of letters; the two former, with Holland, preceded her in science. In spite of the rise of a few men of ability, Germany had not yet begun to develop. In the first half of the seventeenth century Italy still bore the palm in painting, with Flanders for her rival.

1. Literature.—The names of Bacon and Shakespeare mark the first development of English genius, but for a long time the religious wars put a stop to intellectual progress, although that great masterpiece, the "Paradise Lost," must be referred to their date [in spite of its appearing as late as 1669]. Under Charles II. England was under the literary, as she was under the political, influence of France; and this imitative tendency manifests itself in all the classical period of English literature [from the accession of Charles II. to the death of Queen Anne, 1661—1714]. In this period England produced three celebrated poets—Dryden, Addison, and Pope—a great many wits, and several distinguished prose writers.

English Poets.

	Died in		Died in
Shakespeare	1616	Rochester	1680
Denham	1666	Butler	1680
Cowley	1667	Roscommon	1684
Milton	1674	Otway	1685
Waller	1687	Prior	1729
Dryden	1701	Congreve	1729
Rowe	1718	Gay	1732
Addison	1719	Pope	1744

English Prose Writers.

	Died in		Died in
Clarendon	1694	Addison	1719
Tillotson	1694	Steele	1729
Temple	1698	Swift	1745
Burnet	1715	Bolingbroke	1751

The golden age of Italian literature was over. An original and profound thinker [Vico, who died in 1744] founded in Naples the philosophy of history; some good historians appeared, but poetry was disfigured by affectation.

Italian Poets.

	Died in		Died in
Marini	1625	Salvator Rosa	1673
Tassoni	1635		

Italian Historians.

	Died in		Died in
Sarpi	1625	Bentivoglio	1644
Davila	1634	Nami	1678

Spanish literature was prodigiously fertile in philosophers and humorists: after the names of Cervantes and of two great tragic poets, came those of several historians.

Spanish Authors.

	Died in		Died in
Cervantes	1616	Lope de Vega	1635
Mariana	1624	Solis	1686
Herrera	1625	Calderone	1687

2. Philosophy.—England, prepared by theological and political controversies, opened new paths to metaphysics and political science. Germany opposed a single man (Leibnitz) to all the English scholars and metaphysicians. A Dutchman (Spinoza) systematized atheism; another Dutchman (Grotius) gave a scientific form to morality, and proved that society, as well as individuals, should be regulated by it. The new science, at first founded upon the classical system, was afterwards included in philosophy.

English Philosophical and Political Writers.

	Died in		Died in
Bacon	1626	Locke	1704
Hobbes	1679	Shaftesbury	1715
Sidney	1683	Clarke	1729
Cudworth	1688		

Dutch Philosophical and Political Writers.

	Died in		Died in
Grotius	1645	St. Gravesande	1742
Spinoza	1677		

German Philosophical and Political Writers.

	Died in		Died in
Puffendorf	1695	Wolf	1784
Leibnitz	1716		

3. Science.—Bacon discovered its laws, and, as it were, prophesied the great results which might be expected, but Galileo and Newton were the first to direct its use. Many scholars and students followed in the wake of these extraordinary men.

English Scientific and Literary Men.

	Died in		Died in
Bacon	1626	The Gregorys	1646, 1675, 1708
Harvey	1657	Newton	1726
Barrow	1677	Halley	1741
Boyle	1691		

Italian Scientific and Literary Men.

	Died in		Died in
Aldovrandus	1615	Borelli	1679
Sanctorius, towards	1636	Viviani	1703
Galileo	1642	Cassini	1712
Torricelli	1647		

Dutch Scientific and Literary Men.

	Died in		Died in
Huyghens	1702	Boerhaave	1738

German and Danish Scientific and Literary Men.

	Died in		Died in
Kepler	1630	Kircher	1683
Tycho Brahé	1636	Stahl	1733

4. Antiquarian Research.—It was exercised in every possible direction. The antiquities of the middle ages and of the East shared the labors of the learned, who, until then, had been exclusively engaged with classical antiquities.

English Antiquarians.

Owen, Farnaby, Aster, Bentley, Marsham, Stanley, Hyde, Pocock.

Dutch and Flemish Students of Antiquity.

Barlæus, Schrevelius, Heinsius, Vossius.

German Students of Antiquity.

Frenshemius, Gronovius, Morhof, Fabricius, Spanheim.

Italian Antiquarians.

Muratori, etc.

5. The Fine Arts.—In Italy the decline of art followed that of letters. Painting alone was an exception. It flourished in the Lombard and Flemish schools.

Italian Painters.

	Died in		Died in
Guido	1642	Guercino	1666
Albano	1647	Salvator Rosa	1675
Lanfranco	1647	Bernini (sculptor, architect, and painter)	1680
Domenichino	1648		

Flemish and Dutch Painters.

	Died in		Died in
Rubens	1640	Rembrandt	1688
Vandyke	1641	The younger Teniers	1694
The elder Teniers	1649		

CHAPTER XXI.

DISSOLUTION OF THE MONARCHY.

THE GROWTH OF REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS IN FRANCE, 1715—1789.

Between the reigns of Louis the Great and Napoleon the Great, France slid down a rapid decline, at the foot of which the ancient monarchy, striking on the people, was dashed to pieces and gave place to the principles on which the existing political system of Europe is based. The central idea of the eighteenth century consists in the preparation for this great change. First came the literary and philosophical struggle for religious liberty; next the great and bloody battle for political liberty, a victory which proved ruinous to Europe; and, lastly, in spite of a passing reaction, the definitive confirmation of civil equality.

Whilst the body of Louis XIV. was being carried all alone and without ceremony to St. Denis, the Duke of Orleans forced the Parliament to set aside his will. The politics of the regent, his whole life and character, were in opposition to the preceding reign. All the ancient barriers gave way; the regent invited private individuals to give their opinions on politics; he proclaimed the maxims of Fénelon, he printed Telemachus at his own expense, and opened the royal library to the public. The farmers of the Revenue, who had grown fat upon the troubles of France, were judged by a Star Chamber, fined, and condemned haphazard. This rigorous treatment of the financiers only added to the popularity of the Duke. It was not enough, however, to condemn them; it was necessary to replace them by some other means, so as to liquidate the enormous debt left by Louis XIV. A great enterprise was then attempted; a Scotch banker, named Law, who called himself a disciple of Newton and Locke, came to make the first experiment that France had seen on the resources of credit. He opened a bank and substituted paper money for coin. This bank was converted by the regent into a royal bank. Law associated with this bank the Mississippi, or West Indian Company scheme. The regent

granted to the company a lease of the public taxes, in return for which the company lent him 1,200,000,000 francs towards paying the debts of the State. The public creditors were paid henceforth, not in cash, but in shares of the Mississippi Company, taken at their present fabulous market price. Enormous dividends were paid on these, and the anxiety to obtain them amounted to infatuation. For the first time, gold was at a discount, and the price of shares increased every hour. The Rue Quincampoix was thronged; men elbowed each other at the doors of the offices, where they could exchange this inconvenient metal for paper. The regent was one of the directors. The confidence of the public, however, was shaken; this paper religion had its unbelievers; it fell rapidly; woe betided the last holders! Strange metamorphoses were seen—the rich man became poor, and the poor rich; wealth, which hitherto had been connected with land and was permanent in families, for the first time seemed to take to itself wings; in future it was to follow the requirements of commerce and industry. A similar movement took place all over Europe; the inhabitants detached themselves, as it were, from the soil. Law, who disappeared amidst the maledictions of the nation, left behind him at least this benefit [1717—1721].

The regent, in his easy reception of new ideas, his interest in science, and his dissolute manners, is one of the types of the eighteenth century. He maintained the bull *unigenitus* for the sake of the Pontiff, but he was utterly without religion. His *roué* companions belonged to the nobility, but his devoted adherent, his minister, the real King of France, was the rascally Cardinal Dubois, the son of an apothecary at Brives-la-Gaillarde. The natural ally of the regent was England, which, under the house of Hanover, was likewise a representative of modern ideas, as was also the new monarchy of Prussia in Germany.

The common enemy was Spain, at whose expense the Treaty of Utrecht had been concluded. Spain and France, whose relationship made them all the more hostile, looked at each other with an unfriendly eye. The Spanish minister, the intriguing Alberoni, undertook to re-establish the old system throughout Europe. He wanted to restore to Spain all that she had lost, to give the regency of France to Philip V., and to establish the Pretender in England. To effect this, Alberoni hired the first general of the time—the Swedish King, Charles XII. This royal adventurer was to be paid by Spain as Gustavus Adolphus had been by France. This great project failed everywhere. Charles XII. was killed; the Pretender was beaten. The Spanish ambassador was found conspiring with the Duchess of Maine, wife of a legitimatized son of Louis XIV. This clever little Princess had expected to change the face of Europe. The memoirs of the Fronde, which had recently appeared, inspired her with emula-

tion. The regent and Dubois, incapable alike of friendship or enmity, thought the whole affair so absurd that they punished no one, except some unfortunate gentlemen from Brittany, who had put themselves forward [1718]. France, England, Holland, and the Emperor combined against Alberoni, and formed the Quadruple Alliance. In 1720 Spain obtained in compensation Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia; and the Emperor, after investing Spain with these States, obliged the Duke of Savoy to exchange Sicily for Sardinia. Europe was determined upon peace, and was willing to make any sacrifice for it.

The severe and unskilful ministry of the Duke of Bourbon, who governed after the death of the regent [1723—1726], was soon replaced by that of the cautious Fleury, who had formerly been preceptor to the young King, and who quietly took possession of the King and the kingdom [1726—1745]. Louis XV., who up to the age of seven was kept in leading strings, and until twelve wore stays, was destined to be ruled all his lifetime. Under the timid and economical government of the old priest, France was disturbed only by the papal bull, by the convulsions of Jansenism, and the agitations of the Parliaments. France slumbered under Fleury, and had for her ally England, who was slumbering under Walpole—an unequal alliance from which France derived no kind of advantage. The French at that time were full of admiration for England; they went to study under the freethinkers of Great Britain, as in ancient times the Greek philosophers sat under the Egyptian priests. Voltaire went thither to listen to Locke and Newton, and to gather materials for his tragedy of "Brutus" [1730]. Montesquieu, who had become more careful since the scandal created by his brilliant "Lettres Persanes" (published in 1721), took from England the type which he held up for the imitation of all nations. No attention was paid to Germany, where Leibnitz had died; nor to Italy, where Vico was still living.

There were so many inflammable substances hidden beneath this apparent calm, that a spark from the north was enough to set all Europe in a blaze.

Under the Duke of Bourbon a court intrigue had married the King of France to the daughter of a landless Prince, Stanislas Leczinski, the knight-errant whom Charles XII. had set up for a moment as King of Poland, and who retired into France. On the death of Augustus II. [1733], the party of Stanislas revived, in opposition to that of Augustus III., Elector of Saxony and son of the late King. Stanislas obtained 60,000 votes. Villars and the old generals were eager for war; they pretended that it was impossible to refuse support to the father-in-law of the King of France. Fleury allowed himself to be persuaded. His preparations were not sufficient for success, but they were enough to

compromise France. He sent three millions (francs) and 500 men against 50,000 Russians. A Frenchman, Count de Plélo, ambassador to Denmark, who happened to be present when the troops arrived, blushed for his country, placed himself at their head, and was killed.

Spain had taken the side of Stanislas against Austria, which sustained Augustus. She made this distant war in Poland a pretext for recovering her Italian possessions, and succeeded to a certain extent, with the assistance of France. Whilst Villars was invading the Milanese, the Spaniards recovered the Two Sicilies, and established there the infant Don Carlos [1734—1735]. They retained this conquest at the Treaty of Vienna [1738]. In exchange for the throne of Poland, Stanislas received Lorraine, which, on his death, was to fall to France; Francis, Duke of Loraine and son-in-law of the Emperor, and husband of the famous Maria Theresa, received in its stead Tuscany, as a fief of the empire. The last of the Medicis having died without issue, Fleury immediately negotiated for the purpose of securing the Two Sicilies to the Spanish Bourbons, in spite of the jealousy of England. Meanwhile 10,000 Russians had reached the Rhine. It occurred to the French for the first time that this European Asia might stretch out her long arms to France.

Although she had grown old with Fleury and Villars, France had, nevertheless, under her octogenarian minister and general, acquired Lorraine. Spain, revived by the Bourbons, had won two kingdoms from Austria. The latter, still subject to the descendants of Charles V., represented the ancient European system, fated to disappear and make way for the modern. The Emperor Charles VI., who was as uneasy as Charles II. of Spain in 1700, had made the greatest possible sacrifices to secure his possessions to his daughter, Maria Theresa, wife of the Duke of Lorraine, now Duke of Tuscany.

In the face of old Austria, the youthful kingdom of Prussia was rising up. It was partly German, partly Sclavonic, and partly French; no other country received so many exiles after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. It was the destiny of Prussia to renew the old Saxon opposition against the Emperors. This State, poor, and without natural frontiers, having neither the canals of Holland nor the mountains of Savoy to protect her against her enemies, nevertheless grew in size and importance, the pure creation of war and of policy—of the human will triumphing over nature. The first King, William, a hard and barbarous soldier, who had spent thirty years in saving money and in disciplining his troops with the lash, considered a kingdom in the same light as a regiment. He was afraid that his son would not carry out his plans, and he was tempted

to behead him, as the Czar Peter his son Alexis. This son, afterwards Frederick II., was no favorite with a father who valued nothing but size and strength, who carried off men of six feet, wherever he could find them, to compose regiments of giants. Young Frederick was short, with heavy shoulders; he had large, cold, and piercing eyes—there was something eccentric about him. He was a wit, a musician, and a philosopher; he had depraved and ridiculous tastes; one of his favorite occupations was writing French verses; he knew no Latin, and despised German; he was a pure logician, incapable of appreciating either the beauty of ancient art, or the secrets of modern science. He had, however, one quality by which he earned the epithet of Great—a strong will. He willed to be a general; he willed that Prussia should become one of the leading States in Europe; he willed to be a legislator; he willed that his deserted plains should be peopled. He was one of the founders of the art of war, midway between Turenne and Napoleon. When the latter entered Berlin he asked to see only the tomb of Frederick; he took away his sword, saying: "This sword is mine by right."

Prussia, a new State, and owing her most industrious citizens to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, was sooner or later to become the centre of modern philosophy. Frederick II. understood the part which he was to play, and declared himself the disciple of Voltaire in poetry, as well as philosophy. This was a stroke of policy; his apparently frivolous tastes forwarded his most deeply laid schemes. The Emperor Julian had copied Marcus Aurelius; Frederick imitated Julian. First, in honor of the Antonines, whom Voltaire proposed to him as models, he wrote a sentimentally virtuous book against Machiavelli. He was not yet a King. Voltaire took it all in good faith, corrected the proofs, and enthusiastically praised the royal author. He promised a Titus to the world. On his accession, Frederick tried to destroy the whole edition.

In the same year the Emperor Charles VI. died, and Frederick became a King [1740]. All the States which had guaranteed the succession to Maria Theresa declared war upon her. The moment seemed to have arrived for dismembering the great body of Austria, and all ran to be present at the division. The most superannuated rights were revived. Spain claimed Bohemia and Hungary; the King of Sardinia, the Milanese; Frederick, Silesia; France asked for nothing but the Empire for the Elector of Bavaria, who had been for more than half a century a devoted adherent of the French crown. The Elector was named Emperor without opposition, and at the same time generalissimo of the French forces.

The brothers Belle-Isle, grandsons of Fouquet, disturbed France with their chimerical projects. Fleury made war for the

second time against his will, and for the second time failed. The French army, ill-paid and ill-fed, dispersed after gaining easy victories wherever it found means of subsistence. It left Vienna on one side and spread into Bohemia. On the other hand, Frederick conquered at Molwitz and seized Silesia [1741].

Maria Theresa stood alone; her cause seemed to be lost. She was advanced in pregnancy, and she feared that she would not have one town left in which she might give birth to her child. But England and Holland could not contemplate calmly the triumph of France. The peace-loving Walpole fell; subsidies were granted to Maria Theresa, and an English squadron imposed neutrality on the King of Naples. The King of Prussia, who had obtained all he wanted, made peace. The French wasted themselves in Bohemia, lost Prague, and made their way back with great difficulty through the snow. Belle-Isle consoled himself by comparing himself with Xenophon [1742].

The English landed on the Continent, and at Dettingen fell into the jaws of the French army, which let them escape, and afterwards was beaten by them [1743]. The French troops were driven back to the other side of the Rhine, and the unfortunate Bavarian Emperor left to the vengeance of Austria. This was not what the King of Prussia had intended. Maria Theresa, in her recovered strength, would have been certain to retake Silesia. He sided with France and Bavaria, returned to the charge, entered Bohemia, secured Silesia in three victories, invaded Saxony, and obliged Maria Theresa and the Saxons to sign the Treaty of Dresden. After the death of the Emperor, Maria Theresa had caused her husband to be chosen as his successor [Francis I., 1745].

The French, however, had the advantage in Italy. With the assistance of Spain, Naples, and Geneva, they established the Infant Don Philip in the duchies of Milan and Parma. In the Netherlands, under Marshal Saxe, they gained the battles of Fontenoy [1745] and of Roucox [1746]. The former celebrated engagement would have been hopelessly lost if an Irishman—Lally—inspired by hatred of the English, had not proposed to break their line with four guns. A skilful courtier, the Duke of Richelieu, appropriated the idea and the glory. The Irishman, sword in hand, was the first to break through the English column. In the same year France let loose upon England her most formidable enemy, the Pretender. The Scotch Highlanders received him, poured down the mountains with irresistible fury, carried off the guns, and cut the infantry in pieces with their broadswords. These successes ought to have been supported by France, but her navy had been reduced to nothing. Lally obtained a few ships; but the English held the sea and prevented the Scotch from receiving assistance. They had the advantage

over the Scotch in numbers, resources, and in the possession of an excellent army. The Scotch were finally beaten at Culloden [1745—1746].

The Spaniards retreated from Italy, and the French were driven out of that country. They advanced in the Netherlands. England was alarmed for Holland, and re-established the Stadholderate. The French victories in Holland had, at any rate, the effect of procuring peace. She had lost her ships and her colonies; the Russians appeared for the second time on the Rhine. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle restored to France her colonies, secured Silesia to Prussia, and Parma and Placentia to the Spanish Bourbons. Against all expectation, Austria maintained her position [1748].

France had had a melancholy experience of her weakness, but she was not able to profit by it. The government of the old priest, Fleury, had been followed by that of the King's mistress. Mademoiselle Poisson, Marchioness of Pompadour, reigned twenty years. Although of mean birth, she had some patriotic ideas. Her creature, the Comptroller Machaut, wanted to tax the clergy; d'Argenson organized the war department with the talent and integrity of Louvois. In the midst of the petty warfare between the Parliament and the clergy, philosophy was gaining ground. Even within the Court it had its partisans; although the King was opposed to the new ideas, he had his own little printing-press, and amused himself by printing the financial theories of his physician, Quesnay, who proposed a single tax, to be levied on the land. The nobility and clergy, who were its principal proprietors, would at length have been forced to contribute. All these projects ended in vain talk; the ancient corporations resisted, and the King, although courted by the philosophers, who wished to strengthen him against the clergy, became alarmed at their progress. Voltaire was writing a general anti-Christian history ["Essai sur les Mœurs," 1786]. The new philosophy gradually emerged from the polemical character which Voltaire had given to it. In 1748, the President Montesquieu, founder of the Academy of Natural Science at Bordeaux, published, in a somewhat weak and desultory form, a materialistic theory of legislation derived from the influence of climate; such at least is the prevailing idea in the "Esprit des Lois," a book as ingenious and brilliant as it is sometimes profound. In 1749 the colossal "Histoire Naturelle" of Buffon appeared, and in 1751 the first volumes of the "Encyclopédie," a gigantic work, containing the essence of the eighteenth century, polemical, dogmatical, economical, and mathematical, full of irreligion and philanthropy, atheism, and pantheism, by d'Alembert and Diderot. The century is described by Condillac in a single phrase, the title of his book, "A Treatise on Sensation,"

1754. The religious war was carried on by Voltaire, who had just occupied a central point of observation between France, Switzerland, and Germany, at the gates of Geneva, the stronghold of the ancient Vaudois, of Arnold of Brescia, of Zwingli, and of Calvin.

It was the culminating point of the power of Frederick II. Since his conquest of Silesia he had cast off all reserve. In his extraordinary Court at Potsdam this man of wit and war laughed at God, and at his brother philosophers and sovereigns; he ill-treated Voltaire, the chief organ of the new opinions; he wounded Kings and Queens with his epigrams; he believed neither in the beauty of Madame de Pompadour nor in the poetical genius of the Abbé Bernis, Prime Minister of France. The Empress thought the moment favorable for the recovery of Silesia; she stirred up Europe, especially the Queens; she persuaded the Queen of Poland and the Empress of Russia; she paid court to the mistress of Louis XV. The monstrous alliance of France with the ancient State of Austria against a sovereign who maintained the equilibrium of Germany united all Europe against him. England alone supported him and gave him subsidies. She was governed at that time by a gouty lawyer, the famous William Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, who raised himself by his eloquence and by his hatred of the French. England wanted two things; the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe, and the destruction of the French and Spanish colonies. Her griefs were serious—the Spaniards had ill-treated her smugglers, and the French wanted to prevent her from settling on their territory in Canada. In India, La Bourdonnaie and his successor, Dupleix, threatened to found a great empire in the face of the English. As a declaration of war, the English confiscated 300 French ships [1756].

The marvel of the war was to see this little kingdom of Prussia, interposed between the huge powers of Austria, France, and Russia, run from one to the other and defy them all. This was the second period of the art of war. The unskilful adversaries of Frederick thought that he owed all his success to the precision of the manœuvres of the Prussia soldiers, to their excellent drill and rapid firing. Frederick had certainly carried the soldier-machine to perfection. This was capable of imitation—the Czar Peter III. and the Count of St. Germain created military automatons by means of the lash. But they could not imitate the quickness of his manœuvres; the happy arrangement of his marches, which gave him great facility for moving and concentrating large masses, and directing them on the weak points of the enemy.

In this terrible chase given by the large unwieldy armies of the allies to the agile Prussian, one cannot help noticing the

amusing circumspection of the Austrian tacticians and the stupid folly of the fine gentlemen who led the armies of France. The Fabius of Austria, the sage and heavy Daun, was satisfied with a war of positions; he could not find encampments strong enough or mountains inaccessible—his stationary troops were always beaten by Frederick.

To begin with, he freed himself from the enmity of Saxony. He did not hurt; he only disarmed her. He struck his next blow in Bohemia. Repulsed by the Austrians, and abandoned by the English army, which determined at Kloster-seven to fight no more; threatened by the Russians, who were victorious at Joegerndorf, he passed into Saxony, and found the French and Imperialists combined there. Prussia was surrounded by four armies. Frederick fancied himself lost and determined on suicide. He wrote to his sister and to d'Argens, announcing his intention. There was only one thing which frightened him—it was, that, when once he was dead, the great distributor of glory, Voltaire, might make free with his name; he wrote an epistle to disarm him; so Julian, mortally wounded, drew from his robe a speech which he had composed for the occasion. "Pour moi," said Frederick,

> "Pour moi, menacé du naufrage
> Je dois, en affrontant l'orage,
> Penser, vivre et mourir en roi." [a]

Having written this epistle, he defeated the enemy at Rosbach. The Prince of Soubise, who thought that he fled, set off rashly in pursuit; then the Prussians unmasked their batteries, killed 3,000 men, and took 7,000 prisoners. In the French camp were found an army of cooks, actors, hairdressers, a number of parrots, parasols, and huge cases of lavender-water, etc. [1757].

None but a tactician could follow the King of Prussia in this series of brilliant and skilful battles. The Seven Years' War, however various its incidents, was a political and strategical war—it has not the interest of the wars for ideas, the struggles for religion and for freedom of the sixteenth century and of our own time.

The defeat of Rosbach was followed by another at Crevelt, and by great reverses balanced by small advantages; the total ruin of the French navy and colonies; the English masters of the ocean and conquerors of India; the exhaustion and humiliation of old Europe in the presence of young Prussia. This is the history of the Seven Years' War. It was terminated under the ministry of the Duke of Choiseul. This minister, who was a man of ability, believed that he had made a master stroke in ne-

[a] As for me, threatened by shipwreck, it is my duty, while I face the storm, to think, live, and die as becomes a King.

gotiating the Family Compact between the different branches of the house of Bourbon [1761].

Amid the humiliations of the Seven Years' War, and by means of these very humiliations, the drama of the eighteenth century was rapidly advancing towards its catastrophe. Who was the loser in this and the former wars? Not France, but the nobility, whence alone the officers and generals were taken. Even her enemies could not deny the bravery of France after the instances of Chevert and d'Assas; and at the battle of Exiles the French troops had been seen scaling the Alps under grape-shot, rushing into the mouth of the cannon, at the moment of their discharge. The only generals worthy of mention at this time, Saxe and Broglie, were foreigners. He who appropriated to himself the glory of Fontenoy, the great general of the age, in the opinion of women and courtiers, the Conqueror of Mahon, the old Alcibiades of the old Voltaire—Richelieu—had proved sufficiently during the five campaigns of the war how much he deserved the reputation which he had so cleverly obtained. At any rate, his campaigns were lucrative; he brought back money enough to construct upon the Boulevards the elegant "Pavillon de Hanovre."

Towards the end of this shameful Seven Years' War, during which aristocracy fell so low, the great intellectual development of democracy took place. It was as if France cried out to the nations: "It is not I who am vanquished." In 1750, the son of a Geneva watchmaker, Jean Jacques Rousseau, by turns a vagabond, a writer, and a lackey, had cursed science in detestation of philosophy and the profession of literature—and then cursed aristocracy on account of the degeneracy of the nobility [1754]. His feverish energy burns in every page of the "Nouvelle Héloïse" [1759]. Naturalism is the theme of the "Émile," and deism of the "Profession de la Foi du Vicaire Savoyard" [1762]. Finally, in the "Contrat Social," the three watchwords of the revolution are traced in characters of fire. The march of the revolution was so irresistible that the King, who trembled at its approach, was, nevertheless, forced to labor in its favor and to pave the way for its advance. In 1763 he founded its temple, the Pantheon, which was destined to receive Rousseau and Voltaire. In 1764 he abolished the Jesuits, and in 1771 the Parliament. The docile instrument of necessity, he destroyed with a careless hand all that remained standing of the ruins of the middle ages.

The Society of the Jesuits, whose roots were supposed to have struck so deep, was overthrown all over Europe without a blow being struck. The Templars had perished in a similar manner in the fourteenth century, when the system of which they were a part had had its day. The Jesuits were left at the mercy of their

bitter enemies—the Parliaments. But, just as the ruins of Port Royal had overwhelmed the Jesuits, the fall of the latter was fatal to the Parliaments. These corporations, carried away by their increasing popularity and their recent victory, attempted to strike out new paths. The imperfect balance of the ancient monarchy had been kept by the elastic opposition of the Parliaments, who remonstrated, adjourned, and, in the end, yielded respectfully. A few bold and headstrong spirits, among others La Chalotais, a native of Brittany, undertook to carry their authority further. In the trial of the Duke of Aiguillon they insisted on exercising their prerogative, and they were suppressed [1771]. The judges of Lally, of Calas, of Sirven, and of Labarre were not to be the engines of revolution, still less the cabal who upset them. The witty Abbé Terray and the amusing Chancellor Maupéou, friends of the Duke of Aiguillon and Madame du Barry, had not sufficient honesty to be allowed to do good. Terray, who became Minister of Finance, remedied their disorder in a measure, but by means of bankruptcy. Maupéou announced that justice in future should be gratuitously administered, and abolished the venality of the old system, but no one would believe in the disinterested administration of the creatures of Maupéou. Every one laughed at the idea of their reformation; none so much as themselves. The pleadings of Beaumarchais were received with inextinguishable shouts of amusement. Louis XV. read them, and enjoyed them as much as his subjects. The selfish monarch saw more clearly than any one else the growing danger of royalty, but he was right in his supposition, that it would last his time. He died in 1774.

His unfortunate successor, Louis XVI., inherited all this confusion. Sad forebodings took place on the occasion of his marriage festivities, when many hundreds of spectators were killed. Nevertheless, the sight of this virtuous young King, taking his seat with his graceful consort upon the purified throne of Louis XV., had filled the country with hope. The worn-out society had an interval of happiness, of childlike emotion; it shed tears, admired itself in the midst of them, and thought that it had regained its youth. The Idyll came into fashion—first the sentimentalities of Florian, then the innocence of Gessner, and, at length, the immortal eclogue of Paul and Virginia. The Queen built for herself a hamlet and a farm at Trianon. Philosophers drove the plough, at least with their pens. "Choiseul is a laborer and Voltaire a farmer." Every one was interested in the people, loved the people, wrote for the people; philanthropy was in vogue; a little money was spent in charity, and a great deal in magnificent festivities.

While the higher classes were sincerely playing this sentimental comedy, the great universal movement which was to

sweep away the whole system was continuing its march. The real confidant of the public, the Figaro of Beaumarchais, became every day more and more bitter; from comedy it turned to satire; from satire to tragedy. The throne, the Parliament, the nobles—all were falling from weakness; a sort of general intoxication prevailed. Philosophy itself went mad under the contagion of Rousseau and Gilbert. There was no longer any belief or disbelief in religion, and yet society would have liked to believe; the strong-minded went in disguise to seek for faith in the phantasmagoria of Cagliostro and the magnetizing tub of Mesmer. All round France, however, and unheard by her, echoed the eternal dialogue of rational scepticism; the apparent dogmatism of Kant was answering the nihilism of Hume, and, above all, the powerful voice of Goethe, harmonious and poetical, but immoral and egotistical. France, excited and preoccupied, heard nothing of the tumult around her. Germany was continuing the sceptical epic, while France was finishing the social drama.

The serio-comic espect of these latter days of the old system is produced by the contrast between great promise and utter incompetence. Incompetence is the distinguishing feature of all the ministers of the time. They all promised everything, and effected nothing. M. de Choiseul wanted to protect Poland, humiliate England, and raise France by an European war, and yet he could not pay the ordinary expenses; if he had insisted on his projects, the Parliament which supported him would have abandoned him. Maupéou and Terray suppressed the Parliament, but could not put anything in its place; they tried to reform the finances, and they depended upon the thieves of the public purse. Under Louis XVI., the great, virtuous, and courageous Turgot [1774—1776] proposed the true remedy—economy, and the abolition of privileges. But to whom did he make these proposals? To the privileged classes who overthrew him. Necessity, however, forced them to call to their assistance a skilful banker, an eloquent foreigner, a second, but a virtuous, Law. Necker promised wonders; he reassured all classes; he did not propose any fundamental reform, he would proceed gently. He inspired confidence; he applied to the public credit and obtained a loan. Confidence and a wise administration were to extend commerce; commerce would develop resources. Successive loans were secured upon uncertain, slow, and distant resources. Necker ended by throwing down his cards, and returning to the means proposed by Turgot—economy and equal taxation. His *Compte rendu* was a conclusive avowal of his impotence [1781].

It must be owned that Necker had to sustain a complicated struggle. Besides the home expenses, he was obliged to meet

those of a war which France was carrying on in favor of America [1778—1784]. She was helping to create a rival England in opposition to the old country. Although America has shown that it has forgotten this war, the French have never employed their money more wisely. The last naval victories of France and the creation of Cherbourg could not be over-paid. It was an extraordinary moment of confidence and enthusiasm. France envied America the possession of Franklin; her young nobles embarked in the crusade of liberty.

Having tried in vain the patriotic ministers, Turgot and Necker, the King turned to the Queen and the Court; he chose ministers among the courtiers. It was impossible to have a more agreeable minister than M. de Calonne, a more reassuring guide to lead gaily to ruin. When he had exhausted the credit which the wise government of Necker had created, he was at a loss what next to do, and he assembled the Notables [1787]. He was obliged to own to them that the loans had risen in a few years to 1,646,000,000 francs (£65,840,000), and that there was an annual deficit of 140,000,000. The Notables, who themselves belonged to the privileged classes, gave, instead of money, advice and accusations. Brienne, whom they raised to the position of Calonne, had recourse to taxation; the Parliament refused to register the taxes, and asked for the States-General; in other words, for its own ruin and that of the ancient monarchy.

The philosophers fell with Turgot, the bankers with Necker, and the courtiers with Calonne and Brienne. The privileged classes would not pay, and the people could no longer do so. In the words of an eminent historian, the States-General only decreed a revolution, which had already taken place. Assembly of the States-General, May 5, 1789.

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